

Title

POLICIES OF THE USA AND CHINA TOWARDS POST- ARAB SPRING AFRICA: A COMPARITIVE ANALYSIS



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DEDICATION

Dedicated this work to my family especially my parents and my uncle for teaching me love and let me dream and special feeling of gratitude to my brothers who supported and encouraged me throughout my academic career. Also to the people of my beloved land, sacrifice their lives for Pakistan.

DECLARATION

I, Aqsa Khan, Registration No. 149-FSS/MSPS/F21, student of MS, in Political Science at International Islamic University Islamabad do hereby solemnly declare that the thesis submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MS, in Political Science is my original work, except where otherwise acknowledged in the thesis, and has not been submitted earlier, and shall not be submitted by me in future for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university.

Dated: January, 2025

Signature of Student

Aqsa Khan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG: Action Group

AfCFTA: African Continental Free Trade Area

AGOA: African Growth and Opportunity Act

APS: African Partnership Station

BRI: Belt and Road Initiative

CCECC: China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation

CNOOC: China National Offshore Oil Corporation

CNPC: China National Petroleum Corporation

CSCEC: China State Construction Engineering Corporation

CCP: Communist Party of China

CUD: Coalition for Unity and Democracy

DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

EPRDF: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

EPP: Ethiopian Prosperity Party

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

FTO: Foreign Terrorist Organization

FOCAC: Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

GGR: Global Gag Rule

GWOT: Global War on Terror

IMF: International Monetary Fund

MENA: Middle East and North Africa

MERF: Middle East Response Fund

NCNC: National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

NPC: Northern People's Congress

PDP: People's Democratic Party

PRC: People's Republic of China

SSA: Sub-Saharan Africa

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

USD: United States Dollar

ABSTRACT

In the contemporary global political landscape, Africa has emerged as a critical battleground for the intensifying rivalry between China, an ascending global superpower, and the United States of America (USA), a long-established world leader. Both nations, driven by the pursuit of new markets and the need to secure energy resources, view Africa as central to their strategic ambitions. China's approach, encapsulated in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), focuses on expanding its influence through substantial economic investments and diplomatic outreach, while the USA leverages its military capabilities and diplomatic clout within the democratic sphere to draw African states into its orbit. Within this geopolitical contest, Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt hold pivotal roles due to their significant populations and considerable energy reserves, making them indispensable to the strategic interests of both powers. The present study critically examines the nuanced strategies that China and the USA employ to engage with African nations, analysing the underlying motives driving their policies and the potential obstacles rooted in dependency theory that may impede either power's efforts to leverage Africa for enhancing its global standing. The research further explores the evolving nature of USA and Chinese involvement in Africa following the Arab Spring, identifying shifts in their strategies. While China has concentrated on infrastructure development, trade, and resource extraction, particularly in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, its growing influence has raised concerns over debt sustainability and governance. On the other hand, the USA has balanced its security-driven policies with economic initiatives such as Prosper Africa, focusing on counterterrorism and regional stability. The intensifying geopolitical rivalry between these two global powers has far-reaching implications for Africa's governance structures, economic trajectory, and national sovereignty, while also recalibrating the broader contours of global power dynamics and international relations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Africa, the world's second-largest continent, is geographically bordered by the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. It boasts a population of approximately 1.4 billion people, rendering it the second most populous continent globally (The World Bank, 2023). Historically, Africa endured a period of colonization by European powers, during which its inhabitants were subjected to enslavement and the transatlantic slave trade (Smith, 1979; Kumar, 2020). Following the cessation of the slave trade, the continent's indigenous resources were extensively exploited, resulting in a substantial number of African nations struggling to attain modernization and sustainable development (Schmidt, 2013; Matunhu, 2011).

Emerging powers are progressively assuming a more influential role within Africa, and they are positioned to further enhance their impact on the continent's political, economic, and security dynamics in the foreseeable future. This trend aligns with broader global transformations characterized by a redistribution of wealth and influence away from traditional powerhouses like the USA and Europe, toward swiftly expanding economies (Schmidt, 2018). In Africa, the significance of these emerging, and sometimes resurging, actors continues to grow steadily, leading to increasingly profound and intricate consequences for the region's dynamics. Furthermore, this evolving landscape is notably influenced by developments following the Arab Spring, particularly from the year 2010 onward, which introduces an additional layer of complexity to Africa's shifting geopolitical environment (Chaziza, 2013).

In 2011, Africa experienced notable shifts in its governance landscape, with profound implications for Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia. The Arab Spring movements in North Africa, particularly in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, led to the toppling of entrenched autocratic rulers, triggering calls for greater political freedom, economic opportunity, and an end to corruption throughout the continent (Bizuru, 2021, pp. 13-20). These uprisings, while centered in North Africa, resonated deeply across Africa, igniting demands for change and inspiring protests in numerous African capitals. Nigeria, with its presidential elections in 2011, marked a significant stride toward democracy, characterized by increased transparency and oversight (Abusharif, 2014, pp. 1-8). Meanwhile, Ethiopia maintained a semi-authoritarian system. These changes reflected the broader institutionalization of democracy in Africa, with emerging legislative bodies contributing to checks and balances. However, challenges persisted, such as weak national identities, limited civil society engagement, political party ineffectiveness, politicized security sectors, and the presence of the natural resource curse in various African states. The dynamics of these transformations in Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia illustrate the diverse responses of African nations to the call for democratic reforms in the wake of the Arab Spring (ACSS Special Report, 2011; Bizuru, 2021). Such events and developments re-shaped the socio-economic, security and political dynamics of great powers towards Africa.

Historically, the USA maintains a multifaceted engagement with Africa, encompassing governance, human rights, and economic realms. The USA is closely watching China's growing economic influence in Africa, concerned about its impact on governance, debt, and American business interests. The focus is also on how China's influence could affect regional supply chains and USA national security interests in Africa, highlighting the intricate interplay of geopolitical and economic considerations in USA policies on the continent (Congressional Research Service, 2023). Similarly, in the post-Arab Spring, the

USA has significant interests in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, requiring a strategic approach. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton emphasized the importance of democratic governance, stating democracies lead to stronger partnerships, increased trade, innovation, and reduced conflicts. Democratic systems help reconcile diverse viewpoints, hold leaders accountable through regular elections, and channel citizen energies toward political engagement. Clinton's remarks highlight that promoting political, social, and economic liberalization is not merely an idealistic goal but a crucial strategic necessity (U.S. Department of State , 2011).

Therefore, competition for influence in Africa is a geopolitical reality, with concerns about the Trump administration's strategies reminiscent of the Cold War era (Schmidt, 2018). It is vital for major powers, including the Biden administration, to recognize Africa's increasing significance. By 2050, Africa is projected to represent 25% of the world's population, boasting a large and youthful workforce and abundant natural resources crucial for future technology (The White House , 2022). This demographic advantage and resource wealth position Africa as a key player on the global stage. Consequently, any entity aspiring to shape future global affairs must actively engage with and recognize the strategic importance of Africa (Gavin, 2021; Jakkie Cilliers, 2015).

The USA has diverse security, economic, and political interests in Africa, with a focus on countries like Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. In the realm of security, collaboration with African nations, particularly Egypt, is crucial for combating extremist groups in North Africa and the Middle East (U.S Department of State, 2023). Nigeria, due to its population size and economic strength, plays a vital role in countering entities like Boko Haram, while Ethiopia, as a regional heavyweight, holds strategic importance. Economically, USA efforts to enhance trade and investment in Africa, such as the Prosper Africa initiative, have yielded mixed results. Egypt's stable economy and market potential, Nigeria's vast market and resources,

and Ethiopia's growing economy and strategic location have attracted USA attention. However, USA diplomatic efforts face challenges in Ethiopia amid the Tigray conflict, in Egypt due to regional stability concerns, and in Nigeria due to complex internal dynamics and security issues (Gavin, 2021; Jakkie Cilliers, 2015).

On the other hand, China has a significant and long-standing economic presence in Africa, primarily as a key partner in infrastructure development and financing. This engagement dates back to 2000 when China initiated the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), predating the formal launch of the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013 (Chun, 2013; Gavin, 2021). the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) represents a more structured and consistent approach to high-level collaboration compared to the USA' engagement in Africa. The Chinese Communist Party has also maintained strong ties with influential African political parties. China surpassed the USA in trade with Africa in 2009, becoming the continent's largest trading partner. China's foreign direct investment in Africa has shown substantial annual growth, and it serves as the primary source of infrastructure financing for African nations, highlighting its deep-rooted economic involvement in the region (Gavin, 2021; Chaziza, 2013).

China's historical engagement in sub-Saharan Africa started with political interests but evolved into a focus on economic goals after its 1980s reforms. Recent years have seen significant growth in China's economic and investment interests in Africa, emphasizing commercial aspects in various projects. In contrast, the USA' ties with Africa began amid Cold War concerns and later shifted towards bilateral assistance and security cooperation, particularly after the 1998 Al Qaeda attacks. Notably, China's outreach to African governments as a political ally and development model contrasts with Western aid conditions, prompting some African nations to seek closer relations with China due to its non-interference policy and rapid economic growth. This signifies a changing geopolitical

landscape in Africa (Lum, 2008). During the Arab Spring, China initially took a cautious ‘wait and see’ stance due to concerns about domestic repercussions and international intervention. Driven by external resource dependence and capitalist expansion, China shifted to a more active role as risks to its political and commercial interests in the region grew, particularly in response to events like the ‘Libyan Spring’ and the ‘Syrian Spring’ (Kandil, 2012).

1.2.Statement of the Problem

In the wake of the Arab Spring, Africa has emerged as a pivotal battleground for the strategic competition between China and the USA, both seeking to extend their influence through a range of policies in key nations such as Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Despite these countries' substantial natural resources, strategic geographic positions, and large populations, the policies of China and the USA often fail to translate into sustainable development or political stability. China's post-Arab Spring strategy, particularly through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), has driven significant investments in infrastructure and trade, leading to economic growth but also resulting in rising debt, governance challenges, and sovereignty concerns. Concurrently, the USA has focused on security cooperation, democracy promotion, and economic initiatives, but these efforts have been inconsistent, with a tendency to prioritise security over human rights in Egypt, pursue economic agendas like Prosper Africa in Nigeria, and engage in regional geopolitics in Ethiopia. This complex interplay of external influence often exacerbates economic dependency, undermines local governance, and intensifies socio-political instability, raising critical questions about the impact of foreign interventions on Africa's sovereignty and long-term development. This research aims to problematize the policies of China and the USA in Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, assessing their implications for governance, economic growth, and the broader socio-political dynamics of the continent.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The present study holds significant scholarly importance by making a substantial contribution to the existing body of knowledge related to Dependency Theory. It assumes particular relevance for those who are deeply engaged in the analysis of the post-Arab Spring context, specifically within the framework of discerning the precise areas of interest and involvement of the USA and China in Africa. Besides, this research aims to explore the multifaceted effects of foreign direct investment on well-established social and political structures, thereby shedding light on its influence on local dynamics. Similarly, through an in-depth examination of the consequences arising from the competition between the USA and China, this study offers insights into the implications for the nations of Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

Moreover, this research holds significance not only in terms of uncovering the strategic approaches adopted by China and the USA in their interactions with African nations but also in its capacity to reveal the repercussions of foreign direct investment on indigenous populations. Moreover, it lays the groundwork for subsequent scholars to conduct more profound investigations into potential vulnerabilities within Africa that may be exploited by both the USA and China for geopolitical gain.

Thus, by amalgamating theoretical foundations rooted in Dependency Theory with empirical examinations of developments in post-Arab Spring Africa, this study serves as a pivotal bridge, providing invaluable insights into the roles assumed by China and the USA. A comprehensive grasp of the interplay between dependency dynamics, the implementation of foreign policies, and tangible outcomes in the regions of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia enhances our nuanced comprehension of contemporary international relations within the African context.

1.4. Research Objectives

1. To investigate the USA and China's engagement with Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria.
2. To examine the effects of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) on these countries' economies, societies, and politics.
3. To analyze the impact of the power struggle between the USA and China on the populations of these African nations in the post-Arab Spring.

1.5. Research Questions

1. What are the areas where the USA and China want to be engaged in Africa?
2. How foreign direct investment impacts the traditional social and political setups in the specified three states of Africa?
3. How their rivalry affects Nigeria, Ethiopia and Egypt?

1.6. Delimitations of the study

The present study focuses on a targeted examination of the engagement strategies employed by the USA and China within the African continent, with a specific emphasis on three of the region's most prominent and influential nations. These countries include Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt, which are recognized as pivotal players in the African geopolitical landscape. The decision to narrow the scope of this research to these three nations is based on their substantial political, economic, and demographic significance, which renders their interactions with global powers particularly consequential. To concentrate on these select countries, this study seeks to offer a nuanced and insightful analysis of the intricate dynamics at play within the broader context of Africa's relations with major international actors.

1.7.Literature Review

The existing literature extensively covers China and the USA's policies in Africa via both primary and secondary sources, encompassing historical, socio-economic, security, and political dimensions. Nonetheless, diverse viewpoints and perspectives exist among different scholars concerning the influence of major powers in Africa, leading to varying interpretations of their regional strategies. Consequently, the present study endeavors to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the USA and China's policies in Africa, particularly in the post-Arab Spring context. While many scholars have concentrated their focus on specific facets of these policies, such as security and economic considerations, often overlooking significant factors like foreign direct investment (FDI) and the socio-political implications on the African populace, this study adopts a holistic approach. It seeks to explore the specific domains in which the USA and China engage with African nations, investigating their areas of interest within the African continent. This research further examines the repercussions of foreign direct investment on traditional social and political structures and analyzes the dynamics of their rivalry, particularly in the context of Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

Edited book titled (The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions, 2010), Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi, sheds light on the transformative impact of China and India as vital economic partners in Africa. These two nations have substantially altered the landscape of Africa's international relations, with their increasing influence bringing about significant changes. The authors analyze that while the initial effects of China and India's engagement in Africa have been positive, driven partly by increased commodity exports, there is a dearth of research on their long-term impact on Africa's economic transformation (Cheru & Obi, 2010). This book offers a comprehensive examination of the opportunities and challenges arising from China and India's expanding presence in Africa. It also proposes essential interventions that African governments should

consider to engage with these global powers more effectively. However, the book's focus on the rise of China and India, the diminishing influence of the USA, and others European countries' evolving role has profound implications for Africa's geopolitical landscape. The USA's overt militarization of the African continent, particularly the Eastern seaboard along the Indian Ocean rim, is a notable development. Therefore, gaining a deeper understanding of the global context and its consequences for Africa becomes crucial. However, the book primarily addresses the pre-Arab Spring period, with limited discussion of the USA policies related to China's containment in Ethiopia, Egypt, and Nigeria, and it does not extend into the post-Arab Spring era.

In her research paper titled "Major Power Rivalry in Africa," Michelle Gavin (2021) examines the evolving dynamics of global powers, with a particular focus on China, Russia, India, Japan, European Union and the USA, in their engagement and interests in Africa. It highlights the significance of Africa's demographic trends, forecasting that the continent will accommodate a quarter of the world's population by 2050, characterized by a youthful and expanding labor force, a noteworthy contrast to aging populations in other regions. It emphasizes the growing importance of Africa's human capital on the global stage. Besides, it analyze Africa's continued relevance in terms of its natural resources, including critical elements like cobalt and rare earth metals essential for advancing technology-driven industries. It underscores the imperative for entities aspiring to shape global affairs in the coming decades to adopt proactive strategies towards Africa. However, it also recognizes certain limitations in existing research, particularly in-depth examinations of post-Arab Spring African countries such as Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. In response to these gaps, the work highlights the need for further research to explore the nuances of great power influence especially that of China and the USA, within these countries and their broader implications for Africa's evolving global position in post-Arab Spring. Thus, the ultimate goal is to

provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics involved as major global powers engage with Africa in light of its growing demographic and economic significance on the global stage (Gavin, 2021).

Elizabeth Schmidt in her book (*Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, 2013) provides a comprehensive examination of foreign political and military involvement in Africa across distinct historical periods, including decolonization, the Cold War, state collapse, and the global war on terror. During the decolonization and Cold War eras, significant interventions came from both extra-continental powers and former colonial rulers like the USA, Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and European nations, influencing numerous African conflicts. In the state collapse phase, intra-continental interventions took center stage as African governments, sometimes with external support, backed warlords, dictators, and dissident groups in neighboring states to gain control of resources. The global war on terror, akin to the Cold War, intensified foreign military presence in Africa and bolstered support for repressive regimes. These external interests often exacerbated local conflicts, resulting in widespread suffering for African populations. It's worth noting that the study primarily delves into U.S. foreign intervention in detail but does not extend its analysis to the post-Arab Spring period, concluding its examination in 2010 (Schmidt, 2013).

Similarly, Elizabeth Schmidt's another book, (*Foreign Intervention in Africa after the Cold War: Sovereignty, Responsibility, and the War on Terror*, 2018) presents an innovative framework for comprehending the multifaceted nature and implications of foreign political and military engagement in Africa. Targeted at a diverse readership, Schmidt employs an interdisciplinary approach to examine the period spanning a quarter-century after the Cold War, from 1991 to 2017. Her exploration encompasses various actors, including neighboring states, sub-regional, regional, and global organizations, and extra continental powers, elucidating their roles in supporting diverse factions involved in conflicts and peace processes

across the African continent. The book underscores two central rationales for intervention: addressing instability and the responsibility to protect, within the broader context of the war on terror. Schmidt's work also underscores the enduring impact of colonial legacies, Cold War alliances, and external endeavors to shape African political and economic systems during decolonization and post-independence phases—a facet often overlooked in discussions of Africa's challenges. While acknowledging that many African conflicts have local origins, Schmidt emphasizes how foreign political and military interventions have fundamentally altered their dynamics, exacerbating their destructive outcomes. The book provides a comprehensive continent-wide perspective, fortified by insightful case studies, serving as a foundational resource for future research in international affairs related to Africa (Schmidt, 2018). However, it's noteworthy that the book predominantly concentrates on post-Cold War U.S. Africa policy, offering limited coverage of post-Arab Spring developments, particularly in Mali and Nigeria, with comparatively less attention to Ethiopia and Egypt. Furthermore, the book does not delve into China's influence in the region, suggesting the need for further investigations to fill these gaps.

The report titled (Africa and the Arab Spring: A New Era of Democratic Expectations, 2011) by 'the Africa Center for Strategic Studies' illuminates the transformative shifts in Africa's governance landscape in 2011, instigated by unprecedented popular uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, which toppled long-standing autocratic regimes and ignited demands for political freedoms, economic opportunities, and an end to systemic corruption across the continent. The report analyzes that the Arab Spring served as a catalyst for democratic reforms in various African nations, leading to protests in several capitals and influencing governmental actions. Simultaneously, Africa's legislatures gained prominence, exemplifying the institutionalization of democracy, and decentralization efforts aimed to enhance governance responsiveness. Rapid urbanization and a burgeoning youth

population further reshaped the African landscape, accompanied by changing governance norms endorsed by regional bodies. Nevertheless, countervailing forces, such as weak national identities, limited civil society, and politicized security sectors, posed challenges to democratization (ACSS Special Report, 2011). While the report provides valuable insights into these dynamics, it overlooks the analysis of great power interests, particularly those of the USA and China, and lacks an in-depth evaluation of Nigeria and Ethiopia, focusing predominantly on Egypt's power politics and institutional developments in the post-Arab Spring context. This study aims to bridge these gaps and provide a comprehensive examination of the complex interplay of factors in the region.

Zhang Chun in his research paper titled (The Sino-Africa Relationship: Toward a New Strategic Partnership, 2013) published in the report "Emerging Powers in Africa" comprehensively explores the trajectory of Sino-Africa relations in the post-Cold War era, tracing its origins to the establishment of diplomatic ties with Egypt in 1956. It emphasizes China's commitment to cultivating a new type of strategic partnership with Africa, a commitment reiterated by President Hu Jintao during the 2006 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). It also highlights Chinese investments reaching a substantial number of African countries, encompassing approximately 83 percent of the continent. Although, it provides a comprehensive understanding of the historical context and the present state of Sino-Africa relations, with a focus on potential future transformations and the strategies implemented by the Chinese government to nurture this evolving partnership (Chun, 2013). However, the research is limited to the absence of an in-depth analysis of China's influence in specific African nations like Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, as well as a comparative assessment of USA influence in these regions, which the present research seeks to address.

Jakkie Cilliers in his work titled (Power and influence in Africa: Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa, 2015) examines Africa's position in the global power landscape and the changing power capacities of five key African nations: Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa (the Big Five) over the next 25 years. It anticipates that Ethiopia and Nigeria will increase their power capabilities, while Algeria, Egypt, and South Africa may stagnate or decline. It further analyzes China's rising economic power compared to the USA. However, Africa is expected to remain on the periphery of global power, with its share of the global economy projected to only slightly increase. It also highlights Egypt's historical significance in international relations and its role as a U.S. regional ally in the Middle East (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015). However, this research article has limitations such as the brief examination of post-Arab Spring developments, and calls for a deeper exploration of how the USA-China rivalry impacts Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. Hence, the current research endeavor aims to address this particular gap.

1.8.Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

In this study, the researcher adopts the theoretical framework of Dependency theory, as articulated by Raul Prebisch (Prebisch, 1950). The focus of the research lies within the context of Post-Arab Spring Africa, specifically examining Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, and analyzing the influence and policies of major global powers, namely China and the USA. By employing Dependency theory as a guiding lens, the study aims to shed light on the dynamics of economic and political relationships between these African countries and the powerful external actors, offering valuable insights into the post-Arab Spring landscape.

Dependency Theory, originally formulated by Argentine economist Raul Prebisch in the late 1950s,¹ stands as a fundamental theoretical framework for comprehending the enduring global economic disparities between advanced ‘core’ nations and less developed ‘peripheral’ nations (Romaniuk, 2017; Prebisch, 1950). This theory’s central premise revolves around the entrenched structural dependency of peripheral countries on their core counterparts, perpetuating a cyclic pattern of economic inequalities and political subjugation (Vernengo, 2016). Dependency Theory holds particular significance within the realm of international relations, shedding light on how external elements, most notably foreign direct investment (FDI), wield considerable influence over the intricate social, political, and economic structures of peripheral nations. Through a meticulous examination of the intricate web of power dynamics and economic relationships, this theory provides insights into the fundamental forces that mold the interactions between nations and contribute to the formation of global disparities (Ferraro, 1996).

The Arab Spring, a series of uprisings and transformative political movements that swept across North Africa and the Middle East, represents a momentous geopolitical event with far-reaching implications. While its primary impact was felt within its immediate regions, the reverberations of the Arab Spring extended throughout the African continent, offering both prospects and challenges. This unique context is characterized by shifting political landscapes, heightened civic engagement, and the evolving dynamics of foreign policy. The cascading effects of the Arab Spring across Africa necessitate an exhaustive exploration within the field of international relations, presenting an intriguing case study that

¹Dependency theory, a prominent concept in the social sciences, emerged in the late 1950s and was primarily championed by figures like Raul Prebisch and Hans Singer, along with notable Marxist scholars including Andre Gunder Frank, Paul A. Baran, and Paul Sweezy, as well as world systems theorists like Immanuel Wallerstein. It gained significant traction in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s as a response to Western-originated modernization theory and free trade policies. This theory seeks to explain the economic development of nations by highlighting their interdependence and the influence of powerful countries on the less developed ones.

underscores how domestic movements intersect with global forces, thereby shaping the trajectories of entire nations.

In the contemporary landscape of international relations, China and the USA emerge as pivotal global powers, with their influence extending significantly into the African continent. A nuanced comprehension of their respective policies within the post-Arab Spring African milieu becomes imperative for dissecting the evolving geopolitical dynamics of Africa. China's approach underscores economic engagement, substantial investments in infrastructure development, and a steadfast adherence to a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs. In contrast, the USA adopts a multifaceted strategy in Africa, encompassing security cooperation, economic interest, foreign aid initiatives, and the promotion of democratic governance (Matunhu, 2011). A comprehensive analysis of these policies necessitates a holistic assessment that encompasses economic, political, and security dimensions, thus reflecting the intricate power dynamics that mold Africa's role on the global stage.

To comprehensively explore the interplay between Dependency Theory and the influences exerted by China and the USA, this research leverages case studies of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. Each of these nations embodies a unique African context, offering valuable insights into the practical ramifications of Dependency Theory and the diverse approaches employed by global powers (Smith, 1979). Egypt, marked by its political transitions and strategic significance within the Middle East, Nigeria, which balances economic prominence with significant security challenges, and Ethiopia, with its developmental aspirations in the Horn of Africa, collectively provide a pivotal platform for an in-depth investigation into the intricate dynamics at play. Through these comprehensive case studies, this research seeks to elucidate the complex interactions among Dependency

Theory, global power policies, and the multifaceted influences that collectively shape the future trajectories of African nations.

1.9.Methodology

a) Research Design

In the present study, the research design employs a multifaceted methodological approach to comprehensively investigate the influence of major powers, particularly China and the USA, in Africa during the post-Arab Spring era. The study's objectives encompass a comparative analysis of the policies and strategies employed by these major powers in their interactions with African nations, a systematic examination of the resultant impact on African populations, and an exploration of the specific domains in which China and the USA engage with African countries. Similarly, qualitative data are collected through a rigorous content analysis of pertinent documents i.e. secondary sources. Ethical considerations, such as securing informed consent and safeguarding participant confidentiality, is rigorously adhered to throughout the research process. Therefore, the study aims to make substantive contributions to the discipline of international relations and to provide valuable insights for policymaking discussions regarding the dynamics of major power involvement in Africa.

b) Population

This study's research population comprises the three states: Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. The deliberate selection of these countries is predicated upon their profound strategic significance within the African continent, spanning extensive geographical expanses, diverse demographic compositions, and substantial economic capacities. By incorporating these specific nations into the study's population, the research endeavors to undertake a thorough and comprehensive examination of their interactions with global powers, notably the USA and China, situated within the broader context of the African geopolitical landscape. This

methodical and targeted approach facilitates a nuanced exploration of the intricacies inherent in their engagement strategies, thereby affording a deeper understanding of the ramifications these strategies hold for both regional and global affairs.

c) Operational Definition(s)

The central variables of focus in this study are: FDI, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Growth, and the impact on the lives of the population before and after foreign engagements. These variables serve as crucial indicators for evaluating the economic and social consequences of foreign involvement in the selected African nations, namely Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. To analyze these variables, the research aims to gain comprehensive insights into the multifaceted impacts of external engagements in these countries, all within the framework of Dependency theory.

d) Data Collection

The data collection methodology employed in this study has adopted a two-fold approach, integrating primary and secondary sources. To gather primary data, the research relies on authoritative sources, official speeches, and relevant documents. Furthermore, it engages a diverse array of subject matter experts, including individuals affiliated with academic institutions, think tanks, prestigious journals, policymakers, and scholars possessing specialized knowledge pertinent to the post-Arab Spring period. This engagement is specifically focus on the examination of China-USA policies and their influence, with a particular emphasis on their implications for Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt, all within the conceptual framework of Dependency theory.

Besides, secondary data is systematically collected through an extensive review of the existing literature. This review encompasses scholarly articles, academic publications, official documents, and reputable reports. These secondary sources serve as vital instruments for

establishing a comprehensive historical backdrop and facilitating an analysis of regional dependency trends. The approach to analyzing the secondary data predominantly involve a qualitative content analysis methodology. It centers on a wide range of materials, including academic articles, journals, research papers, official government documents, and media reports. The meticulous examination and interpretation of these secondary sources are anticipated to yield invaluable insights that complement and bolster the findings derived from primary data. Thus, this comprehensive approach contributes to the development of a rigorous, multifaceted, and thorough research outcome.

e) Data Analysis

In the data analysis phase, this study employs a thematic analysis approach, guided by Dependency theory, to examine the qualitative data collected. This methodological choice enables the systematic identification of recurring themes and patterns relevant to China-USA policies and their influence within Africa, particularly in the post-Arab Spring context, focusing on Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. Thematic analysis offers a comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the qualitative data, illuminating the nuanced dynamics and interconnections inherent in this complex geopolitical landscape.

f) Ethical Consideration

In pursuit of ethical rigor and research integrity, this study upholds several foundational principles. Foremost among these is a commitment to ensuring the accuracy and reliability of the incorporated data through meticulous vetting processes that prioritize the credibility and authenticity of all sources. Additionally, a steadfast dedication to objectivity and impartiality will guide the research, with the researcher refraining from introducing personal subjective opinions or biases. This approach is vital for authenticating research outcomes and upholding academic integrity. Through these ethical considerations, this study aims to contribute valuable, credible, and impartial insights into the intricate dynamics of China-USA policies

and their influence in Africa, with a specific focus on the post-Arab Spring context within Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

1.10. Organizations of Study

This research is divided into 5 chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Two: Historical Background

Chapter Three: China policies towards the post Arab Spring Africa

Chapter Four: The USA foreign policy in Africa in the post Arab Spring

Chapter Five: A comparative analysis of USA and China policies in the post Arab Spring Africa

Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2. Introduction

The significance of Africa in contemporary geopolitics is evident through its abundant natural resources, large population, and geopolitical importance, despite facing developmental challenges. In the region, the relationship between the USA and China is complex and fragile as they vie for global influence. Specifically concerning Africa, both countries closely monitor each other's growing economic presence, concerned about its impact on governance, debt, and business interests. This chapter explore the historical background of the historical evolution and comparative assessment of US and China policies towards Africa (pre-Arab Spring), particularly its impact on Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. It also examine the application of dependency theory to US and Chinese policies in post-Arab Spring Africa.

The Arab Spring began in late 2010 and early 2011, marked by widespread and mostly peaceful demonstrations across several Arab nations against entrenched regimes (Bizuru, 2021, pp. 13-20; Chaziza, 2013, pp. 1-11). The term “Arab Spring” was coined by American political scientist Marc Lynch in a 2011 article in “Foreign Policy” journal to describe the series of uprisings across Arab nations like Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. However, its use has sparked debate due to its oversimplification and generalization of diverse events. More phrases, like “Arab Awakenings” and “Arab Revolutions” have been proposed. The term draws parallels to historical movements like the Prague Spring and European Revolutions, signifying a desire for democratization and freedoms amidst autocratic rule. It also reflects debates over secularism versus religious influences as Islamist regimes emerged. Thus, the historical discourses emphasize the importance of terminology in shaping perceptions and interpretations of events, highlighting the complexities of the

political landscape in the Arab world during this period (Abusharif, 2014, pp. 1-8). Hence, the Arab Spring, characterized by a series of protests and uprisings across the Arab world and parts of Africa, was propelled by a confluence of economic, social, political, and domestic security factors, underscoring the multifaceted nature of the unrest and its far-reaching implications.

The onset of the global financial crisis (2008), coupled with food shortages and widespread unemployment, acted as potent triggers (Afzal, 2017, pp. 1-10; Akkas, 2014, pp. 175-187). Despite attempts at economic liberalization through structural adjustment programs, the benefits failed to reach the Arab populace, necessitating the adoption of adjustment policies due to misguided politico-economic decisions. Particularly affected were emerging economies in the Mediterranean region, closely integrated with the European Union, which bore the brunt of the 2007 global economic downturn. As economic woes deepened and regional disparities widened, social conditions deteriorated, inciting widespread protests against governmental authorities and underscoring the underlying political instability plaguing these nations. This period marked the dawn of the Arab democratic transition, seeking to uphold principles of dignity, fundamental rights, social justice, collective economic and social progress, social cohesion, national harmony, and the facilitation of international peace (Ali, 2014, pp. 250-256).

Socially, the demographic phenomenon known as the “youth bulge,” coupled with issues surrounding education and political freedoms, played significant roles. Furthermore, the pervasive economic inequality and the impact of social media further fueled discontent. Discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities added to the underlying tensions. An immediate cause was the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, which sparked widespread outrage and galvanized dissent. (Afzal, 2017, pp. 1-10; Akkas, 2014, pp. 175-187). Besides, domestic security is crucial for governance transitions, with

states aiming to assert control over their territories. Africa and the Middle East as enduring hotspots of global conflict. This emphasizes the ongoing need for investments in conflict prevention, security-sector reform, and regional security mechanisms like the African Standby Force. With nine out of sixteen global peacekeeping operations situated in Africa, the continent remains a key focus for international peace efforts. However, a notable increase in armed conflicts and social instability in Africa since 2010 (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, p. 8).

Politically, the Arab Spring has sparked protests in Africa, echoing demands for political participation and accountability. These events have shown the power of organized mass action in toppling autocratic leaders and igniting debates about governance and democracy. Lessons from North African protests underscore the importance of citizen initiatives and civil society networks in driving successful democratic transitions amidst challenges from vested interests. Thus, the Arab Spring has emboldened Africans to demand change and fight for their rights (ACSS Special Report, 2011, pp. 5-9). These multifaceted causes underscore the complex interplay of economic, social, and political factors that precipitated the Arab Spring.

Thus, the Arab Spring, a wave of movements for democracy that started in late 2010 across the Middle East and North Africa, changed the region's politics significantly. While most attention has been on the countries directly involved, its effects were felt beyond the Arab world, reaching Africa. The Arab Spring influenced Africa in various ways, including politics, economics, and security. To understand its impact fully, it is important to look at how major global players like the USA and China responded. The USA has typically focused on promoting democracy and human rights in Africa, while China has been more interested in investing in infrastructure without getting involved in internal affairs. To understand these responses better, the present study must use Dependency theory, which explains how power is unevenly distributed between rich and poor countries. By using this theory, we can better

understand why the USA and China act the way they do in Africa. This chapter aims to analyze their pre-Arab Spring policies in Africa using Dependency theory to shed light on global power dynamics and their effects on Africa's development, foreign direct investment and agency in international affairs.

2.1.Africa: From Pre to Post Arab Spring

Africa is the second biggest continent in the world, covering an area of over 30 million square kilometers and lying mainly between latitudes 37°N and 35°S and longitudes 17°E and 52°E. With the Sahara Desert in the north, the lush rainforests of the Congo Basin in the center, the vast savannas spanning the sub-Saharan region, and notable mountain ranges like the Atlas Mountains in the northwest and the Drakensberg Range in the south, its vast territory presents a rich tapestry of landscapes. In addition, Africa has crucial access to the sea. Its coastline spans more than 30,000 kilometers, with the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east, and the Mediterranean Sea to the north (Johnson Ankrah, 2023, pp. 1-21; Odada, 2000, pp. 1-11). These varied geographical characteristics have a substantial impact on the continent's socioeconomic landscape, cultural richness, and geopolitical dynamics in addition to climatic patterns, biodiversity, and the distribution of natural resources.

Geographically, Africa is a vast and intricate continent, divided into five distinct geographical regions, each marked by unique landscapes, cultural heritage, and economic significance. North Africa is defined by the expansive Sahara Desert and the fertile Nile River valley, a cradle of ancient civilizations. On the contrary, West Africa features a blend of savannas and tropical forests, with lifelines such as the Niger and Senegal rivers sustaining agriculture and trade. Central Africa is home to the Congo Basin, one of the world's largest rainforests, and the Congo River, vital for biodiversity and local livelihoods. East Africa's

landscapes are shaped by the Great Rift Valley, highlands, and iconic natural landmarks like Mount Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria, fostering thriving ecosystems and tourism. Southern Africa encompasses arid deserts, mineral-rich plateaus, and ecological treasures such as the Okavango Delta. Together, these regions embody a rich tapestry of ecological, cultural, and economic diversity, reflecting both immense potential and complex challenges across the continent (Cotula, 2011; Council, 2024; Group, 2024). However, the present research focuses only on the selected countries, i.e., Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, to problematize the case study in a more analytical way.

Throughout history, Africa's ancient landscape, shaped by minimal geological folding, influenced its climate and vegetation. Human evolution began around six to eight million years ago, with evidence found in both eastern and western Africa. Early hominins, like *Homo habilis*, used stone tools, while *Homo ergaster* appeared around 1.8 million years ago, adapting to open woodlands and making hand-axes. Anatomically modern humans emerged around 600,000 years ago, spreading across Africa and beyond, with genetic research supporting Africa as their birthplace. Advancements in behavior and culture, such as toolmaking and language development, reflect Africa's rich and diverse history. The shift to herding and farming in Africa faced challenges like malnutrition and disease spread, likely triggered by climate change. Population movements and environmental shifts drove agriculture's spread southward, with the gradual Bantu migration disseminating agricultural skills across southern Africa (Iliffe, 2007, pp. 6-16).

Africa's trajectory has been a narrative of triumph and disillusionment, with liberation in the latter half of the 20th century swiftly followed by challenges necessitating reflection on its history and current predicaments (Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-15). Pioneering colonization efforts across diverse landscapes, Africans evolved over millennia to overcome obstacles like poor soil and unpredictable climates, prioritizing efficient population and land utilization.

However, the advent of the slave trade and European colonization introduced new challenges and innovations, fundamentally shaping Africa's course. Despite heralding advancements and population growth, European influence ultimately led to the collapse of colonial rule, leaving behind a legacy of instability (Iliffe, 2007, pp. 1-2). The hopeful beginnings of Africa's decolonization movement in the 1960s faded as newly independent states grappled with internal strife, a trend that persisted into subsequent decades, characterized by civil conflicts and governance challenges. By 1980, many African countries were governed by one-party systems or military regimes, where competitive elections were rare and often served to validate existing power structures rather than foster genuine democratic processes (Nyong'o, 2002, pp. 80-81). These challenges persisted through the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, with civil conflicts and governance complexities plaguing various African countries (Kieh, 2012, pp. 164-168).

Before the Arab Spring, Africa embarked on its democratic journey in the early 1990s, following the conclusion of the Cold War. By the turn of the 21st century, the continent had weathered over thirty civil wars, resulting in significant casualties, injuries, and enduring challenges such as refugee crises and internal displacement (Kieh, 2012, pp. 164-168). During this period, there was a notable transition away from one-party states towards democratic and hybrid regimes, coinciding with the emergence of independent media and civil society. The African Union (AU) embraced democratic principles, advocating for popular participation and good governance. However, approximately 40 percent of African governments still exhibited autocratic tendencies, highlighting ongoing challenges. While some nations progressed, others grappled with issues like political polarization and economic fragility. The Arab Spring, while igniting hopes for democracy in North Africa, underscored Africa's continuous democratic evolution, marked by diversities and obstacles. Post-conflict nations faced especially daunting challenges due to societal divisions and fragile

infrastructure (ACSS Special Report, 2011, pp. 1-6). The Arab Spring, which commenced in 2010-11, prompted reflections on the notion of “Arab exceptionalism,” challenging the belief that Arabs are culturally averse to democracy. Despite cultural disparities, the uprisings shared common themes, including a rejection of existing political norms and a collective desire for transformative change (Abusharif, 2014, pp. 1-3).

The Arab revolutions and subsequent counter-revolutions defy simple categorization due to their multifaceted nature. Transitioning towards democratic governance in authoritarian contexts presents significant challenges, compounded by entrenched one-party culture and eroding local institutions (Nyong’o, 2002, p. 93). Despite this complexity, initial protests in Tunisia and Egypt, marked by peacefulness and public condemnation, set a precedent. "Arab Spring" emerged as the dominant term, despite its historical origins and Western connotations, reflecting a global discourse on democratization (Abusharif, 2014, pp. 2-3). However, these criticisms have not diminished its usage, and its continued popularity can be attributed to various factors, particularly in this research case studies of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, where Dependency Theory is applied to understand US and China policies post-Arab Spring.

While numerous countries engage in diverse interests and alliances in Africa, the USA and China stand out as the most influential among major powers and are commonly perceived as rivals. African populations generally view both China and the USA as equally influential, while other powers are seen as significantly less influential (Gavin, 2021, p. 2). Within this broader picture of global power redistribution, Africa remains largely at the margins. The state-based structure of the international system has continuously evolved, with countries and regions experiencing shifts in power dynamics over time. From the 1960s until the end of the Cold War, the world operated under a bipolar distribution of state power. However, the conclusion of the Cold War led to a period known as the unipolar moment

(Schmidt, 2013, pp. 6-14). This dominance may now be transitioning towards another bipolar moment due to the changing power dynamics between the West and East, particularly the significance of the USA and China. Despite these shifts, Africa's role in the global economy is expected to grow, with its economy projected to increase by 29% from USD5.3 trillion to USD18 trillion. However, by 2040, its share of the global economy will only rise marginally from 5.1% to 7.2% (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, pp. 1-2).

Each country within the Big Five group (Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa) grapples with its own distinct governance challenges. Algeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, in particular, face democratic deficits, characterized by a disparity between levels of human development and inclusive access to political systems. These disparities can hinder developmental progress and contribute to periods of instability. The entrenched control of economies and political systems by elites in these nations is a significant barrier to change. Despite events like the Arab Spring, traditional governing authorities in Egypt and Algeria have maintained their grip on power, while political corruption remains a pressing issue in both countries (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, p. 6). In addition to the historical background of Africa, it would be appropriate to briefly discuss case studies such as Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia to provide context for understanding the broader dynamics of US and China policies in Africa, including the specific case under study.

a) Egypt

Egypt, officially known as the Arab Republic of Egypt, is a transcontinental country situated in both the northeastern corner of Africa and the southwestern corner of Asia. Its capital and largest city are Cairo. Arabic is the official language of Egypt. As of the 2024 estimate, the population of Egypt is approximately 111,247,248, making it the 15th most populous country. The 2024, Egypt recorded a population of 114.5 million. The population density is approximately 103.56/km² (268.2/sq mi), ranking 118th globally (United Nations Population

Fund, 2024). In terms of GDP (PPP), the 2024 estimate indicates a total of USD1.899 trillion, ranking 18th worldwide. The per capita GDP is estimated at USD17,614, placing Egypt 93rd in the world in terms of individual wealth (INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, 2024).

Historically, metals, from copper to iron, shaped Egypt's colonization journey, starting late fifth millennium BC with copper in southern Egypt. By 3100 BC, with Egypt's unification, metalworking coincided with the rise of its first agricultural civilization along the Nile. Despite lacking formal irrigation, the Nile's floods sustained a ruling class, while literacy served state authority. Stability characterized the Old Kingdom until 2160 BC, giving way to internal discord. The New Kingdom (1540–1070 BC) marked Egypt's militaristic era, expanding its influence across the known world. Religious shifts, notably sun worship, reflected evolving beliefs. However, Egypt's empire eventually led to overexpansion and decline, with successive invasions reshaping its political and social landscape (Iliffe, 2007, pp. 17-26).

During the Ottoman Empire, Egypt enjoyed a degree of autonomy as long as taxes were paid, allowing Egyptians to administer their affairs. However, the 17th and 18th centuries marked an economic decline for Egypt. Although Middle Eastern countries were part of the Ottoman Empire until World War I, Egypt's administration saw significant changes, with local leaders gaining power through property seizures and taxation. Western European colonization efforts in the late 19th century prompted the rise of the Egyptian national movement, advocating for reform against European influence. Despite being under Ottoman rule, local leaders like the Memluk Begs maintained political power, often challenging the Sultan's authority. Egypt faced foreign influences, notably from English and French imperialism, with Napoleon's campaign in 1798 marking the beginning of French colonial influence in Egypt. Despite attempts to communicate with Egyptians and legitimize the occupation, the French were eventually expelled in 1801, leading to Mehmet Ali Pasha's

influential reign in Egypt. As the Vali of Egypt, Mehmet Ali Pasha separated Egypt from the Ottoman administrative center, shaping its history profoundly (Islami, 2016, pp. 190-192).

During the Monarchy Period, Egypt, with its five-thousand-year history, emerged as the first modern state in the Arab world. Mehmet Ali Pasha, an Ottoman military representative, played a pivotal role in this transformation by implementing significant reforms comparable to the Tanzimat reforms. He effectively established Egypt as an independent entity separate from the Ottoman Empire, bolstering its autonomy and strength. However, the 19th century in Egypt was marked by various dimensions beyond Mehmet Ali Pasha's influence, although his military reforms were noteworthy. As Egypt increasingly asserted its independence from the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s, it drew the attention of the Great Powers, leading to a deepening of Mehmet Ali Pasha's authority. This era saw the gradual transition from communal land ownership to a private property system, particularly in agriculture. Despite not being of Arab descent, Mehmet Ali Pasha embraced cosmopolitan ideals, contributing to early Arab nationalist sentiments in Egypt. Following his reign, Abbas Pasha, Said Pasha, and Ismail Pasha assumed leadership roles, with Ismail Pasha notably embarking on policies that incurred significant debts for Egypt. In 1882, Colonel Ahmed Arabi led a revolt supported by reformist Arab intellectuals and discontented workers, challenging the status quo. This nationalist consciousness led to tensions between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, culminating in an agreement between the Ottoman Empire and England in 1885, granting England significant influence over Egyptian affairs. The outbreak of World War I further fueled Egyptian nationalism, prompting England to impose a protectorate on Egypt in 1914. Although Egypt gained formal independence in 1922, British control persisted, especially over the Suez Canal. King Farouk's reign saw a power struggle between the monarchy and the Wafd party, with the latter advocating for greater independence from British influence. The English-Egyptian agreement of 1936, while granting Egypt

membership in the Commonwealth of Nations, still hindered full independence. World War II intensified Egypt's role in global conflicts, further undermining British control. Ultimately, in 1952, the monarchy came to an end as a result of widespread discontent, paving the way for significant political changes in Egypt (Islami, 2016, pp. 192-194).

During Jamal Abdul Nasser's era (1952-1970), Egypt's foreign policy, mirroring the Soviet Union's, positioned the nation between global superpowers amid Arab resentment towards Western influence. Nasser's pragmatic stance, evident in actions like the Suez Canal's nationalization, reshaped Middle Eastern geopolitics despite challenges like the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. Anwar Sadat's succession in 1970 brought uncertainty, which he navigated through political maneuvers, emphasizing peace with Israel but facing opposition (Alissa, 2005, pp. 1-7). Subsequent leadership under Hosni Mubarak, starting in 1980, saw Egypt undergoing political and economic shifts amidst global democratic movements. While some progress was made in human rights, Mubarak's rule was marked by state control, economic challenges, and suppression of dissent, culminating in mass protests in 2011 and his eventual resignation (Islami, 2016, pp. 195-204).

Hence, Egypt, one of the world's earliest nation-states, gained independence from Britain in 1953, preceding Algeria, Nigeria, and South Africa. Egypt underwent three major shifts in economic policy from the late 20th century to the early 1990s. Initially, following independence, there was a move towards state-led industrialization under President Nasser. However, by 1973, President Sadat introduced the Infitah policy, aimed at attracting foreign investment and promoting private sector involvement. This led to rapid growth but also economic challenges by the mid-1980s, prompting the adoption of IMF and World Bank-backed stabilization policies (Ali, 2014, pp. 250-256). These shifts reflected changes in the role of the state, its approach to the economy, and its integration into the global market. Egypt's economic reforms since 1991 can be grouped into three generations. The first focused

on stabilization and successful privatization from 1991 to 1998. The second, spanning 1998 to 2004, emphasized trade and institutional measures. Since 2004, the third generation has intensified reforms, focusing on further liberalization, privatization, and financial sector improvements. These efforts aimed to enhance the economy's openness, fiscal position, and institutional transparency (Alissa, 2005, pp. 1-7). Despite its significant economy, political dominance by the military has led to periods of unrest. The Arab Spring in 2011 saw President Hosni Mubarak's resignation, followed by a brief Muslim Brotherhood presidency. Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, former head of the Egyptian Armed Forces, became president in 2014. Egypt has historically played a pivotal role in Arab nationalism and global independence movements. While recognized as a key North African country and a regional ally of the USA, its engagement with the African Union is limited (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, pp. 6-7).

b) Nigeria

Nigeria, officially referred to as the Federal Republic of Nigeria, is a prominent country in West Africa, characterized by its strategic geographical location (Adewale, 2011, pp. 1-8). Bordered by the Sahel to the north and the Gulf of Guinea to the south along the Atlantic Ocean, Nigeria covers an extensive area of 356,669 square miles, situated approximately between 30° and 150°E longitude and 40° and 140°N latitude (Ekundare, 1973, pp. 1-6). Its capital, Abuja, serves as the administrative center of the nation. With English designated as its official language, Nigeria boasts a rich linguistic diversity, with over 525 regional languages spoken across its vast expanse. Remarkably, Nigeria is home to a sizable population estimated at around 230,842,743 individuals, positioning it prominently as the 6th most populous country globally (Adewale, 2011, pp. 1-8).

Economically, it ranks 27th in total GDP (PPP), with a figure of USD1.365 trillion, while its per capita income stands at USD6,147, placing it 143rd worldwide. Nigeria's economy shows signs of improvement, with GDP growth reaching 2.8% in 2023 but falling

slightly behind population growth. Despite challenges like high inflation and currency weakness, GDP is projected to grow by 3.2% in 2024, buoyed by enhanced oil production and agricultural prospects (IMF, 2024). Agriculture is pivotal to Nigeria's economy, employing 70% of the labor force in 1970. The country is self-sufficient in food production and a major exporter of crops like groundnuts and cocoa. Rich in mineral resources, Nigeria has seen rapid industrial growth, aided by incentives for foreign investment. Transportation infrastructure has expanded, supporting trade growth, with petroleum oil exports bolstering the economy. Despite challenges, Nigeria's economy shows promise due to its resources, stability, and government initiatives (Ekundare, 1973, pp. 15-20). However, food insecurity affecting 8% of the population remains a key concern, prompting targeted social protection measures. While revenue collection and oil production have improved, low revenue mobilization constrains long-term development efforts, exacerbated by policies like fuel price caps and subsidized electricity tariffs, which may strain fiscal resources (IMF, 2024).

Before recent archaeological discoveries, Nigeria's history was considered largely unrecorded, but now evidence suggests a Paleolithic civilization existed in West Africa, adapting to primitive conditions and ironworking practices. Advanced civilizations emerged by A.D. 900, with trans-Saharan trade flourishing by A.D. 1000 (Ekundare, 1973, pp. 6-12). Nigeria gained independence in 1960, but by 1970, corruption, economic stagnation, and ethnic tensions destabilized the nation (Adewale, 2011, pp. 1-8; HEATON, 2008, pp. 158-160). Over 120 years, political transformations saw British involvement, leading to independence negotiations in 1959 and Nigeria's sovereignty in 1960. Political unrest followed, culminating in a civil war from 1967 to 1970 (Ekundare, 1973, pp. 12-15). Subsequently, frequent transitions between military and civilian rule characterized Nigeria's political landscape, often disrupting democratic processes and perpetuating instability (Baba, 2015, pp. 115-121).

Thus, leading up to independence, Nigeria's political landscape was dominated by three regional parties: the Northern People's Congress (NPC), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and Action Group (AG). Despite regional tensions, a coalition government formed in 1960 with Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as Head of State. However, in 1966, a coup led to political instability. The Second Republic began in 1979, transitioning to civilian rule under President Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Babangida's regime attempted democratic transition but faced challenges. The Fourth Republic started in 1999 under President Olusegun Obasanjo (the People's Democratic Party [PDP]), marked by elections marred by irregularities. Subsequent elections showed improvements, with the 2015 election being particularly peaceful (Mu'awiyya, 2017, pp. 1-21). Therefore, Nigeria, renowned for its vast economic potential, faces distinct challenges among the Big Five countries. Despite experiencing military rule for 33 years since gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria's economy heavily relies on its oil sector, hampering diversification efforts. Political complexity and violence, fueled by ethnic and social divisions, along with pervasive corruption, hinder effective governance. Despite economic promise, Nigeria's global influence is curtailed by internal conflicts, such as the ongoing battle against Boko Haram. While it plays a significant role in West Africa and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Nigeria's influence in Africa has waned. A coherent foreign policy is needed to restore its prominence (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, pp. 7-8).

c) Ethiopia

Ethiopia, officially known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, is a landlocked nation situated in the Horn of Africa region of East Africa. The capital and largest city of Ethiopia is Addis Ababa. The country boasts a diverse linguistic landscape, with Afar, Amharic, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya recognized as official languages, while Harari and

Sidama are among the regional languages spoken. Covering a total area of 1,112,000 square kilometers (429,000 square miles), Ethiopia is the 26th largest country in the world by land area. Situated in the northeastern part of Africa, its geographical proximity to the Middle East and Europe, along with convenient access to major regional ports, facilitates international trade. Ethiopia shares borders with Sudan to the west, Somalia and Djibouti to the east, Eritrea to the north, and Kenya to the south. (Embassy of Ethiopia, Washington, DC, 2022). As of the 2023 estimate, the population of Ethiopia stood at approximately 127,955,823, making it the 13th most populous country globally (Blanchard, 2021, pp. 1-2). In terms of nominal GDP, the 2024 estimate indicates a total of USD205.130 billion, with a per capita income of USD1,910 (INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, 2024).

Ethiopia's governance has undergone significant shifts over the years. From the Imperial Regime under Emperor Haile Selassie I (1930-1974), which focused on modernization efforts and saw modest economic growth, to the socialist Derg regime (1974-1991) characterized by economic repression and internal conflict, and finally to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) regime since 1991, marked by market liberalization and regional dominance (Geda, 2007, pp. 1-5). Despite brief periods of disruption, such as the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941 and a failed coup attempt in 1960, Ethiopia maintained relative stability under the monarchy. However, internal challenges led to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974, with military officers seizing control and embracing socialism. This shift altered Ethiopia's geopolitical alliances, as it severed ties with the USA and turned to the Soviet Union for support. These transitions have been influenced by factors such as land ownership, socio-economic disparities, and external pressures, shaping Ethiopia's economic trajectory over time (Agyeman-Duah, 1985, pp. 18-23).

Ethiopia underwent a significant political transition in the 1990s, moving from Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime to the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which included the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Despite attempts by opposition parties, the EPRDF, with TPLF's involvement, established dominance, evident in well-managed elections in May 1995 (Lyons, 1996, pp. 121-122). This period saw the introduction of a new constitution and a federal system based on ethnic identities. The EPRDF maintained control, with opposition parties facing challenges in challenging their authority (Smith, 2007, p. 3). Besides, the May 2005 election in Ethiopia brought significant changes to the political landscape. Opposition parties formed coalitions and campaigned vigorously, aided by agreements allowing access to media and international aid. Despite challenges, the National Electoral Board mediated disputes, and international observers added legitimacy. Televised debates informed voters on key issues, while civil society organizations played a crucial role in education. Although the opposition gained parliamentary seats, disputes over results led to violent clashes after premature victory claims by both sides (Smith, 2007, pp. 4-5).

Since the 2005 election, on the one hand, civil society in Ethiopia has played a pivotal role in democratic processes, fostering debate, promoting civic education, and advocating for rights. However, post-election violence and government repression have undermined these gains. Authorities targeted civil society leaders and political figures, signaling a crackdown on free expression and political activity perceived as challenging the regime. A revised NGO law is expected in 2007, potentially limiting NGOs to social roles, hindering their involvement in democratic education. Media freedom has also regressed, with a near-complete blackout imposed post-election, exacerbating reliance on rumor mills. The crackdown on private press has worsened, earning Ethiopia a reputation as a press freedom backslider. On the other hand, Ethiopia's political opposition has also faced internal divisions

and challenges. The split in the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) led to the formation of the Coalition of Unity and Democracy Party (CUDP), while other parties also experienced turmoil. A new coalition, the Alliance for Freedom and Democracy (AFD), emerged but remained inactive. The future of Ethiopian politics depends on opposition engagement in Parliament, although their impact has been limited. International donors have provided support through training programs for opposition leaders (Smith, 2007, pp. 6-8).

Additionally, Ethiopia's economic growth contrasts with its struggle for democratic freedoms, often met with repression. Despite strides in food security, challenges persist in democratization. The nation's history includes the oppressive Derg regime (1974-1991), yet even after a political shift in 1991, authoritarian tendencies endure. While its GDP per capita ranks low, Ethiopia actively participates in regional peacekeeping. Unique among African nations for avoiding colonization, hosting the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa shields it from external scrutiny (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, p. 6). In recent years, Ethiopia has experienced rural poverty alongside urban economic growth, with initiatives like the Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015-2020) focusing on agriculture and industry. However, internal political tensions, exemplified by Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn's 2018 resignation, underscore ongoing challenges (Mesin, 2018, pp. 1-6).

Hence, in post Arab-Spring, the political transition in Ethiopia was catalyzed by widespread protests from November 2015 to October 2016, prompting a state of emergency until August 2017. The movement, initially sparked by opposition to centralized urban planning in Addis Ababa, spread across regions, leading to violent crackdowns and thousands detained. The state of emergency exacerbated tensions within the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) coalition, leading to Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn's resignation in February 2018, succeeded by Abiy Ahmed. Abiy's leadership saw a shift in the coalition's dynamics, culminating in the formation of the

Ethiopian Prosperity Party (EPP) in 2019, consolidating power but also raising concerns over regional identities. The merger process caused rifts within parties, notably the Tigray People's Liberation Front's (TPLF) exit. Abiy's governance style, characterized by unilateral decisions and centralization of power, has faced challenges amid ongoing reforms, economic strains, and regional tensions, posing significant tests to Ethiopia's transition legitimacy, particularly ahead of the 2020 elections (mosley, 2020, pp. 1-9).

2.2. The Historical Evolution of US Policy Towards Africa

The USA has significant security, economic, and political interests in Africa, but its success in pursuing them has been inconsistent. In terms of security, the USA collaborates with African partners to combat violent extremist groups across the continent, such as al-Shabab in the Horn of Africa and Boko Haram in Nigeria. Despite discussions about reducing military personnel, the USA Department of Defense maintains between six and seven thousand troops in Africa, with Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti serving as its main base. The USA has also several smaller outposts across Africa. However, there are concerns about the increasing militarization of U.S. Africa policy and the dominance of military efforts over other aspects of governance. Beyond counterterrorism, the USA contributes significantly to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa and engages in military training and capacity-building initiatives. The USA Navy also plays a role in countering piracy and ensuring maritime security around the African continent (Gavin, 2021, pp. 4-5). Thus, USA interests and involvement in Africa during the colonial era, Cold War dynamics with interventions and aid, and shifts in US policy towards Africa post-Cold War, including the promotion of democracy and human rights, comprise key aspects of the colonial legacy.

a) Colonial Legacy

Throughout Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency from 1933 to 1945, his administration initially took a strong anti-colonial stance, exemplified by initiatives like the Atlantic Charter. However, Roosevelt's actions often aligned pragmatically with British interests, revealing the complexities of USA involvement in Africa during colonial times. Despite rhetorical support for broader colonial areas, Roosevelt's limited influence over British policies, notably in India, showcased the constraints of USA leverage. Additionally, Roosevelt's proposal for an international trusteeship system aimed at ending colonial rule reflected concessions to colonial powers' interests and geopolitical realities. The failed attempt at a declaration on colonies marked Roosevelt's retreat from his initial anti-colonial stance, shifting towards advocating self-government and socioeconomic improvement in colonial territories. His anticolonial sentiment was influenced by a visit to The Gambia in 1943, where he witnessed stark exploitation under British rule, advocating for improved living conditions and economic development. However, factors complicating Roosevelt's anticolonial stance included his focus on global war and domestic concerns, which often detracted from his efforts. Despite this, Roosevelt's vision of trusteeship aimed at legitimising US interests globally rather than facilitating colonial independence, influenced by strategic concerns during World War II and the emerging Cold War (Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 506-518).

During Truman's time in office (1945-1953), USA foreign policy shifted to focus on containing Soviet influence, pushing aside concerns about ending colonial rule. The government leaned towards a Eurocentric approach, supporting Western colonial powers to counter communism. Truman's decisions, influenced by Secretary of State Acheson's favoritism towards Britain, saw Africa as strategically important for Western power. The consul general's opinions depicted Africans as not ready for self-rule, reflecting the administration patronizing stance. Truman's era saw a shift away from previous support for

ending colonialism, due to the demands of the Cold War and practical alliances (Schmidt, 2018, pp. 1-18). Acheson's admiration for European imperialism, particularly Britain's dominance, greatly influenced Truman's approach to Africa. Acheson and his assistant McGhee advocated for European guidance for Africans, dismissing calls for independence as misguided. This Eurocentric viewpoint, colored by racial biases and loyalties, shaped Truman's policy, which aimed to protect European colonial interests as a way to oppose communism. This stance was evident in the administration's support for French and British colonial control in Africa, prioritizing stability over decolonization. With Acheson and McGhee in influential roles, Truman's diplomacy closely aligned with European powers, ensuring a cooperative relationship between the USA and Africa's colonial rulers (Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 518-524).

b) Cold War Dynamics

During the Cold War era, the USA got involved with Africa while grappling with its own strategic dilemmas. At first, Africa was seen mainly as a way to help Europe recover economically after World War II. But as the Cold War heated up, Africa became more politically important. America had to balance its need for African support with its alliances with European colonial powers. While the USA wanted to show colonialism in a positive light during the Cold War, it eventually went back to working with the colonial powers to achieve common goals like promoting self-government (Schmidt, 2018, pp. 5-16). This strategy, developed during the later part of President Eisenhower's administration (1953-1961), aimed to find a middle ground in the Cold War while also building beneficial relationships with African countries. (Kent, 2005, pp. 195–220).

During John F. Kennedy's presidency from 1961 to 1963, USA policy towards Angola reflected a delicate balance between supporting self-determination and maintaining strategic alliances, particularly with Portugal and NATO. Initially sympathetic to Angolan

nationalists, concerns over Portugal's NATO membership and the importance of the Azores bases led to a more cautious approach by 1962. The USA tempered its criticism of Portugal at the UN and sought to mend relations with Lisbon, abstaining from UN votes on Angola in 1963, a move influenced by NATO cohesion and strategic interests. This period revealed the complexities of navigating diplomatic objectives alongside strategic considerations, as Kennedy leaned towards preserving relations with Portugal to safeguard the Azores bases, highlighting a strategic alignment with European interests in USA-Africa relations (Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 524-544). It is also noted that, post-World War II, African nationalists pushed for independence, largely achieved by the early 1960s, however, challenges persisted, including state-centered economies, ethnic conflicts, and Cold War dynamics fueling authoritarian regimes.

c) Post-Cold War Era

Since the era of Bill Clinton, the USA has focused on promoting trade and investment in Africa, particularly highlighting the opportunities arising from the continent's growing middle class. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of 2000 initially boosted trade between Africa and the USA, but progress has been uneven since then (Gilbert, 2009, pp. 264-277). Factors such as changes in energy markets and slower African growth have contributed to a significant decline in U.S. trade and investment in Africa over the past decade, now accounting for less than 1.5 percent of U.S. global trade and less than 1 percent of US foreign direct investment (Gavin, 2021, p. 5). During the 21st century, the Bush administration prioritized addressing the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan, through significant financial aid, peacekeeping support, and diplomatic engagement. With over USD 5 billion in assistance since 2005, including USD 3.7 billion for Darfur, the USA leads global humanitarian responses. This aid encompasses critical services despite challenges like banditry and bureaucratic hurdles. Additionally, the USA supports the deployment of 26,000

peacekeepers under UNAMID, contributing over USD 600 million since 2004 for peacekeeping operations. Economic sanctions aim to pressure Khartoum to end the conflict. Diplomatically, the USA backs political negotiations for a lasting solution, supporting the UN-AU mediator and advocating for ceasefire mechanisms. President Bush's appointment of a Special Envoy underscores US commitment to resolving the crisis (The White House, 2009)

Similarly, since the Obama presidency, through the Trump administration, and now into the Biden administration, US policies in Africa in the post-Arab Spring era have undergone notable shifts. Barack Obama's presidency raised hopes for significant changes both domestically and internationally, particularly in Africa, but many successful policies from the Bush administration persisted, shaping Obama's foreign policy towards Africa amidst global expectations and domestic pressures (Katito, 2009, pp. 145-152). The Trump administration marked changes in US-Africa relations, emphasizing security and counterterrorism amid growing global competition for influence in Africa (Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-2). Now, under the Biden administration, there's a renewed focus on strengthening partnerships with African countries, recognizing Africa's growing influence on global affairs and addressing key issues such as democracy, security, trade, and development. Amidst evolving challenges and opportunities, the USA is adapting its approach to engage with Africa, recognized its increasing global influence across various sectors (The White House, 2022).

2.3. The Historical Evolution of Chinese Policy towards Africa

The dynamics of power and development are undergoing transformation, notably with the emergence of China, India, and Brazil challenging Western dominance through their significant economic growth and expanding diplomatic relations with Southern partners

across Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Lum, 2008, pp. 113-33). These changes have sparked academic and policy debates on “China’s rise,” focusing on its demand for raw materials, foreign aid programs, trade negotiations, and diplomatic activities in various regions. Specifically analyzing Sino-African relations, China’s presence evokes a mix of opportunities and challenges for African countries, with implications for different sectors and actors. While concerns persist regarding China's support for authoritarian regimes and its impact on local economies, there are also signs of Chinese government responsiveness to public image concerns in Africa. As China strengthens economic and diplomatic ties with African nations, its actions are closely observed, especially in terms of its interests and policies in the region (Mawdsley, 2007, pp. 405-408).

a) China’s Influence in 20th Century Africa

China’s diplomatic ties with Africa, dating back to the Bandung Conference in 1955, have been driven by political interests. Amid the Cold War, Africa became a crucial ally for China, sharing common struggles against colonialism and imperialism. During the 1960s, China strategically deployed foreign aid to vie for African support amid global competition. Landmark projects, like the Tanzania-Zambia Railway in the 1970s, underscored China's commitment despite economic challenges. Diplomatic recognition from African nations has been pivotal for China's political legitimacy, particularly evident during the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. Additionally, China actively sought to counter Taiwan’s diplomatic presence in Africa, resulting in significant diplomatic victories since 1996 (SUN, 2014, pp. 1-5).

Historically, Sino-African relations have undergone significant shifts since 1949, delineated into three key periods: the Mao years (1949-1976), Deng Xiaoping's first decade (1978-1989), and the post-Tiananmen Square era (from 1989) (Mawdsley, 2007, pp. 408-415). Initially, China's engagement with Africa focused on promoting social revolution and

supporting anti-colonial liberation movements, driven by ideological imperatives and the need to secure allies in international forums like the UN. Economic assistance during this period primarily comprised technical support and infrastructure projects. However, Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic approach in the late 1970s and 1980s prioritized economic growth over ideology, leading to a decline in ideological considerations and a focus on China's domestic modernization. The events of Tiananmen Square in 1989 marked a turning point, prompting China to seek political allies, including African nations, amidst Western isolation. This period saw increased high-level diplomatic engagement and aid to Africa. In recent years, driven by its booming economy, China has significantly increased trade, investment, and joint ventures with African countries, particularly focusing on resource acquisition. This economic engagement has further strengthened Sino-African relations, reflecting China's shift toward international engagement and cooperation (Mawdsley, 2007, pp. 408-415).

b) Sino-Africa Relations: 21st Century Dynamics

China's extensive economic involvement in Africa is accompanied by varying political and military engagement. Preceding the Belt and Road Initiative, China has been a significant partner in infrastructure and financing, convening regular Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) meetings since 2000. China's dominance in African trade since 2009 has reshaped the continent's economic landscape, although concerns linger over financing terms and debt levels. Technological and military presence, exemplified by companies like Huawei and ZTE and the establishment of a base in Djibouti, underscore China's strategic approach. This differs from Western models, emphasizing non-interference and cultivating relationships with ruling parties, aligning with China's vision for global governance outlined in its 2015 Africa policy white paper (Gavin, 2021, pp. 7-9).

c) Economic Diplomacy

China's involvement in Africa, notably in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, encompasses resource acquisition, market expansion, and geopolitical interests. Seeking vital resources like chromium and cobalt, China has engaged in mining agreements and acquisitions in countries such as South Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Africa's growing market serves as an outlet for China amid rising labor costs at home, with trade between China and Africa witnessing substantial growth. However, controversies arise, such as labor exploitation concerns in Chinese-operated factories in Ethiopia. China strategically leverages policies like the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) to expand its influence in Africa, showcasing a nuanced approach to economic engagement. Despite criticisms, Chinese infrastructure projects in Africa, including those in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, are generally seen as beneficial, providing an alternative to Western aid-driven initiatives. However, the true impact and sustainability of these projects remain subjects of ongoing scrutiny and debate (Rice, 2023, pp. 1-4).

The debate within China over whether political or economic interests should take precedence in its Africa strategy has been ongoing. While Chinese officials historically emphasized political ties over economic gains, the prioritization has shifted over time. Initially, from 1949 to 1979, China's economic engagement in Africa was primarily politically motivated, aiming to build diplomatic relations and garner support for its global position. However, with the onset of reform and opening up in 1979, China began to prioritize economic development, gradually transitioning towards mutually beneficial economic cooperation with Africa. This shift culminated in the introduction of the "Going Out" strategy in 1996, endorsed as a national strategy in 2000. Africa became a focal point due to its abundant natural resources and potential as a market for Chinese goods, especially amid the 2008 international financial crisis. Additionally, Africa's labor resources offered an

opportunity for China to upgrade its industrial economy. Thus, economic considerations increasingly shaped China's engagement with Africa alongside its political agenda (SUN, 2014, pp. 5-7).

d) Belt and Road Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) gained traction in Africa during the tenure of CCP general secretary Hu Jintao (2002–12), who espoused China as a paradigm and frontrunner for the developing world through international engagement and the doctrine of “peaceful development” abroad. In light of the 2007–8 global financial crisis, Hu endeavoured to propagate the “China Model” of development to the Third World as an alternative to the Western Model, allocating resources to Africa to back initiatives aligned with this ethos. By the early 2010s, Hu and his successor, Xi Jinping, aimed to amplify Chinese economic expansion and bolster China’s global stature. This led to the amalgamation of Hu’s domestic “Develop the West” strategy with the broader international framework of the BRI. The BRI had noteworthy implications for Africa, as Chinese foreign direct investment in the continent surged from USD75 million to USD3.37 billion between 2003 and 2013. The initiative sought to furnish physical infrastructure to African nations, thereby augmenting China’s prestige as a trailblazer of the Third World. Nevertheless, China grappled with the imperative to strike a delicate balance with its investments, averting perceptions of exploitation while simultaneously fulfilling the BRI’s aim of cultivating development that ultimately serves China’s interests. This equilibrium was achieved through the implementation of minerals-for-infrastructure agreements facilitated by the BRI (Rice, 2023, pp. 1-4; Freitas, 2023, pp. 1-8).

e) Criticisms and Controversies

China’s approach in Africa has evolved over time to secure access to vital resources. Initially, in the 1990s, driven by the need for steel in domestic projects, China invested in African mining due to a scarcity of chromium, essential for steel manufacturing. This led to

acquisitions such as Sinosteel Corporation's purchase of South Africa's Dilokong chromite mine in 1997. Subsequently, China turned its attention to cobalt and copper rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to support technological advancements, aligning with Hu Jintao's vision for domestic development. The 2007 Sino Congolaise des Mines (Sicomines) deal exemplified this strategy, aiming to fund infrastructure through mining revenue. However, delays and controversy arose, revealing amended terms favoring Chinese firms. Nonetheless, China touts Sicomines as a success story under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Freitas, 2023, pp. 1-11), emphasizing mutual benefits. This mineral-for-infrastructure trade highlights China's position as a leader in alternative development models. Despite initial promise, adjustments to projects ensure profitability, potentially causing dissatisfaction among African nations. BRI loans now prioritize sectors like transportation, electricity, and ICT, laying the groundwork for future resource access (Rice, 2023, pp. 1-4).

China's expanding presence in Africa confronts security challenges, as approximately 1 million Chinese residents face threats from criminal attacks, political instability, and piracy, endangering their safety and Chinese investments amid regime changes and civil conflicts. Ensuring the protection of its nationals is paramount for China's legitimacy and economic interests, despite existing reliance on embassies for support, with concerns persisting over understaffing. Enhanced security measures are imperative to safeguard Chinese interests on the continent (SUN, 2014, pp. 7-10). Therefore, to understand China's engagement in Africa through Raul Prebisch's Dominancy Theory reveals concerns of neocolonialism, reflecting fears of resource dominance and geopolitical influence. Neocolonial dynamics underscore China's strategic maneuvers to control African resources and economic structures through financial agreements, investment strategies, and infrastructure projects, perpetuating a narrative of dependency. Despite China's emphasis on cooperation and non-interference,

questions persist about power dynamics and sovereignty in Africa's developmental path (Freitas, 2023, pp. 1-11).

2.4. Application of Dependency Theory to US and Chinese Policies in Post-Arab Spring Africa

Dependency theory, explained by scholars such as Raul Prebisch, provides an important way to understand why power and resources are distributed unequally worldwide, especially between richer “core” countries and poorer “periphery” countries (Romaniuk, 2017; Prebisch, 1950). Dependency theory argues that the underdevelopment of poorer countries in the Global South is not because they lack skills or are culturally behind, but because of historical and structural reasons rooted in how richer countries in the Global North have set up economic relationships. Important ideas in Dependency theory include how core countries dominate peripheral ones and how peripheral countries depend on selling raw materials (Ferraro, *Dependency Theory: An Introduction*, 1996). According to this theory, richer countries exploit poorer ones through things like unfair trade, changing trade terms, and interventions that keep poorer countries dependent. This leaves poorer countries stuck in jobs like exporting raw materials, losing money through capital leaving the country, and relying on loans that they struggle to repay.

a) Analysis of US Policies

USA policies towards Africa have often reflected and perpetuated Dependency theory dynamics, despite rhetorical commitments to democracy, human rights, and development. Historically, USA engagement in Africa has been characterized by economic exploitation, political interference, and military interventions aimed at securing American strategic interests and access to resources. Dependency theorists argue that USA aid and investment in Africa have often served to entrench dependency rather than foster genuine development,

perpetuating a cycle of underdevelopment and marginalization. One example of how USA policies in Africa reflect Dependency theory principles is through the promotion of neoliberal economic reforms that prioritize market liberalization, privatization, and deregulation. These policies, often promoted through institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, have facilitated the penetration of USA corporations and financial institutions into African markets, exacerbating economic dependency and widening income inequalities.

b) Analysis of Chinese Policies

China's approach to Africa, characterized by economic diplomacy, infrastructure investment, and resource extraction, has also been examined through the perspective of Dependency theory. While China portrays itself as a partner for mutual development and cooperation between countries in the Global South, critics argue that its involvement in Africa maintains dependency and strengthens existing inequalities in economic power. One aspect of China's strategy in Africa that reflects Dependency theory is its focus on extracting resources and exporting primary commodities. Chinese investment in African industries like mining and oil extraction often follows a pattern of unfair exchange, where raw materials are sold to China at low prices, while finished products are bought back by Africa at higher costs. This pattern sustains dependency and reinforces Africa's role as a provider of inexpensive raw materials to the global market.

c) Comparative Analysis

When we compare how the USA and China deal with Africa, we see both similarities and differences in how they fit into Dependency theory. Both countries' actions in Africa make the continent rely on them economically and create unequal relationships, but they do it in different ways. The USA does this via military actions, giving money, and pushing for certain economic policies that benefit American companies. China, on the other hand, does it by investing in African infrastructure, making trade deals, and taking resources from Africa to

help its own economy grow. However, there are also differences in how they do it. The USA often ties its help to African countries to certain political rules and wanting them to become more democratic, while China focuses more on just helping with economic stuff like building roads and bridges without getting too involved in politics. This shows that each country has its own reasons and goals for how they deal with Africa.

2.5. Conclusion

Africa's significant role in today's geopolitics, characterized by its wealth of resources, large population, and strategic importance, underscores the intense rivalry between the USA and China for global dominance. This competition is particularly evident in Africa, where both nations closely monitor each other's economic activities, fearing repercussions on governance, debt, and commercial interests. The chapter meticulously examines the historical evolution and comparative evaluation of US and Chinese policies towards Africa, especially pre-Arab Spring, with a focus on Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. The Arab Spring, catalyzing transformative political movements across the Arab world and parts of Africa, fundamentally altered the region's political landscape, sparking discussions on governance, democracy, and sovereignty. This period of upheaval highlights the intricate interplay of economic, social, and political factors that led to the Arab Spring, reflecting the diverse causes underlying Africa's developmental challenges. Additionally, analyzing US and Chinese policies in Africa through the lens of Dependency theory illuminates global power dynamics and their impact on Africa's development path, raising concerns about neocolonialism and geopolitical influence. As Africa navigates its position amid superpower competition, promoting transparency, accountability, and local ownership in engagements with external partners becomes essential. African nations must leverage their strategic importance to negotiate favorable terms, emphasizing unity and solidarity to assert their agency amidst evolving

global power dynamics. Ultimately, comprehending the nuances of US-China-Africa relations and their effects on Africa's sustainable development and global integration remains crucial, requiring further research and analysis in this ever-changing geopolitical environment.

CHAPTER THREE

CHINA'S POLICIES TOWARDS THE POST ARAB SPRING AFRICA

3. Introduction

In recent years, China's influence in Africa has grown significantly, with massive economic, political, and military engagements. China's increasing engagement is motivated by strategic goals such as securing natural resources, strengthening geopolitical power, and fostering economic partnerships across the continent (Cheru & Obi, 2010, pp. 1-25). China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) aims to strengthen interconnectivity and economic cooperation with African countries. China has established itself as an important development partner for several African countries by making significant investments in infrastructure, mining, and manufacturing. This influence reaches beyond commercial activity into diplomatic endeavors and cultural interactions, increasing China's prominence in the region (Alden & Large, 2019, pp. 1-23).

There are several reasons why China's post-Arab Spring strategy in Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt needs to be addressed. Because of their large populations, potential for economic expansion, and strategic positions, these countries wield significant power throughout Africa. Egypt is an important North African country that controls the Suez Canal, a crucial international commercial route, and wields considerable power in regional affairs. Nigeria is a major oil exporter and a prominent player in West African geopolitics. It boasts Africa's greatest population and economy. The African Union's headquarters are in Ethiopia, a rapidly rising country in the Horn of Africa that also serves as a gateway to East Africa (Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 45-48). Understanding China's relationships with these countries sheds light on the various implications of its policies and provides insights into larger continental dynamics. These countries saw substantial sociopolitical shifts during the

Arab Spring, which make them valuable case studies for assessing the impact of external pressures on their development pathways.

This chapter applies Raul Prebisch's Dependency Theory to analyze China's policy in Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt using a case study approach. According to dependency theory, developing countries' economic circumstances are greatly impacted by their reliance on more developed countries, which leads to an uneven distribution of gains and the continuation of patterns of inequality and underdevelopment (Prebisch, 1950, pp. 1-9). The chapter attempts to critically examine whether China's involvement in these countries exacerbates these dynamics or promotes real mutual growth by adopting this theoretical framework. Besides, this chapter also examines China's involvement in these three countries to see whether it is a legitimate relationship that encourages mutual growth or a form of neocolonialism. It focus on the areas in which China intends to participate in Africa, the consequences of FDI on traditional social and political systems, and how China's investments and diplomatic efforts affect local economies, governance frameworks, and social fabrics. It will also consider the broader geopolitical implications of China's expanding influence in post-Arab Spring Africa. Using this theoretical perspective, the chapter seeks to improve a grasp on the power dynamics at work and to highlights the complexities of Sino-African relations.

3.1.China's Engagement with Africa: A Historical Analysis

Historically, China has been involved in Africa for centuries, beginning with trade and exploration-oriented relations in the early years. During the Ming Dynasty, Chinese explorer Zheng He (1371-1433) made multiple trips to Africa's eastern coast in the early 15th century, establishing early diplomatic and commercial links. These initial connections laid the groundwork for subsequent interactions characterized by common interests and collaboration (Eisenman, 2012, pp. 20-29). In the middle of the 20th century, formal diplomatic contacts

were established, with China assisting numerous African countries in their fights against colonial dominance. The first major Asian-African conference, held at Bandung in 1955, was a watershed moment in Sino-African relations, highlighting the common anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideas held by China and the fledgling African republics (Ogunsanwo, 1974, pp. 15-23).

Similarly, China's economic involvement in Africa has grown since the late 20th century, mostly due to its need for natural resources to support its rapid economic growth. In 2000, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was established with the aim of formalizing economic connections and promoting trade, investment, and development aid between African nations and China (Chun, 2013, pp. 1-15; Gavin, 2021, pp. 2-9; Naidu, 2007, pp. 283-294). China has emerged as one of Africa's main trading partners due to a huge growth in trade volumes. China has made investments in the mining, manufacturing, infrastructure development, and oil extraction sectors often in the form of grants and concessional loans. China has also contributed to the development of Africa's emerging countries by constructing hospitals, schools, and other essential infrastructure that boosts economic expansion and lowers poverty (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 61-67). The long-term effects of these investments on Africa's economic independence and sustainability of development, however, have generated discussion.

In terms of politics, China has maintained strong diplomatic ties with African countries, seeing their independent and territorial integrity (Konings, 2007, pp. 341-367; Lum, 2008, pp. 113-123). This backing dates way back to the 1960s and 1970s, when China vigorously backed anti-colonial movements and liberation efforts in countries such as Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Schmidt, 2013, pp. 1-33). China's strong position against colonialism and imperialism resonated with countless African leaders, promoting a sense of solidarity and collaboration. (Muekalia, 2004, pp. 5-11). China's

political ties with Africa have been marked in recent years by high-level visits, bilateral agreements, and membership in multilateral organizations such as the African Union. African leaders have found China's non-interference policy particularly intriguing since it offers an alternative to Western methods to engagement, which frequently include rigid political and economic constraints. This program has increased China's political influence in Africa, allowing it to form and retain critical relationships throughout the continent (Alden & Large, 2019, pp. 56-67; Lum, 2008, pp. 114-123).

Therefore, it is necessary to understand and analyze China's policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, along with Africa as a whole, in order to follow the dependency theory and China's engagement in these countries comprehensively.

a) China's Policies in Egypt

China and Egypt have had a long-standing diplomatic connection since 1956, when Egypt became the first African and Arab country to formally establish diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China. Their connection has evolved over time in response to local and global political developments. During the Cold War, both countries strengthened their cooperation by promoting anti-imperialist causes and a new world order based on non-alignment and mutual respect (Shinn, 2012, pp. 41-55). This historical basis established the framework for strong political and economic collaboration in the current age. China has had a considerable economic impact in Egypt, as seen by its large investments and infrastructural projects. By the way of illustration, one of the best examples of China's influence on Egypt's development is the building of the country's new administrative capital outside of Cairo. Chinese companies, such the China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC), are leading a number of projects. One of these is the construction of the new capital's core business area, which will include government buildings and skyscrapers. These programmes

complement China's BRI, which aims to increase trade and connectivity throughout Africa and around the globe (Sun, 2014).

China's growing economic connections with Egypt are politically significant, particularly given the events of the Arab Spring. Beijing's ideals of non-interference and respect for Egypt's sovereignty are consistent with the Egyptian government's goals and offer an alternative to Western techniques that frequently impede human rights and political freedom. China has made major financial investments in Egypt's economy to support industrial and infrastructure projects (Large, 2008, pp. 45-61). However, due of the heavy reliance on Chinese loans, concerns about potential debt dependency have arisen. For instance, China's strategy in Egypt, which prioritises economic cooperation above political conditions, contrasts with Western countries' engagement, which frequently emphasises democratic governance and human rights reforms. Egypt appreciates China's pragmatic support in maintaining political stability and control. In contrast to China's commercial-driven approach, regional players like Saudi Arabia and the UAE connect their investments with political and geopolitical interests (Schuyt, 2017, pp. 1-22).

China's influence in Egypt has grown significantly in the diplomatic, cultural, and economic spheres since the Arab Spring. China has invested heavily in important projects like the Suez Canal Economic Zone, which is expected to become a major hub for global logistics. Both nations have committed to enhancing their bilateral relations through a number of high-level diplomatic encounters. China actively promotes its language and culture through programmes like cultural exchanges and Confucius Institutes. These initiatives have improved bilateral relations while also strengthening China's soft power in Egypt, fostering an environment that is favourable to further cooperation (Shambaugh, 2015, pp. 99-107).

b) China's Policies in Nigeria

China and Nigeria have had a complex connection that includes political, cultural, and economic aspects since their diplomatic relations were established in 1971 (Ogunkola, 2008, pp. 1-17). China's rising resource demand has resulted in significant investments in Nigeria's oil industry by companies like the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), as well as infrastructure projects led by the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC). This cooperation, which began as Cold War support, has developed to meet current demands. Notable projects include power plants and railroads, which help Nigeria's economy flourish. The complexities of this bilateral engagement are underscored by the fact that these efforts raise concerns about the debt's sustainability and its impacts on environment (Ogunkola, 2008, pp. 5-15).

China's investments in Nigeria have enhanced connectivity, boosted the construction industry, and created job opportunities via infrastructure development and technology development. Despite this, concerns about the quality of the jobs produced, the loss of localised industries, and the feasibility of the debt incurred for these projects remain barriers (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 140-152). Nigeria's reliance on Chinese investment, notwithstanding the benefits, raises the risk of debt dependency and potential environmental damage. Furthermore, political instability may imperil the continuation of ongoing projects and investments, highlighting the complex dynamics of China-Nigeria cooperation in the aftermath of the Arab Spring (Taylor, 2010, pp. 50-65).

Thus, China's influence on Nigeria's prosperity has had both positive and negative consequences. Chinese investments have improved infrastructure and fueled economic growth through programmes such as the Lekki Free Trade Zone and industrial parks, which aim to enhance exports and manufacturing. However, the long-term ramifications for economic diversification and poverty alleviation remain unclear. Although there have been

considerable infrastructure improvements, it remains unclear how these changes will effect poverty reduction and economic diversification in general. According to dependency theory, these investments will increase Nigeria's dependence on foreign capital and primary exports, potentially perpetuating the country's current structural imbalances. Nigeria must find a careful balance between these aspects to ensure sustainable development (Prebisch, 1950, pp. 15-25).

c) China's Policies in Ethiopia

Since their diplomatic establishment in the 1970s, China and Ethiopia have had substantial growth in the twenty-first century. Ethiopia is a critical partner of China in Africa because of its strategic importance and resistance to colonial power. This collaboration has been highlighted through high-level visits and bilateral agreements (Shinn D. H., 2014, pp. 149-164). China is a major contributor in Ethiopia's infrastructure development, with efforts such as the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway and industrial parks helping Ethiopia achieve its industrialization aspirations. Ethiopia expects that these projects would help it transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy, encouraging commerce and urban mobility while creating jobs (Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9).

Additionally, China's engagement in Ethiopia has both beneficial and detrimental socio-political effects. Despite the fact that Chinese investments have fueled infrastructure development, job creation, and economic growth, large loans from China have raised questions about the sustainability of debt. Besides, Ethiopia gains from China's non-interference policy, which permits it to pursue growth on its own, although this may disregard problems with human rights and governance (Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 71-79). This combination may strengthen authoritarian inclinations and obstruct the advancement of democracy. China's investments in Africa complement its actions in Ethiopia, but Ethiopia's economic ambitions and strategic relevance draw special attention because they prioritise

industrialization above resource extraction, which is the priority of other African countries (Hackenesch, 2018, pp. 5-22, 100-109).

In this context, we can assumed that China's engagement with Ethiopia has brought about differing consequences. Infrastructure projects such as industrial parks and railroads have the potential to transform the economy, however they also come with significant prices and debt obligations. Ethiopia's reliance on Chinese finance raises concerns about the country's economic independence and the long-term repercussions of its indebtedness. Furthermore, China's investments reflect Ethiopia's broader economic involvement, despite its preference for industry and agriculture over resource extraction, distinguishing it from other African countries. This technique is compatible with dependency theory, which suggests that while China fosters growth, it may also increase economic reliance (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 129-137).

Despite China's long-standing foreign policy principle of non-interference and non-intervention, recent developments show an increased interest in African affairs, particularly in the Horn region. China's engagement includes acting as a patron for Sudan, participating in peacekeeping missions, and establishing its first overseas military base in Djibouti. Additionally, China has expanded its involvement in various sectors in Ethiopia (Ayferam, 2016, pp. 792-793). Hence, this growing presence in the Horn of Africa has sparked debate among scholars and the contemporary discourses. Some perceive it as an opportunity, providing a counterbalance to American and Western influence, while others caution against potential neo-colonial implications. The extent and nature of China's rise in the Horn of Africa remain subject to scrutiny and analysis.

3.2. China's Response to the Arab Spring and Its Implications for Africa

Prioritising regional stability and defending its economic interests, China adopted a circumspect and non-interfering posture at the start of the Arab Spring. This strategy, which was founded on its Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, placed a strong emphasis on respecting national sovereignty and abstaining from interference in domestic matters. Africa's perceptions of China were shaped by China's response to the Arab Spring, which had a profound effect on the countries of Africa.

China adopted a cautious position of observation and explicit silence in the very beginnings of the Arab Spring, a wave of demonstrations and uprisings that began in late 2010 and spread over North Africa and the Middle East (Kandil, 2012). Likewise, China's foremost concerns throughout the uprisings against established regimes were maintaining regional stability and protecting its economic interests. To highlight the importance of peaceful outcomes, the Chinese government emphasized stability and non-interference. Its large investments in the whole geographical region and its desire to avert any disruptions that would threaten these interests guided this strategy (Jakosbson, 2013, pp. 1-22). Hence, the Arab Spring had a profound impact on China-African ties because African countries learned from China's measured response and dedication to its non-interference policies, which shaped their own desired outcomes and relationships with China.

China's foreign policy has heavily emphasised its non-interference strategy, which is based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. According to this policy, Beijing would respect other sovereign states' right to self-determination and refrain from interfering in their internal affairs. Throughout the Arab Spring, Beijing maintained an impartial stance, avoiding involvement in the affected countries' domestic political problems. Despite the political turmoil, China relied on economic cooperation and diplomatic engagement to maintain its connections. This method was especially relevant in Africa, where countries such

as Egypt faced significant political instability. China distanced itself from Western countries that typically lobbied for political shifts and human rights initiatives by maintaining a firm commitment to non-interference, assuring African leaders of its commitment to sovereignty and stability (Taylor, 2009, pp. 55-62).

In the similar way, China's approach to African governance, stability, and trade links has been profoundly influenced by the Arab Spring. The Egyptian upheavals led to the resignation of longtime leader Hosni Mubarak (1928-220) (Jalal, 2024, pp. 1-8). Throughout this political transition, China emphasised its support for Egypt's sovereignty while focusing on strengthening economic ties through infrastructure projects and investments critical to Egypt's post-revolutionary economic recovery (Matambo, 2023, pp. 99-111). The Arab Spring had a less immediate impact in Nigeria and Ethiopia, but it demonstrated the importance of political stability for long-term economic success. China responded by increasing its involvement and prioritising activities such as infrastructure development and capacity building, which support economic growth and stability (Brautigam, 2011). These initiatives aimed to improve stability and minimise the socio-political unrest.

Hence, it is generally assumed that China's foreign policy is versatile and pragmatic, as evidenced by its response to the Arab Spring and its consequences for Africa. China strengthened its position as a reliable partner for African countries undergoing difficult political transitions by sticking to its non-interference policy and changing its economic policies to foster growth and security.

3.3. Economic Diplomacy: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Africa

China's BRI has garnered considerable interest since its launch in 2013, with the goal of reshaping global trade and infrastructure development. In Africa, the BRI offers both potential and problems, with Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia emerging as significant players in

this massive endeavour. This section examines the BRI's influence on these African nations, taking into account its ability to stimulate economic growth, improve regional connectivity, and shape geopolitical dynamics.

China announced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, with the potential to invest USD 1 trillion in infrastructure development and trade link extension throughout Asia, Europe, and Africa in order to boost global commerce and economic growth. China's corporate and product image would improve, and the BRI's goal of greater connectivity would benefit both China and Africa, perhaps encouraging integrated economic and infrastructure growth in Africa (Githaiga, 2019, pp. 117-130). Despite the disparities in goals between Africa's regional integration programmes and China's outward-focused BRI, there is plenty of room for cooperation. Both regions stand to benefit from expanded commerce and connectivity as a result of policy alignment, with Africa's regional projects acting as the foundation for BRI cooperation (Lisinge, 2020, pp. 425-448). Trade between China and Africa grew from USD 1 billion in 1980 to USD 128 billion in 2016, illustrating China's long-standing interest in the continent's infrastructure since the 1960s. China is currently Africa's largest bilateral creditor, having provided USD 143 billion in loans since 2000, half of which came in the last four years. China offered USD 60 billion to Africa's development until 2021 at the 2018 Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (LOKANATHAN, 2020, pp. 1-12). However, because BRI projects are administered jointly, it is unclear how effectively these initiatives will contribute to China's geopolitical and economic goals. These intricate links involve a diverse set of global parties.

In the term of the case study of the present research, it is considered that the BRI has seen widespread implementation throughout Africa, particularly in major partner countries such as Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt. These countries' BRI projects have a significant economic impact on these countries as well as a regional and global sphere of influence.

Egypt has seen significant infrastructure projects, such as the construction of a new administrative capital and the expansion of the Suez Canal, facilitated in significant part by the Belt and Road Initiative (Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9). Egypt is one of the most popular destinations for Chinese investment in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and the MENA area is one of the most popular in the globe overall. In the context of Chinese participation in the region, this investment trend emphasises Egypt's strategic importance. A watershed moment occurred in 2013 when President Xi Jinping introduced the BRI, asking nations along its path to collaborate. Similarly, Egypt and China's bilateral relationship expanded to a comprehensive strategic partnership in 2014, allowing for more cooperation. Egypt's development goals and China's BRI have the potential to align, as evidenced by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's 2016 announcement of Egypt Vision 2030, a new national development strategy (Chen J. , 2017, pp. 219-235). However, the BRI and Egypt Vision 2030 share both benefits and risks. With 109 projects now under development or in the pipeline, Egypt is the nation with the second-highest number of BRI-linked projects by volume, after Russia (Chen, 2018, p. 3242).

Additionally, with a collective value of almost USD 100 billion, it ranks eighth among BRI-related projects. Despite the fact that the strategic partnership has produced a number of positive outcomes, such as greater investment and the development of infrastructure, difficulties still exist, notably in the political, economic, and security areas (Shaaban, 2020). Egypt's economic growth has been bolstered by these activities, particularly through enhanced trade logistics and higher economic output from the extension of the Suez Canal, which has solidified Egypt's standing as a major participant in international trade networks (Habibi, 2022, p. 33970).

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, took significant advances in its connection with China in 2018 by officially joining the BRI. Since then, China-Nigeria commerce has

increased significantly, reaching USD 15.2 billion in 2018 and USD 25.6 billion in 2021 (Wang, 2023, pp. 186-193). Nigeria's participation in the BRI has primarily been centred on energy and transit projects, such as the Abuja-Kaduna railway and other power plants. These initiatives have concentrated on critical infrastructure needs, particularly in the energy and transport sectors, which are critical to Nigeria's economic development (Alhassan, 2023, pp. 192-209). For example, the Abuja-Kaduna railway has greatly improved domestic connectivity, while power projects have attempted to alleviate Nigeria's ongoing energy shortages, resulting in notable advancements in the country's developmental goals and infrastructure development (Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9; Chen S.-C. J., 2018, p. 3242).

However, evidenced by discourse in mainstream media, Nigeria's involvement in the BRI has prompted a range of perspectives. Although local media understands the benefits of BRI initiatives and their potential for growth, apprehensions have been raised about China's involvement and its possible effects on Nigeria's sovereignty. The significance of clearing up misconceptions and advancing truthful narratives is highlighted by the possibility that negative impressions are also the result of falsehoods in Western media. Nigeria is nevertheless demonstrating its commitment to seizing economic possibilities and promoting regional integration while defending its national interests by joining the BRI. Nigeria aims to leverage BRI to advance sustainable development and enhance its international status by working in tandem with China (Wang, 2023, pp. 186-193).

Ethiopia is a prominent receiver of Chinese development funding and the biggest recipient of infrastructure investment in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Weng, 2021, pp. 1-12). The BRI has facilitated the development of standard gauge railways, most notably the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway, which has significantly reduced transportation costs and schedules, essentially cutting the transit time from three days to ten hours (Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9). Furthermore, the Chinese government's establishment of the East African Free trading

Agreement (FTA) in Djibouti has made regional trading even easier (Yalew, 2020, pp. 175-193). The signing of a contract worth around USD 3.8 billion for the construction of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway by China's Export-Import Bank (EXIM Bank) and the Chinese Civil Engineering and Construction Corporation (CCECC) in 2011 marked an important milestone. Ethiopia's goal of industrialization, as described in the Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II 2015–2019), was greatly facilitated by this investment, which helped the nation overtake Kenya in GDP in 2016 and draw a wave of foreign investment, especially for its transport infrastructure (Weng, 2021, pp. 1-12).

But problems still exist, especially with regard to Chinese FDI investment in Ethiopia (Calabrese, 2021, pp. 1-61). Even with large investments in railway construction of which the Export-Import Bank of China funded about 80% (USD 4 billion) through commercial loans problems including a deficiency in foreign exchange have made it difficult for Ethiopia to repay its debts to China. As a result, questions regarding Ethiopia's ability to repay these loans persist, highlighting the difficulties associated with Chinese businesses operating there (Weng, 2021, pp. 1-12).

Therefore, dependency theorists argue that economies excessively reliant on international economic conditions beyond their control face heightened risks of debt crises. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) underscores a troubling trend in Sub-Saharan African countries, where the number of nations struggling to service debts has doubled since 2013. World Bank data reveals African governments collectively owed USD 130 billion in debt to other governments by the close of 2016, with a substantial portion owed to China, rendering it the dominant creditor nation (Tarrosy, 2020, pp. 8-28). In this context, dependency theory, illustrated by scholars such as Raul Prebisch, posits that peripheral country' development is hindered by reliance on core country a concept pertinent to assessing the BRI impact in Africa. While BRI projects offer crucial infrastructure and economic

stimulus, they simultaneously deepen economic ties between African nations and China, potentially exacerbating dependency. Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia have amassed significant debt to finance BRI endeavors, prompting concerns regarding their long-term debt sustainability and exposing them to economic vulnerabilities if not managed with caution (Foster & Briceño-Garmendia, 2010, pp. 75-92). Hence in the above context, the dependence on commodity exports could be reinforced by an emphasis on resource extraction and export-oriented infrastructure development. This is consistent with dependence theory, which holds that peripheral countries usually grow reliant on imports of primary goods and foreign markets.

However, by encouraging industry and diversification, the BRI also offers opportunities to halt cycles of dependency. Consider Ethiopia, where BRI investments cover manufacturing and industrial parks in addition to infrastructure. These endeavours may result in a more resilient and diverse economy. It is clear that BRI projects are dual in nature when we take Dependency Theory into account. They have the potential to either create more self-reliant and sustainable economic growth or strengthen current dependencies. This result is contingent upon how African countries manage their economic policies and make use of these investments (Cheru & Obi, 2010, pp. 129-145).

In short, the Belt and Road Initiative has emerged as a catalyst for change in Africa, with Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia leading the way. While the BRI brings enormous investments and opportunities for economic development, concerns about debt sustainability and dependency are high. African countries must negotiate these problems with caution, leveraging BRI funding to achieve long-term prosperity and diversification. This allows them to fully utilise the BRI's potential to lead Africa towards a prosperous and self-sufficient future.

3.4.Resource Diplomacy: China's Quest for African Resources

China's participation in Africa, fueled by resource diplomacy, is critical to its economic growth. China's economic progress in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia is driven by natural resources such as oil, gas, minerals, and agriculture. Understanding these techniques is crucial for comprehending China's greater participation in Africa's resource landscape.

In the context of resource diplomacy, China's drive to sustain its growing economy is the driving force behind its African involvement. In Egypt, the focus is on natural gas and oil, involving investments in oil production, exploration, and energy infrastructure like pipelines and refineries, bolstering China's energy security through ventures like those led by the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) (Downs, 2007, pp. 42-86). Similarly, Nigeria showcases China's resource diplomacy in its oil industry, with investments from firms like Sinopec and the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) in refineries, pipelines, and mineral mining operations (Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 54-69). Ethiopia, while not as resource-rich, sees Chinese interest in minerals such as gold, tantalum, and potash, alongside agricultural investments aimed at ensuring food security, reflecting China's broader resource-driven strategy in Africa (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 70-80). Hence, to understand these strategies is key to comprehending China's wider engagement in the continent's resource landscape.

The influx of Chinese capital into African resources presents both chances and obstacles for the continent's progress. Chinese energy investments in Egypt have strengthened infrastructure and production, promoting economic growth and improving energy security. These investments, however, bring up issues with the potential for over-reliance on one industry and its effects on the environment (Zafar, 2007, pp. 103-130). Similarly, Chinese investments in Nigeria have increased GDP by facilitating technology transfer, creating jobs, and improving infrastructure, particularly in the oil and mineral

resource sectors. However, problems including degradation of the environment, uprooting of communities, and deficiencies in governance continue, creating obstacles to open resource management (Obi, 2010, pp. 219-236). Besides, Chinese investments in Ethiopia have aided the country's modernization and industrialization goals by expanding the agriculture and mining sectors. Despite these benefits, there are concerns regarding land acquisition practices that may exclude surrounding communities, as well as the long-term viability of such projects for ecosystems and livelihoods (Cotula, 2011, pp. 1-30).

In a nutshell there is a great deal of room for economic growth given China's resource investments in Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt. However, careful monitoring is essential to maximising their advantages and guaranteeing sustainability. This entails strengthening legal frameworks, encouraging openness in contracts, and proactively handling the effects on the environment and society.

3.5.Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy

China promotes its soft power in Africa through Confucius Institutes and scholarships, fostering cultural ties. In Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, these efforts aim to build favorable perceptions of China. For instance, China's soft power strategy in Africa prominently involves promoting Chinese language, culture, and education through Confucius Institutes and scholarships. In Egypt, the Confucius Institute at Cairo University offers language courses, cultural activities, and educational exchanges, strengthening cultural ties (Hartig, 2015, pp. 77-89). In Nigeria, institutes at NnamdiAzikiwe University and the University of Lagos teach Chinese culture and organize events like Chinese New Year celebrations to foster goodwill (Wekesa, 2013, pp. 62-78). In Ethiopia, the Confucius Institute at Addis Ababa University and scholarships for Ethiopian students studying in China enhance educational and cultural connections. These initiatives aim to build a positive image of China

and create a network of individuals with favorable views towards China (King, 2013, pp. 40-55).

Moreover, China's cultural activities in Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt have had a big impact on bilateral relations and public opinion. Confucius Institutes and cultural exchanges have improved educational and cultural ties in Egypt, but there is still some doubt regarding China's strategic objectives. Nevertheless, these initiatives have usually been favourably accepted. Despite worries about labour standards and product quality, Chinese cultural diplomacy has a considerable impact on Nigeria, as Confucius Institutes and cultural initiatives foster a narrative of friendship and collaboration (Umejei, 2015, pp. 54-78). Similarly, China's cultural diplomacy in Ethiopia, especially in the form of educational opportunities and cultural exchanges, has strengthened bilateral relations despite conflicting opinions about China's expanding influence. This has helped Ethiopian youth develop a good perception of China (Repnikova, 2022, pp. 440-463). Despite some scepticism, China's cultural diplomacy in Africa boosts bilateral relations and promotes good public opinion, resulting in increased educational and cultural linkages.

3.6.Comparative Analysis of China's Policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia

China's ties to Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt show that there are both common and unique techniques. China often prioritises economic cooperation, the development of its infrastructure, and a non-interference approach in internal matters. China makes large trade and economic investments as well as major infrastructure investments in every country. Different priorities are placed on different areas: China concentrates on the oil industry in Nigeria, industrial parks and manufacturing in Ethiopia, and the Suez Canal Economic Zone and energy projects in Egypt. China also adapts its cultural and diplomatic endeavours to the particular historical and sociopolitical setting of each nation, demonstrating a customised

approach as opposed to a homogeneous one (Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 100-107; Brautigam, 2011, pp. 83-95).

There are considerable differences in the political and socioeconomic results of China's interactions with Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Egypt. Chinese investments have helped Egypt modernise its infrastructure and diversify its economy, but worries about the sustainability of the country's debt and labour conditions still exist. Chinese investments in Nigeria's infrastructure and oil sector have helped the country's economy flourish, but the influx of Chinese labour and goods has also led to economic displacement and unrest in the local community. Chinese investments have significantly accelerated infrastructural development and industrial expansion in Ethiopia, resulting in a swift economic transition. These advantages are countered, though, by worries about debt, political power, and the social effects of fast industrialization (Hackenesch, 2018, pp. 88-108).

There are also several evident differences between Chinese and Western strategies. Western countries, including the USA and the European Union, frequently attach economic aid to human rights and governance changes. Many African countries, on the other hand, benefit from China's non-interference policy because it encourages economic cooperation while imposing no political constraints. This policy has helped China quickly capture commercial interests and enhance its authority. Western critics argue that this might stifle democracy and strengthen authoritarian regimes. Besides, Chinese investments are perceived as more urgent and pragmatic, with a focus on economic and infrastructure projects, whereas Western investments are more concerned with long-term development (Shinn D. H., 2014, pp. 149-164; Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 103-109).

3.7.Challenges and Opportunities

China has major hurdles in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. Political unrest and security concerns, such as the Nigerian insurgency, ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia, and Egypt's complex post-Arab Spring landscape, jeopardise plans and investments. Moreover, local opposition to Chinese labour and firms, based on fears of economic displacement and cultural insensitivity, hampers China's efforts (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 92-98; Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 110-117). Despite these hurdles, there are potential in renewable energy, digital infrastructure, and industrial development. China's technical and infrastructure expertise can help modernise African economies and improve connectivity. Initiatives such as the BRI and increasing educational and cultural exchanges can help to boost China-Africa collaboration (Hackenesch, 2018, pp. 105-11; Sun, 2014).

Several approaches are advised to resolve difficulties and maximise benefits from China's participation in Africa. Improving openness and sustainability in Chinese investments can help address concerns about debt and economic exploitation. Implementing stringent environmental and social criteria ensures that projects benefit both local populations and the environment (Brautigam, 2011, pp. 131-140; Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 113-119). Promoting local employment and capacity building can help to lessen resistance and increase the beneficial impact of Chinese investments. Strengthening diplomatic discourse and cultural exchanges can lead to greater mutual understanding and trust, making cooperation more equitable and productive (Hackenesch, 2018, pp. 111-118). Furthermore, tackling the rising debt burden from Chinese loans is critical to avoiding economic dependency (neo-colonialism) and potential sovereignty violations.

Chinese infrastructure projects in Africa have a significant social and environmental impact. Even though these programmes support economic progress, they frequently produce

adverse results. Common challenges include community dispersion, environmental degradation, and a lack of attention to area ecological issues. Large-scale initiatives, for example, may cause pollution, deforestation, and biodiversity loss. Local communities may face social upheavals, such as cultural insensitivity and displacement. To counteract these negative effects, rigorous environmental assessments and participatory planning procedures involving stakeholders and local residents are required (Brautigam, 2011).

China's engagement in Africa has been characterized of neocolonialism, with critics claiming that China exploits African resources and labour for profit while ignoring local needs and human rights. These claims come from the idea that Chinese investors prioritise resource extraction and economic rewards over long-term development and local welfare. Concerns over labour standards, environmental degradation, and unequal economic gains motivate criticism in Nigeria and Ethiopia (Hackenesch, 2018, pp. 115-120). Addressing these allegations requires assuring fair labour practices, equitable economic advantages, and a true commitment to the social and environmental well-being of the host countries.

3.8.Conclusion

The review of China's policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia indicates a complex relationship with both opportunities and obstacles. While China's significant investments in infrastructure and crucial sectors have boosted economic growth, they have also resulted in rising debt levels and sociopolitical issues. This highlights the importance of a detailed understanding of China's position in Africa, particularly its impact on regional geopolitics and governance. While African nations welcome China's non-interference stance, questions remain about the long-term repercussions for governance and human rights. Future study should focus on investigating the socioeconomic implications of Chinese investments and

proposing policy recommendations to build mutually beneficial relationships while addressing issues like debt sustainability and harm to the environment and its implications.

Moreover, China's increasing involvement in Africa, particularly in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, signifies a significant transformation in the continent's geopolitical and economic landscape. Through initiatives such as the BRI, China has emerged as a major player in Africa's development agenda, prioritizing infrastructure, resource extraction, and economic collaboration. Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia serve as case studies, illustrating both the potential benefits and challenges associated with China's engagement. While China's investments offer opportunities for economic growth and development, concerns persist regarding debt sustainability, environmental impacts, and socio-political ramifications, highlighting the complex interplay between cooperation and contention.

Similarly, China's growing influence in Africa has enormous implications for regional dynamics and global geopolitics. Traditional Western countries are coming under increasing strain as China makes significant investments and diplomatic efforts to strengthen its foothold across the continent. Africa can greatly benefit from China's economic cooperation, but there are also challenges of dependency and governance. To overcome these difficulties, a cooperative strategy based on accountability, transparency, and local empowerment is required. China and African countries can navigate their relationship's problems and achieve a prosperous future by encouraging fair alliances and sustainable development policies.

Therefore, China's strategic economic diplomacy, underpinned by a policy of non-interference, has fostered strong bilateral relations with African countries. However, criticisms of neocolonialism and exploitation underscore the need for a more balanced and equitable approach to ensure that the benefits of Chinese engagement are shared broadly.

Moving forward, research should focus on exploring the long-term impacts of China's involvement, with an emphasis on sustainable development and community empowerment. Addressing the challenges and criticisms surrounding Chinese investments will be crucial for fostering mutually beneficial partnerships that contribute to the stability and prosperity of African countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE USA FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA IN THE POST ARAB SPRING

4. Introduction

The USA has had a long and complex relationship with Africa, dating back to the early 19th century. The abolitionist movement influenced American involvement, resulting in the establishment of Liberia in 1822 as a refuge for freed African-American slaves. Throughout the 20th century, US engagement varied due to decolonization, the fight against apartheid, and Cold War dynamics. During the Cold War, the USA supported various African governments and liberation movements to counter Soviet Union influence on the continent (Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 506-518; Schmidt, 2018, pp. 5-11). Hence, following the Cold War, the focus shifted to promoting democracy, economic development, and combating terrorism. Likewise, several initiatives included the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in 2000 and the establishment of the USA Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2007 to oversee military operations and partnerships on the continent (Gavin, 2021, p. 5; Gilbert, 2009, pp. 264-277).

To analyse the USA policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia post-Arab Spring, it is important for understanding Africa's strategic aims and challenges. Egypt's diplomatic balance between democratic reform and stability, Nigeria's role in combating terrorism and driving economic growth, and Ethiopia's significance in regional peacekeeping and counter-terrorism underscore their importance to USA objectives. To apply Prebisch's dependency theory, this chapter examines whether USA policies contribute to dependency or genuine development, evaluating impacts on social development, economic growth, and governance. Key questions include that what are the areas where the USA want to be engaged in Africa? How does foreign direct investment impact the traditional social and political setups? How does their rivalry affect Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt?

4.1.USA Engagement with Africa: A Historical Analysis

Historically, the USA engagement with Africa, particularly on the brink of the Arab Spring, was influenced by a complex interplay of historical and geopolitical factors. Initially, during the colonial era, US involvement in Africa was limited, primarily focusing on trade and missionary activities, particularly in regions like West Africa. While Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency initially took an anti-colonial stance, practical considerations led to alignment with British interests, a trend that continued under Truman's administration, which supported Western colonial powers to counter communism (Schmidt, 2018, pp. 1-18; Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 506-524). However, with the onset of the Cold War, Africa emerged as a battleground for competing ideologies between the Soviet Union and the USA. To counter Soviet dominance, the USA began backing anti-colonial movements and forging ties with newly independent African nations. During this period, USA involvement in Africa evolved from aiding Europe's post-war recovery to recognizing Africa's growing political significance, necessitating a delicate balance between supporting self-government and maintaining alliances with European colonial powers, exemplified during Eisenhower's and Kennedy's administrations (Schmidt, 2018, pp. 5-16; Kent, 2005, pp. 195-220; Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 524-544).

Since Bill Clinton's presidency, the USA has focused on promoting trade and investment in Africa, notably through initiatives like AGOA (Gilbert, 2009, pp. 264-277), though progress has been uneven due to various factors, resulting in a decline in US trade and investment in the region over the past decade(The White House, 2009). Successive administrations, including those of George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden, have brought new shifts in US policies towards Africa, reflecting Africa's growing influence on global affairs (The White House, 2009). These policies encompass security, economic, and political concerns, as well as global hegemony and power politics, with a

focus on countering extremist groups, maintaining a military presence, contributing to peacekeeping operations, promoting democracy, and human rights (Katito, 2009, pp. 145-152; Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-5). Economic opportunities in Africa, particularly in natural resources, attract trade and investment by American companies, however it is considered that USA policies perpetuate economic exploitation and dependency in African nations.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand and analyze USA's policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, along with Africa as a whole, in order to follow the dependency theory and US's engagement in these countries comprehensively.

a) USA Policies in Egypt

The relationship between the USA and Egypt dates back several decades and has undergone various phases marked by political, economic, and military cooperation as well as global hegemony and geo-strategic dynamics. Following Egypt's 1974 Open Door Policy (infitah) and the 1979 Camp David Accords, US-Egypt relations were significantly strengthened, leading to substantial foreign assistance from the USA to Egypt. This period saw Egypt receiving around USD 2 billion annually in US aid, aimed at maintaining Middle East peace and countering Soviet influence, given Egypt's strategic position and historical leadership in Arab conflicts against Israel (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32; Sharp, 2009, pp. 5-23; Momani, 2003, pp. 88-101; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). Over the years, the USA has persistently advocated for economic liberalization in Egypt, transitioning towards a 'trade and not aid' relationship post-1990 Persian Gulf War. Initiatives such as the Presidents' Council and various trade agreements have sought to reduce Egypt's aid dependency and promote economic reforms. The potential US-Egypt Free Trade Agreement (FTA) exemplifies the economic benefits for both nations, aiming to attract foreign direct investment, improve efficiency, and create jobs in Egypt (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32).

Besides politically and militarily, Egypt has been a crucial ally for the USA in maintaining regional stability and supporting US diplomatic efforts. The military coup in July 2013 highlighted the conflicting interests between promoting democracy and supporting the Egyptian military, leading US elites to avoid labeling it a 'coup d'état' to maintain the neoliberal-security paradigm. Under the Obama administration, there was an emphasis on democracy promotion alongside immediate security concerns, aiming for a democratic transition in Egypt. Initiatives like the Middle East Response Fund (MERF) and the USA-Egyptian Enterprise Fund underscored the USA's strategy to promote long-term democratic stability through economic reforms, despite the complex political landscape. This approach balanced military aid, which facilitated strategic advantages such as expedited passage through the Suez Canal and cooperation on counter-terrorism efforts, with efforts to foster economic and political reforms (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). Therefore, it is necessary to understand, the USA policy towards Egypt in terms of military, economic, political and geo-strategic and security contexts in order to understand the dependency theory in more explicit way.

In the military context, the relationship between the USA and Egypt has been pivotal and multifaceted. Egypt's involvement in various Arab coalitions, such as during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) and the USA-led coalition against Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1991, highlights its strategic importance in regional security dynamics and alignment with US military objectives in the Middle East (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7). Despite occasional punitive measures, US military policy towards Egypt remains significant, maintaining access to strategic military posts and the ability to deploy equipment, demonstrated during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Joint military exercises like "Bright Star" ensure rapid US military responses in the region, facilitated by approximately USD 1.2

billion in annual military aid, underscoring the deep military ties between the two countries (Momani, 2003, pp. 88-92; Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 2-11; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337).

Economically, the USA has consistently advocated for economic liberalization in Egypt, especially during the early to mid-1980s when frustrations over Egypt's inefficient, statist economy were prominent. Following the 1990 Persian Gulf War, the USA Congress pushed for a shift towards a 'trade and not aid' relationship. This policy was underscored by the establishment of the Presidents' Council in 1994 and various trade agreements aimed at reducing Egypt's aid dependency and promoting economic reforms (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337; Momani, 2003, pp. 88-95). The proposal for a US Egypt FTA further emphasized the economic benefits for both countries, potentially attracting foreign direct investment, improving efficiency, enhancing domestic reforms, and creating jobs in Egypt. This FTA was not only seen as an economic tool but also as a political instrument to solidify US-Egypt relations and counter the growing influence of other global powers like Russia and China (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337).

The Obama administration's emphasis on economic liberalization continued the discourse supporting the Freedom Agenda initiated under President George W. Bush. Initiatives such as the Middle East Response Fund (MERF) and the USA-Egyptian Enterprise Fund aimed to relieve Egypt of up to USD1 billion in debt and support job creation through Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) development. These economic engagements underscored the USA's strategy to promote long-term democratic stability through economic reforms (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337; Sharp, 2009, pp. 1-5). Despite occasional punitive measures, the USA has maintained strategic economic ties with Egypt to support mutual interests. For instance, economic aid, while politically motivated, also aimed at improving living standards in Egypt to counter the rise of Islamic fundamentalism (Momani, 2003, pp.

88-95). As of 2018, the USA held a significant trade relationship with Egypt, boasting a trade surplus of nearly USD 2.6 billion (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32).

In the political context, the USA engagement with Egypt has consistently underscored Egypt's pivotal role in maintaining regional stability and moderating conflicts. Since Egypt became the first Arab nation to sign a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, it has upheld this treaty for over three decades, navigating numerous regional challenges such as Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the Palestinian intifadas. Egypt's key role in organizing and hosting the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 and facilitating post-Oslo Accords negotiations has cemented its position as a critical mediator and stabilizing force in the Arab-Israeli conflict, aligning closely with US diplomatic efforts to foster peace and stability in the region (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7).

The USA has viewed Egypt as a central player in its Middle Eastern strategy, particularly due to Egypt's role in the Arab-Israeli peace process and its broader influence in the region. The peace treaty with Israel, brokered by the USA, has been a cornerstone of US foreign policy, with Egypt hosting significant diplomatic events such as the Madrid Peace Conference and facilitating ongoing negotiations following the Oslo Accords. Besides, Egypt has supported US operations against Islamic extremism and terrorism through intelligence sharing and covert operations. US foreign aid has aimed to sustain Egypt's moderate regime, enhancing its ability to influence broader Middle Eastern affairs and promoting regional stability. Despite the political upheavals, including the 2013 military coup, the USA has managed to maintain its strategic relationship with Egypt, navigating the complex dynamics of supporting an autocratic regime while promoting democracy (Momani, 2003, pp. 88-90; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337; Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-14).

The geopolitical aspect of US engagement with Egypt is crucial, given Egypt's strategic location, particularly the Suez Canal, and its influence on oil-rich Libya. The rise of global powers like Russia and China in the region underscores the importance of maintaining strong US-Egypt relations. Russia's involvement in Syria and China's expanding market presence highlight the competitive geopolitical landscape in which the USA operates (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). Economic engagements, such as the potential US Egypt Free Trade Agreement (FTA), are strategic moves to counter these influences. These agreements offer significant economic and political benefits, enhancing US influence while promoting economic reforms and stability in Egypt. The historical context of US aid, both military and economic, reflects broader strategic, diplomatic, and political objectives shaping US policies towards Egypt (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 3-9).

Security cooperation with Egypt has been pivotal in the USA fight against Islamic extremism and terrorism, especially following the September 11, 2001, attacks. Collaboration between Egyptian and US security services, including intelligence sharing and joint covert operations, underscores Egypt's active and effective role in counterterrorism efforts. This partnership is crucial for US national security interests, as Egypt's strategic position and capabilities provide a valuable asset in the broader fight against terrorism in the region (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7). In comparison with other external actors (especially China in this context) in Egypt post-Arab Spring, the USA has balanced its military, economic, and political engagement with strategic considerations of regional stability and counterterrorism. While punitive measures, such as the suspension of military aid, have been used to express disapproval of Egypt's domestic policies, the overall relationship has been maintained to support broader US strategic interests in the Middle East (Momani, 2003, pp. 88-101). In short, US policies towards Egypt include various dimensions, adapting to regional shifts and

domestic developments to maintain stability, counter extremism, and promote peace, all while competition from global powers like China.

b) USA Policies in Nigeria

Nigeria, Africa's largest economy and oil producer, holds a pivotal position in US foreign relations due to its strategic importance and regional influence. Transitioning from military to civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has historically been a significant player in African politics and a major recipient of US foreign aid. However, challenges such as corruption, mismanagement of funds, and ineffective policies have hampered its economic growth and development. Additionally, the emergence of extremist groups like Boko Haram has raised concerns about security and stability, both domestically and internationally. Despite these challenges, Nigeria remains a key partner for the USA in promoting peace, security, and prosperity in the region (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26; Ogbale, 2011, pp. 407-417).

Nigeria's political landscape shifted significantly with its transition to civilian rule in 1999, culminating in MuhammaduBuhari's election in 2015. This period also saw the establishment of the USA-Nigeria Binational Commission in 2010, reflecting efforts to address mutual concerns and strengthen diplomatic ties. However, political tensions arose during Nigeria's 2011 presidential election, challenging the traditional "zoning" arrangement and sparking protests and violence (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-3). The USA closely monitored these developments, emphasizing democratic processes and stability in its strategic partnership with Nigeria.

The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) marked a critical juncture, testing Nigeria's unity amidst internal conflicts. Despite initial neutrality, the USA implemented an arms embargo, straining relations with Nigeria. Nigeria's efforts to bolster regional influence from 1970 to 1976, including initiatives like ECOWAS, were overshadowed by confrontational

foreign policies under Murtala Muhammed, complicating diplomatic engagements with the USA (Normandy, 1997, pp. 37-43). During Obasanjo's presidency from 1976 to 1980, Nigeria prioritized regional cooperation and strengthened economic ties with the USA. However, the post-Cold War era witnessed a shift in US-Nigeria relations towards democratization and economic reform, with economic stability and democratization progress serving as critical determinants (Normandy, 1997, pp. 37-43; George, 2012, pp. 191-194). The 9/11 attacks prompted a significant shift in US foreign policy under George W. Bush, with a focus on the Global War on Terror (GWOT) and initiatives like PEPFAR and AFRICOM. Amidst these global shifts, Nigeria aimed to revive its economy and restore its international reputation under President Obasanjo's leadership, emphasizing economic diplomacy and regional development (Ogunnoiki, 2018, pp. 43-74; George, 2012, pp. 191-198).

Economically, Nigeria shares robust connections with the USA notably as a vital oil provider. As far back as 1978, the USA was procuring 60% of Nigeria's oil and furnishing more than half of its financial resources, showcasing the intertwined economic relationship between the two nations. Despite Nigeria's substantial oil wealth, it has relied on extensive foreign borrowing to finance development plans, further emphasizing its dependence on US financial aid and technical assistance. Additionally, Nigeria stands as a significant trading ally for the USA, ranking as the second-largest recipient of US investment in Africa. With its position as one of Africa's largest consumer markets and a penchant for US goods, there exists substantial potential for expanding US exports to Nigeria and the broader West African region. Nigeria benefits from initiatives like the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), with petroleum products constituting over 90% of its exports to the USA. Despite a decrease in US imports of Nigerian oil since 2012 due to increased domestic supply, the USA remains a pivotal trading ally. Moreover, bilateral economic collaborations extend beyond the energy sector, with joint efforts in infrastructure development, energy sector enhancement,

and maritime security, reflecting a shared commitment to fostering economic growth and stability in the region (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26).

Besides Nigeria's diverse population, evenly split between Muslims and Christians, shapes its internal dynamics and external relationships. In efforts to foster development and stability, the USA has engaged with Nigeria on various socio-cultural fronts, including education and health programs (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26). These initiatives aim to strengthen ties between the two countries and contribute to Nigeria's socio-cultural development. Additionally, Nigeria's rich cultural heritage and traditions offer opportunities for cultural exchange and mutual understanding, further enhancing bilateral relations.

Given its strategic location and abundant resources, Nigeria holds a pivotal position in West Africa. Recognizing Nigeria's importance, the USA views it as a key partner in promoting regional stability and addressing security challenges. Nigeria's influence in African politics, particularly through organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), has shaped its interactions with global powers such as the USA. The security dynamics in West Africa are complex, with various international actors, including France, China, and India, vying for influence. Nigeria's leadership is crucial in navigating these challenges and fostering cooperation to address regional security threats (Yusuf, 2019, pp. 65-76; Blanchard L. P., 2013, pp. 1-3).

Similarly Nigeria plays a significant role in U.N. peacekeeping missions, although it faces challenges due to the emergence of Boko Haram, straining its security resources. The USA has actively supported Nigeria's counterterrorism efforts, particularly following Boko Haram's designation as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in 2013. This increased focus underscores the importance of collaboration between the USA and Nigeria in addressing security threats. The USA provides training, equipment, and intelligence support to Nigerian

security forces to enhance their capabilities in combating terrorism and maintaining stability in the region (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-3). Thus, the USA-Nigeria relationship has deepened over time, driven by common interests despite challenges like corruption, with potential for cooperation in trade, investment, and security bolstering mutual development and regional stability.

c) USA Policies in Ethiopia

The historical relationship between the USA and Ethiopia, shaped by geopolitical shifts and regional dynamics, underscores the evolution of USA policy towards the nation over time. In the Nixon administration, US policy towards Ethiopia underwent a significant shift, emphasizing self-help among threatened nations while also pursuing detente with the Soviet Union. Despite enduring internal challenges like famine and struggles with the Eritrean army, the USA maintained its support to uphold credibility with longstanding military assistance partners (Mantzikos, 2010, pp. 241-248). Ethiopia's historical stability under the monarchy faced disruption during the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941 and a failed coup attempt in 1960. However, it was the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974 by military officers embracing socialism that reshaped Ethiopia's geopolitical alliances, severing ties with the USA and turning towards the Soviet Union for support. These transitions, influenced by factors such as land ownership and socio-economic disparities, have shaped Ethiopia's economic trajectory over time (Agyeman-Duah, 1985, pp. 18-23).

The strategic significance of the Horn of Africa during the Cold War was driven by both material interests and ideological contestation. Situated at the southern end of the Red Sea, near crucial waterways, the region was vital for projecting power and ensuring military support in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. The USA aimed to maintain economic security, stabilize pro-Western governments, and prevent potential blockades of oil lanes by the Soviets. The Carter administration initially emphasized human rights issues in its policy

towards Ethiopia and Somalia but later shifted towards policies reminiscent of the Cold War era due to domestic and international pressures. This evolution reflects the contradictory sets of international and domestic pressures shaping US foreign policies during that period (Mantzikos, 2010, pp. 241-248).

Under the Nixon Doctrine, Ethiopia received military aid and training from the USA in exchange for establishing a military communications base, highlighting the strategic importance of the region (Mantzikos, 2010, pp. 241-248). During Haile Selassie's regime, particularly from the early 1950s, the USA significantly increased its engagement with Ethiopia due to geopolitical concerns during the Cold War. Ethiopia's involvement in the Korean War, with the dispatch of troops known as Kagnev Battalions, further solidified its position as a key ally in the USA fight against communism. As part of this alliance, Ethiopia received substantial foreign aid, including technical assistance agreements like the Four Point Technical aid agreement signed in May 1992, emphasizing the strategic significance of Ethiopia in US foreign policy during that era (Broich, 2017, pp. 4-13).

Under the Nixon Doctrine, the USA also provided military assistance and established a communications base in Ethiopia to enhance regional security, aiming to maintain credibility with longstanding military partners despite internal challenges like famine and political instability (Mantzikos, 2010, pp. 241-248). In the 21st century, the Horn of Africa has become a significant military hub, hosting bases of various foreign powers, including the USA. This militarization presents opportunities and risks for Ethiopia, a key country in the region. The USA presence in the Horn of Africa reflects its post-Cold War hegemonic interests, evident in objectives like the “war on terror” post-9/11 and ensuring access to energy resources. Djibouti, strategically located, serves as a focal point for US military deployment, aligning with its goals of safeguarding energy security and countering extremism. Moreover, the USA aims to protect its ally Israel from potential threats in the Red

Sea region. Thus, the USA military presence in the Horn of Africa serves diverse strategic objectives, spanning geopolitics, geo-economics, and security (Ayferam, 2016, pp. 791-792).

Thus, the USA geo-strategic policy in Ethiopia aimed to uphold stability and security in the region through military aid and strategic partnerships, prioritizing credibility with longstanding military allies amidst internal challenges like famine and political unrest (Mantzikos, 2010, pp. 241-248). Ethiopia's role as a regional bulwark against radical Islamism aligns with US interests in the war on terror, leading to significant US support for Ethiopia, notably during its intervention in Somalia in 2006. This support has enhanced Ethiopia's regional influence, although its internal ethnic complexities have been exploited by adversaries like Eritrea to challenge its hegemonic aspirations. Despite US backing, Ethiopia's journey towards unchallenged regional dominance is impeded by these internal vulnerabilities and external pressures (Dehez, 2008). Hence, the USA supports Ethiopia through aid, security cooperation, and diplomacy to spur growth and counterterrorism, yet this raises concerns about aid dependency, human rights, and militarization, prompting comparative analysis to measure effectiveness.

4.2.USA Response to the Arab Spring and Its Implications for Africa

The USA response to the Arab Spring initially supported protests in Tunisia and Egypt, characterized by peaceful demonstrations and condemnation of autocratic regimes. Despite its Western origins, the term "Arab Spring" gained global traction, symbolizing discourse on democratization. As global power dynamics evolve, particularly with China's growing influence, Africa's role in the global economy is expected to increase, albeit modestly (Abusharif, 2014, pp. 2-3; Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, pp. 1-2). Since the Obama presidency through Trump and Biden administrations, US policies in post-Arab Spring Africa have shifted. Obama's administration aimed to support democratic movements, Trump's

focused on security and counterterrorism amid regional changes, and Biden emphasizes strengthening partnerships, acknowledging Africa's growing global role(The White House, 2022; Katito, 2009, pp. 145-152; Gavin M. D., 2021, pp. 1-2). These shifts necessitate detailed discussions to problematize current research areas and questions regarding US policy in Africa via different administrations.

a) Obama Administration

Barack Obama's presidency proclaimed expectations of significant changes in Africa, but many policies from the previous administration persisted, shaped by global expectations and domestic pressures (Katito, 2009, pp. 145-150). Following the ousting of Egypt's President Morsi, Obama initiated a review of USA relations with Egypt, leading to the cancellation of the annual "Bright Star" joint military exercise and suspension of military aid (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7). This move aimed to rebuke Egypt's crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood while maintaining diplomatic ties. Economic aid was also suspended to pressure Egypt on governance and human rights. The USA viewed Egypt's events post-Morsi as a military coup, contrary to Egypt's civic nationalists who saw it as a revolution against theocratic rule. Egypt's sharp diplomatic response underscored the discord in perspectives, complicating efforts to maintain a constructive partnership (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7). The differing interpretations of Egypt's upheaval highlighted the complexity of US policies post-Arab Spring, shaped by military, economic, and political strategies amidst geopolitical considerations.

Obama's presidency prompted a reassessment of USA policy towards Egypt, particularly in the aftermath of President Mohamed Morsi's removal, with a focus on military and economic dimensions (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 2-11; Momani, 2003, pp. 88-93; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). The cancellation of the annual "Bright Star" joint military exercise and the suspension of military aid underscored the USA's leverage in influencing Egypt's

domestic policies (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 2-11; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). Despite these measures, military cooperation between the two nations remains significant, enabling rapid USA military responses in the region and ensuring access to strategic military posts in Egypt. Concurrently, the Obama administration continued initiatives supporting economic liberalization, aiming to relieve Egypt of debt and promote job creation through Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) development. Emphasizing democracy promotion alongside security concerns, the administration prioritized a democratic transition in Egypt, despite tensions between promoting neoliberal economic reforms and supporting an autocratic state with USA aid. The conflicting interests exposed challenges within the neoliberal-security paradigm, urging USA elites to navigate the complexities of US-Egypt relations while balancing long-term democratic stability and immediate security priorities (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337).

During the Obama Administration, Nigeria's 2015 elections marked a significant milestone for the country's democratic progress, with President Goodluck Jonathan conceding defeat to MuhammaduBuhari, the first time an incumbent president lost an election in Nigeria. The USA viewed this as a positive step for Nigerian democracy, praising the conduct of the largely peaceful and credible elections. President Obama's endorsement of Jonathan's quick concession highlighted USA support for Nigeria's democratic process. Similarly, the Obama Administration supported various Nigerian reform initiatives, including anti-corruption efforts, economic reforms, and peace programs in the Niger Delta. The USA-Nigeria Binational Commission was established in 2010 to address mutual concerns, with Congress overseeing approximately USD 700 million in USA foreign aid to Nigeria, emphasizing its significance in US bilateral assistance packages in Africa. Prioritizing trade and maritime security, the USA aimed to enhance economic ties with Nigeria, focusing on increasing exports and supporting power generation reforms through initiatives like the

Power Africa initiative. The USA Navy's increased presence in the Gulf of Guinea, alongside joint exercises with Nigerian and regional navies under the African Partnership Station (APS), underscores US efforts to address maritime security challenges in the region (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 3-6; Ploch, 2013, pp. 1-27).

Obama's engagement with Ethiopia in July 2015 shed light on the composite nature of US involvement in the region. While Ethiopia's military strength is pivotal in combatting groups like al-Shabaab, persistent concerns revolve around human rights violations and democratic values. Despite Ethiopia's economic growth and regional influence, its record on civil liberties has drawn criticism from international watchdogs. During Obama's interactions, discussions revolved around security, development, and human rights, highlighting the delicate balance between security interests and democratic principles in USA policy towards Ethiopia. Focus on Ethiopia's recent elections, which were criticized as undemocratic, Obama referred to the government as "democratically elected," while urging the Ethiopian government to allow space for opposition voices. However, the nation's history of autocracy and monarchy was acknowledged, emphasizing the need for ongoing progress towards democracy. Human rights organizations condemned the elections for restrictions on opposition candidates, media censorship, and harassment of peaceful demonstrators. Even Obama's national security adviser expressed doubts about the credibility of the election outcomes. Balancing these concerns with strategic interests such as counterterrorism and regional conflict resolution remains a challenge for the USA in its relationship with Ethiopia (ABABA, 2015; Fortin, 2015). It also influenced the global power politics, especially during the Trump era.

b) Trump Administration

Global powers are competing for influence in Africa, driven by its growing population, workforce, and abundant natural resources. Concerns arose during the Trump administration

about repeating Cold War dynamics in countering China and Russia in Africa. However, understanding the motivations behind other powers' agendas in Africa remains essential. By 2050, Africa is projected to host a quarter of the world's population, making it a pivotal player in global affairs. Ignoring Africa is no longer an option. The Biden administration, like other major powers, recognizes the importance of deepening ties with Africa amidst shifting international relations norms. This evolving relationship underscores Africa's increasing integration into the global economy and the potential of its demographic transformation. However, the nature of these interactions varies widely among countries (Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-2).

The Trump administration's Prosper Africa initiative aimed to address the policy gap and strengthen USA business engagement in Africa by improving coordination among various government efforts. Supported by legislation establishing the Development Finance Corporation (DFC) and doubling the limit on US government-backed investments, from USD29 billion to USD60 billion globally, the initiative had commendable objectives. However, it has had limited time to yield tangible results. Concurrently, as the expiration of AGOA approaches in 2025, the Trump administration focused on negotiating a bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) with Kenya, envisioning it as a potential model for other African countries. The feasibility of negotiating individual FTAs with most African states and the implications of the African Continental Free Trade Area for this approach remain uncertain (Gavin, 2021, pp. 5-6).

In Egypt, with the re-election of Egyptian President Abdel Fatah El-Sisi, a new phase in Egypt's foreign policy unfolds. Emerging from the aftermath of two significant uprisings within two years, El-Sisi's first term, spanning from June 2014 to June 2018, was marked by strained relations with the USA, culminating in his first visit to the White House in November 2017, extended by President Trump. Expectations for improved US-Egypt

relations rose with Trump's presidency, highlighted by a productive meeting between the two leaders in April 2017. However, optimism waned as the USA Congress slashed economic aid to Egypt in August 2017 and delayed military financing amid concerns over human rights violations. Trump's contentious decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital further strained ties. The trajectory of USA-Egypt relations in El-Sisi's second term remains uncertain, particularly in the face of potential policy decisions from the Trump administration. Meanwhile, Egypt's rapport with Russia has grown warmer since the Arab Spring, presenting El-Sisi with complex diplomatic choices amid shifting global dynamics. As the USA designates Russia and China as strategic adversaries, and with the specter of a USA-China trade war looming, Egypt navigates a landscape of increasing international instability and polarization. El-Sisi's second term thus unfolds against a backdrop of evolving diplomatic challenges, necessitating astute and potentially difficult decisions. (Elhadidi, 2018, pp. 79-87).

Thus, in Egypt, Trump overlooked significant human rights and rule of law violations, maintaining high levels of military assistance and support against threats in the Sinai. However, Egypt received less attention compared to other regional allies such as Israel, Turkey, and the Gulf states. Despite being diplomatic partners of Israel, Egypt, along with Jordan, expressed concerns about the Abraham Accords and the perceived abandonment of the Palestinian cause. (Jeffrey, 2021, pp. 11-19). Trump's presidency also brought a shift in priorities for the USA, focusing more on economic and security interests rather than human rights and democracy issues. Egypt welcomed Trump's election, as his administration shared concerns about combating ISIS and reducing Iran's influence in the region, aligning with Egypt's own priorities. Trump's statements during the election campaign, including the possibility of terminating the nuclear agreement with Iran, resonated with Egypt's stance.

This mutual understanding contributed to a sense of optimism in Egypt regarding Trump's presidency. (Tayyar, 2020, pp. 1-27).

Following the Africa Strategy articulated by John Bolton during the Trump Administration, Nigeria also witnessed the implementation of the Prosper Africa initiative, designed to consolidate US government resources to bolster business prospects throughout Africa. Although named to imply mutual gain, the initiative's true objectives appeared to align primarily with President Trump's agenda of "making America great again". This was evident in the administration's attempt to influence the leadership of the African Development Bank (AfDB), particularly regarding the reelection of Nigeria's Akinwumi Adesina as president in August 2020. Despite Adesina being cleared of all allegations of improprieties, the Trump administration, represented by US Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin, adamantly opposed his reelection. This stance contradicted the widespread support Adesina garnered from within Africa and among the bank's shareholders. The USA's refusal to accept the investigation's findings suggested a skepticism towards Adesina's candidacy, despite indications that the allegations against him were politically motivated. (Okeke, 2021, pp. 66-80).

In Ethiopia, the Global Gag Rule (GGR) poses significant challenges. Ethiopia, ranking fifth in US government funding subject to the GGR, relies heavily on this assistance for its health system. With USD 293 million USD allocated in fiscal year 2017, including USD 32 million for family planning and reproductive health, Ethiopia faces potential disruptions in essential services due to GGR restrictions. The concentration of funding among prime grantee NGOs, with multiple subgrantees, heightens Ethiopia's vulnerability to the impacts of the GGR. (Sully, 2022, pp. 339-359). Along with the complexities of water diplomacy between Ethiopia and Egypt, the Trump administration's involvement in the negotiations over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) further exacerbated

tensions (Mohyeldeen, 2021, pp. 1-5). Ethiopia withdrew from the negotiation process, expressed Washington's perceived bias, leading Trump to announce a partial cut in aid to Ethiopia and make provocative remarks about the dam. Trump's statements provided leverage for Egypt to intensify its securitization campaign against Ethiopia, viewing Ethiopian control over water resources as a threat to its prestige and geopolitical influence in Northeast Africa and the Red Sea regions. Beyond water security concerns, the GERD issue underscores broader geopolitical and strategic interests, shaping the dynamics of peace efforts and triggering securitization measures from both sides. (Yimer, 2021, pp. 66-76). Thus, the changing landscape of international relations, the Trump administration's approach towards post-Arab Spring Africa revealed a shift towards prioritizing economic and security interests over human rights and democracy concerns and as well as to balance the China influence and strategy.

c) Biden Administration

The Biden administration's strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa, outlined in official White House documents from 2022, reshapes how the region is viewed in terms of USA national security interests. It allows Africa's growing influence on global affairs and aims to strengthen partnerships with African countries. The strategy focuses on promoting economic growth, empowering youth, and addressing key issues like democracy, security, trade, and development. It sets out four main goals: promoting open societies, enhancing democracy and security, supporting economic recovery, and addressing climate change. By identifying Africa's importance and aligning short-term actions with long-term goals, the strategy aims to better address the continent's evolving challenges and opportunities (The White House, 2022).

In the recent years, the global world is becoming increasingly aware of Africa's importance, leading countries to expand their political, economic, and security engagement

with African states, according to the White House's new strategy in the Biden Administration. This presents both new opportunities and challenges for US interests in the region. Allies in Europe, the Middle East, and the Indo-Pacific view Africa as integral to their national security and are committed to collaborating with the USA on investments that uphold high standards and values. However, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Russia have different views on Africa, with the PRC seeking to challenge the international order and advance its interests, while Russia sees the region as a platform for its commercial and geopolitical goals. Both countries use various tactics, including disinformation, to undermine transparency and weaken USA relations with African governments. As Africa undergoes significant socioeconomic, political, and security changes, the USA is adapting its approach to address growing foreign influence and engage with the region, as outlined in the new strategy. Africa's rapid population growth, urbanization, and the potential economic impact of initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) underscore its increasing global influence across various sectors, including entertainment (The White House, 2022). Hence, the White House's new strategy underscores Africa's growing global significance, with implications for US interests amid diverse perspectives from allies and rivals like China and Russia, while also impacting Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.

In Egypt, President Biden's engagement with President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi amidst the Gaza crisis reflects a strategic shift in US policy, influencing post-Arab Spring socio-political dynamics and global power politics, particularly in the allocation of military aid, highlighting Egypt's pivotal role in regional security. In May 2024, President Biden engaged in discussions with President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi of Egypt, focusing on ongoing efforts to secure the release of hostages and address the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. President Biden embraced President Al-Sisi's commitment to allowing UN-provided humanitarian assistance to flow through the Karem Shalom crossing, a move expected to alleviate suffering in Gaza

in the recent conflict of Hamas-Israel. Both leaders expressed readiness to support the reopening of the Rafah crossing, subject to arrangements acceptable to Egypt and Israel, and agreed to send senior teams for further discussions about the conflict. President Biden expressed gratitude for President Al-Sisi's efforts in facilitating aid flows to Gaza during the crisis. The leaders also explored initiatives to secure the release of hostages and achieve an immediate and lasting ceasefire in Gaza, underscoring their shared commitment to fostering a durable peace in the Middle East. They pledged to maintain regular communication through their national security teams. (The White House , 2024).

Therefore, in a strategic move prioritizing US national security interests, the Biden administration has greenlit USD 235 million in military aid for Egypt, reversing a two-year withholding due to the country's repressive policies. This decision retains the bulk of the annual USD 1.3 billion military aid earmarked for Egypt, withholding only USD 85 million. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken and other officials argue that maintaining a robust relationship with Egypt is crucial, citing the country's contributions to joint counterterrorism efforts, exemplified by the recent Bright Star 2023 military exercise. Despite calls for a tougher stance from human rights advocates, the administration underscores the significance of Egypt's role in regional security and combating violent extremism in justifying its policy shift. (Yee, 2023). In short, under Biden, US policy has undergone significant shifts, as demonstrated by recent discussions with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, highlighting a renewed focus on regional security along with evolving global dynamics.

In Nigeria, President Biden's policy towards Nigeria underlines a comprehensive strategy addressing political, economic, military, and security challenges. Make out Nigeria's pivotal role as Africa's largest democracy and economy, the Biden administration prioritizes strengthening democratic institutions, fostering inclusive governance, and upholding human rights principles. Through engagements with Nigerian leaders, including President Bola

Tinubu, and participation in regional forums such as ECOWAS and the G-20, the administration aims to support political reforms and advance economic growth. Economically, efforts are directed towards promoting trade and investment opportunities, enhancing job creation, and addressing socio-economic disparities to bolster stability. On the military and security front, collaboration focuses on countering terrorism, enhancing regional security cooperation, and supporting peacekeeping efforts, particularly in West Africa. By maintaining close coordination and deepening partnership with Nigeria, the Biden administration seeks to advance shared interests and contribute to a more peaceful and prosperous future for the region (The White House, 2023 & 2024). Thus, in the post-Arab Spring era, Biden's policy towards Nigeria highlights a comprehensive approach, prioritizing democratic principles, economic growth and challenges, and regional stability and competition through collaborative efforts with Nigerian leaders and regional allies and organizations.

In Ethiopia, under the Biden administration, a series of executive actions have been initiated in response to the ongoing crisis in the northern region. Initially, on September 17, 2021, President Biden invoked Executive Order 14046, declaring a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, citing ongoing activities that jeopardize peace, security, and stability in Ethiopia and the broader Horn of Africa. This declaration was extended for an additional year beyond September 17, 2023, underscoring the unwavering commitment of the USA to addressing the multifaceted challenges in the region to safeguard national security and foreign policy interests (The White House , 2023).

Furthermore, the Biden administration also enacted targeted financial sanctions through an executive order, aiming at individuals exacerbating the conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray region, obstructing humanitarian aid, or undermining Ethiopia's democracy and territorial integrity. This order specifically targets all parties involved, including elements

within the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), and the Amhara regional authorities and forces. However, despite these measures, the response from Ethiopian leadership, notably Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's framing of the conflict as part of the global war on terror, highlights the entrenched narratives that present challenges to achieving meaningful progress (Gavin M. , 2023). In short, while Biden's policy in Ethiopia show commitment to the crisis, challenges from Ethiopian leadership underline the ongoing need for diplomatic engagement for lasting stability.

4.3.Comparative Analysis of USA Policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia

When analyzing USA policies towards Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia across the Obama, Trump, and Biden administrations, it is clear that the USA has approached each country with a blend of shared and distinct strategies. Across these administrations, spanning from Obama through Trump and into Biden's tenure, there has been a continuous focus on economic and security priorities in all three countries. However, nuances emerged in diplomatic strategies and human rights considerations, reflecting contextual complexities (Elhadidi, 2018, pp. 79-87; Okeke, 2021, pp. 66-80; Sully, 2022, pp. 339-347). This trend underscores an ongoing evolution in US engagement strategies across the African continent, with each administration adapting its approach to the unique challenges and opportunities presented by Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.

However, when evaluating the socio-economic and political outcomes within the framework of Dependency Theory, it becomes apparent that US engagement has yielded diverse impacts. In Egypt, despite receiving economic aid and security support, persistent concerns regarding human rights violations and democratic deficits raise questions about the sustainability of development outcomes and the perpetuation of dependency dynamics (Elhadidi, 2018). Similarly, Nigeria's involvement in the Prosper Africa initiative aimed at

enhancing business prospects may inadvertently reinforce economic dependency while navigating complex political landscapes (Okeke, 2021). Meanwhile, in Ethiopia, reliance on US assistance, coupled with tensions over the Global Gag Rule and the GERD, underscores the intricate interplay between external aid and geopolitical dynamics, shaping socio-economic outcomes in complex ways (Sully, 2022, pp. 339-359; Mohyeldeen, 2021, pp. 1-5).

A comparative analysis of US strategies and impacts with those of other external actors, drawing insights from Dependency Theory, offers valuable perspectives on broader geopolitical dynamics. While the USA prioritizes economic and security interests, the growing presence of China in Africa, characterized by extensive infrastructure investments and economic partnerships, presents alternative models of development (Gavin M. D., 2021; Okeke, 2021). Dependency Theory serves as a critical lens through which to examine power dynamics and structural inequalities perpetuated by external actors, underscoring the necessity for nuanced approaches to address socio-economic challenges and foster sustainable development in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.

4.5.Challenges and Opportunities

Exploring the challenges encountered by the USA in implementing its policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia via the lens of Dependency Theory analyse several key issues. Dependency Theory highlights the risk of perpetuating unequal power dynamics and reinforcing dependency on external aid, posing significant hurdles to sustainable development and autonomy in these countries (Sully, 2022; Katito, 2009). However, within these challenges lie opportunities for fostering deeper US-Africa cooperation, particularly in crucial sectors such as trade, investment, and development (Gavin M. D., 2021; Ploch, 2013).

By addressing dependency dynamics and prioritizing mutual benefit, the USA can leverage its engagement to catalyze sustainable economic growth and enhance regional

stability (Elhadidi, 2018; Okeke, 2021). To achieve this, it is important to adopt a nuanced approach that balances strategic interests with the principles of sovereignty and self-reliance, thereby maximizing the benefits of US engagement while mitigating its potential drawbacks within the framework of Dependency Theory.

4.6.Conclusion

The chapter concluded that US policies towards Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia extended over the Obama, Trump, and Biden administrations, aim to uncover the details of the USA engagement in these African nations. The above discussion revealed that US strategies in these countries have been influenced by a mix of strategic interests, geopolitical factors, and domestic pressures. In the post Arab-Spring, the USA prioritized democratic values alongside security concerns, shifted towards a focus on economic and security interests, and while has been facing unique challenges and opportunities.

In Egypt, USA's prioritization of security cooperation over human rights underline the complexities of USA-Egypt relations, while Nigeria saw the implementation of the Prosper Africa initiative, reflecting economic engagement with geopolitical motives. In Ethiopia, USA involvement in GERD negotiations highlighted the intersection of regional geopolitics and developmental challenges, illustrating the complexity of USA policy in the Horn of Africa. The chapter also emphasized the relevance of Dependency Theory in understanding the socio-economic and political consequences of USA policy, urging policymakers to address dependency dynamics for sustainable development and autonomy. Hence, adopting a strong approach that balances strategic interests with sovereignty and self-reliance is important for maximizing benefits and promoting mutual prosperity and stability in these countries.

CHAPTER FIVE

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF USA AND CHINA POLICIES IN THE POST ARAB SPRING AFRICA

5. Introduction

The Arab Spring, a wave of anti-government protests and uprisings across the Arab world, was a significant moment in local, regional and global geopolitics. Its effects went beyond the Middle East, influence international relations and strategic interests in Africa. In response, the USA and China, as major global powers, have significantly reshaped their policies towards African countries. Understanding these policies is important because Africa's strategic importance has increased due to its abundant natural resources, growing population, and rising economic potential and challenges. It also helps to analyze what are the areas where the USA and China want to be engaged in Africa? How foreign direct investment impacts the traditional social and political setups? How their rivalry affects Nigeria, Ethiopia and Egypt?

A key player in North Africa, Egypt's strategic location and political influence make it a significant case for studying USA and Chinese policies. Post-Arab Spring, Egypt has navigated a complex political landscape with both the USA, which maintains strong military and economic ties, and China, which has increased investment and trade through the BRI, vying for influence. While Nigeria, Africa's most populous country and largest economy, represents a critical focal point for USA and Chinese interests. The USA has traditionally engaged with Nigeria through aid, trade, and security cooperation, while China has significantly increased its economic presence by investing in infrastructure and oil. Besides, Ethiopia's rapid economic growth and strategic importance in the Horn of Africa make it another essential case study. The USA engages with Ethiopia primarily through development

aid and security cooperation, focusing on counterterrorism, whereas China has made substantial investments in infrastructure and industrialization projects, positioning Ethiopia as a crucial part of its BRI.

In this way, Dependency Theory provides an analytical perspective on global power dynamics, particularly between developed and developing countries, including those in Africa. It argues that underdevelopment in the Global South stems not only from internal challenges but also from exploitative relationships with powerful states and institutions in the Global North (Romaniuk, 2017, pp. 1-5). African countries heavily depend on these global power for capital, technology, and market access, often under terms that favor the more powerful countries. This economic reliance leads to unequal exchange, where African nations export raw materials at low prices and import manufactured goods at higher costs, perpetuating economic exploitation and hindering local industrialization efforts (Ferraro, 1996, pp. 1-6). Neo-Colonialism further complicates the situation by exerting external influence over African economies, often prioritizing foreign interests over local development goals.

Economists like Raul Prebisch highlight these issues, emphasizing the ongoing struggle of African countries to achieve economic independence and sustainable growth amid global disparities and power imbalances (Prebisch, 1950). Dependency Theory, which emerged in the late 1950s under Prebisch's leadership at the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, challenged neoclassical economics by revealing how economic growth in wealthy countries can adversely affect poorer nations. Prebisch advocated for import substitution policies to reduce dependency, but implementation faced obstacles such as small domestic markets and limited control over exports. The theory posits that global poverty results from capitalist exploitation within an unequal international economic system that predominantly benefits richer countries (Vernengo, 2016, pp. 10-24).

To opt Dependency Theory into the analysis of USA and Chinese policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia reveals distinct approaches and their implications for economic dependency and neo-colonial dynamics. China focuses on economic engagement and infrastructure investments through initiatives like the BRI, while maintaining a policy of non-interference (Matunhu, 2011, pp. 65-72). On contrary, the USA employs a multifaceted strategy including security cooperation, economic interests, foreign aid, and support for democratic governance (Smith, 1979, pp. 247-288). Each country's approach offers insights into Dependency Theory's practical implications and the strategies of global powers in Africa. For example, in Egypt, the USA provides military aid and economic assistance, contrasting with China's infrastructure investments under the BRI (Chen, 2017, pp. 219-235; Githaiga, 2019, pp. 117-141). In Nigeria, US involvement in aid, trade, and security cooperation differs from China's focus on infrastructure and natural resource investments (Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-35; Jakkie Cilliers, 2015, pp. 1-29). While in Ethiopia, US development aid and security cooperation compete with China's investments in infrastructure and industry, influencing Ethiopia's economic sovereignty (U.S Department of State, 2023). Thus, Prebisch's theory enriches this analysis by examining how these policies perpetuate or challenge dependency dynamics and their impact on regional development and sovereignty efforts.

Therefore, this chapter provides a comparative analysis of USA and Chinese policies in Africa, with a focus on Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. It explores the dynamics of dependency and the impacts of these external engagements on African development. This approach explain the divergences and convergences in strategic approaches adopted by the USA and China, while understand their implications for the political and economic sovereignty of African states. Through a comprehensive examination of these external engagements, it is also necessary to understand the opportunities and constraints encountered

by African countries, while to develop a scholarly discourse on sustainable development and strategic autonomy.

5.1.USA and China Policies in Africa: An Analysis

The historical trajectory of USA and China relations with Africa has evolved significantly, influenced by geopolitical shifts and economic transformations. US-Africa engagement dates back to the Cold War, focusing on countering Soviet influence and securing natural resources. Initially, US involvement aimed at aiding Europe's post-war recovery, later recognizing Africa's political significance and balancing support for self-government with alliances with European colonial powers (Schmidt, 2018, pp. 5-16; Kent, 2005, pp. 195-220; Nwaubani, 2003, pp. 524-544). In contrast, China's engagement surged in the late 20th century, driven by economic goals and strategic partnerships, including assistance to African countries against colonial dominance. The establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 marked a significant milestone in strengthening these ties. (Chun, 2013, pp. 1-15; Gavin, 2021, pp. 2-9; Naidu, 2007, pp. 283-294; Ogunsanwo, 1974, pp. 15-23).

Both the USA and China have developed comprehensive policies towards Africa, driven by distinct motives and goals. Economic interests, such as FDI, are crucial for both countries, aiming to secure access to natural resources, expand market opportunities, and stimulate economic development. Their strategic priorities include geopolitical influence, maritime security, and counterterrorism initiatives, reflecting their broader global strategies. China's BRI illustrates its strategic economic engagements in Africa, focusing on infrastructure development and connectivity, such as the Abuja-Kaduna railway and various power plants. This enhances China's corporate and product image and promotes integrated economic and infrastructure growth in Africa (Rice, 2023, pp. 1-4; Freitas, 2023, pp. 1-8;

Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9; Githaiga, 2019, pp. 117-130) On the other hand, the USA emphasizes governance, human rights, and democracy promotion alongside security and economic cooperation, diverging from China's non-interference policy. This shift in USA policies towards Africa reflects the continent's growing influence on global affairs, encompassing security, economic, and political concerns, countering extremist groups, maintaining a military presence, contributing to peacekeeping operations, and promoting democracy and human rights (The White House, 2009; Katito, 2009, pp. 145-152; Gavin, 2021, pp. 1-5).

Therefore, the USA and China engage with Africa across various sectors, including infrastructure, energy, agriculture, and digital technology, to enhance economic ties and exert influence. FDI from both countries has reshaped traditional social structures and political dynamics in Africa, balancing potential benefits like economic growth and job creation sectors against concerns about resource exploitation, environmental impact, and local economic dependency. This competition between the USA and China influences diplomatic alignments, infrastructure developments, military collaborations, and economic dependencies in Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. These dynamics underscore the complex interplay of global powers in shaping Africa's geopolitical landscape and domestic policies.

5.2.Comparative Analysis of Economic Diplomacy

Economic diplomacy significantly influences international relations and power dynamics. In post-Arab Spring Africa shaped the strategic interests of global powers, yet have failed to overcome the region's dependency on these powers and the challenges of internal economic instability, as contemporary critics argue that the discourse about the China and USA partnership contradicts their actual impact on development. In Africa, the USA has long history of development assistance and trade partnerships while maintain to promote socio-economic growth, structural reforms, and regional investments. In Egypt, the USA focuses on

military cooperation and economic aid, gradually promoting economic liberalization and democratic reforms. In Nigeria, the USA emphasizes aid and investments in healthcare, education, and infrastructure to maintain its influence. In Ethiopia, the USA supports socio-economic reforms and capacity building.

China's economic diplomacy centers on the BRI, emphasizing infrastructure development and industrial investment. In Egypt, China prioritizes infrastructure projects like the new administrative capital to boost regional connectivity and economic integration. In Nigeria, China focuses on railways, ports, and power plants, aiming to secure resources and expand its influence, though raising concerns about debt sustainability. In Ethiopia, Chinese investments in railways, roads, and industrial parks promote industrialization but also pose risks of economic dependency and indebtedness. Thus, here are the followings that discuss US and China policies and economic diplomacy in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.

a) Egypt

Economic diplomacy is important in shaping global relations, with the USA and China employing distinct strategies and policies in Egypt that reflect their broader geopolitical goals and objectives. The post-Arab Spring had witnessed that the USA has emphasized military cooperation and economic aid, transitioning towards fostering economic liberalization and supporting democratic reforms, as part of global agenda in order to counter regional and global challenges. While China's economic diplomacy in Egypt has expanded significantly through initiatives like the BRI; a global infrastructure projects such as the new administrative capital near Cairo. These efforts align with China's aim to bolster regional connectivity and economic integration, supporting Egypt's goals of modernization and economic diversification.

The economic diplomacy of the USA in Egypt has evolved significantly over the decades, starting from the 1974 Open Door Policy and the 1979 Camp David Accords, which led to substantial US foreign aid (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32; Sharp, 2009, pp. 5-23; Momani, 2003, pp. 88-101; Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337). The focus shifted in the 1990s towards economic liberalization, promoting a ‘trade not aid’ relationship following the Persian Gulf War. There were key initiatives such as the Presidents’ Council and various trade agreements aimed to reduce Egypt’s reliance on aid and encourage economic reforms, with discussions on a potential USA-Egypt FTA highlighting mutual economic benefits (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32).

Post-Arab Spring, USA efforts continued to support economic reforms through initiatives like the Middle East Response Fund (MERF) and the USA-Egyptian Enterprise Fund, which weight job creation and SME development (Hassan, 2017, pp. 332-337; Sharp, 2009, pp. 1-5). Despite occasional punitive measures, the USA has maintained strategic economic ties with Egypt on sectors like defense, agriculture, and energy, with significant investments in infrastructure, telecommunications, and renewable energy (Ploch, 2013, pp. 1-27; Elhadidi, 2018, pp. 79-87). Under the Biden administration, significant military aid was approved to prioritize USA national security interests, underscoring the strategic importance of Egypt in regional security and counterterrorism efforts (Yee, 2023). This multifaceted economic engagement aims to promote stability, combat extremism, and foster long-term democratic and economic development in Egypt (Tayyar, 2020, pp. 1-27; Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26).

In the same synoptic paradigm, China’s economic diplomacy in Egypt has intensified in recent years, largely driven by the BRI. Chinese investments focus on infrastructure development in transportation, energy, and telecommunications, aligning with Egypt’s goals of economic diversification and modernization (Mohyeldeen, 2021, pp. 1-5). A notable

example is the construction of Egypt's new administrative capital outside Cairo, led by the China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC). This project, which includes government buildings and skyscrapers, exemplifies China's influence on Egypt's development and aims to enhance connectivity and trade across the region, in line with BRI objectives (Sun, 2014).

China's investments under the BRI include high-profile projects like the New Administrative Capital and industrial zones, bolstering Egypt's infrastructure but raising concerns about dependency and debt sustainability (Yimer, 2021, pp. 66-82). Politically, China's approach of non-interference and respect for sovereignty appeals to Egypt, especially post-Arab Spring, offering an alternative to Western methods that emphasize human rights and political freedoms (Large, 2008, pp. 45-61). This strategy has led to significant financial investments in Egypt's industrial and infrastructure sectors, strengthening bilateral ties and supporting mutual economic interests.

Therefore, the economic strategies of the USA and China in Egypt reveal distinct approaches and impacts. The USA prioritizes aid and investments aimed at governance reforms, private sector development, and socio-economic initiatives designed to foster inclusive growth and job creation (Sully, 2022, pp. 339-359). This approach underscores a commitment to strengthening institutional capacity and promoting sustainable economic practices. However, it also raises concerns about dependency dynamics as Egypt navigates its economic relations with both powers. While US aid supports developmental goals, it can create reliance on American financial assistance and policy alignment, influencing Egypt's domestic reforms and international alignments.

In contrast, China's economic footprint in Egypt is characterized by large-scale infrastructure projects under the BRI, focusing on sectors like transportation, energy, and

telecommunications (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7). These investments aim to enhance Egypt's connectivity within the region and support economic diversification and modernization goals (Mabrouk, 2019, pp. 1-32). Nevertheless, they also introduce potential dependencies on Chinese financing and technology, raising questions about long-term economic sovereignty and debt sustainability. China's strategy differs from the USA by emphasizing broader geopolitical implications through regional connectivity and global economic integration, extending its influence beyond bilateral relations to encompass broader regional dynamics.

To conclude, Egypt's economic diplomacy with both the USA and China illustrates the convergence of global powers' strategic interests amid regional dynamics and global sphere of influence. The USA focuses on governance reforms and socio-economic development through bilateral aid and cooperation, reflecting a commitment to long-term stability and mutual benefit. While China maintains to bolster bilateral relations and cooperation within the framework of BRI. However, there are concerns about dependency and sustainability, therefore, for Egypt, these engagements, balancing economic growth with strategic autonomy becomes paramount. These dynamics will be crucial as Egypt positions itself within evolving global economic and geopolitical landscapes.

b) Nigeria

Nigeria, with the largest population and biggest economy in Africa, faces significant challenges such as insufficient infrastructure, weak institutions, transparency and governance issues, and an oil-dependent rent-seeking economy. Since the Arab Spring, the USA has pursued a robust economic strategy in Nigeria, characterized by a deep and enduring partnership spanning over six decades. The USA is Nigeria's second-largest trading partner in Africa and one of the largest foreign investors, providing substantial foreign assistance and security aid. Conversely, China has significantly increased its economic presence in Nigeria, focusing on infrastructure projects like railways, ports, and power plants. China, one of

Nigeria's top trading partners, dominates exports to Nigeria with manufactured goods and offers an alternative source of development finance to traditional lenders like the IMF and World Bank. While these initiatives reflect strategic interests in accessing Nigerian resources and expanding influence in West Africa, they also raise concerns about debt sustainability and dependency on financing.

Following the Arab Spring, the USA has pursued a multifaceted economic approach in Nigeria, focusing on aid, trade partnerships, and investments to promote economic growth, stability, and security cooperation (Ploch, 2013, pp. 1-27). Over the years, the USA has provided significant economic assistance in sectors such as healthcare, education, agriculture, and infrastructure development. These efforts include initiatives to strengthen governance, combat corruption, and build local capacity, highlighting a strategic commitment to advancing socio-economic development and strengthening bilateral relations (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-3).

Trade relations between the USA and Nigeria primarily revolve around oil and gas exports, with Nigeria serving as a key supplier of crude oil to the USA under the AGOA. Beyond energy, both countries collaborate on infrastructure projects, energy sector improvements, and maritime security initiatives aimed at fostering regional economic stability (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26; Ploch, 2013). Thus US investments in Nigeria encompass telecommunications, banking, agriculture, and energy, playing a pivotal role in job creation and economic diversification efforts. It is also witnessed that under different US administrations, strategies have varied. The Trump administration's Prosper Africa initiative aimed to consolidate US resources to enhance business opportunities across Africa, with a strong focus on American interests (Okeke, 2021, pp. 66-80). Conversely, the Biden administration emphasizes supporting political reforms, promoting economic growth, and addressing socio-economic disparities through expanded trade and investment engagement

with Nigerian leaders and active participation in regional forums (The White House, 2023 & 2024).

In the similar way, China's economic footprint in Nigeria has expanded significantly through the BRI, focusing on infrastructure projects and industrial investments (Mohyeldeen, 2021, pp. 1-5). Chinese investments span railways, ports, telecommunications networks, and power plants, aimed at enhancing infrastructure connectivity and fostering economic integration. These initiatives highlight China's strategic interest in securing access to Nigeria's natural resources and expanding influence in West Africa.

In addition to infrastructure, Chinese companies like the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) have made substantial investments in Nigeria's oil industry (Ogunkola, 2008, pp. 5-15). This cooperation, which began during the Cold War era, has evolved to meet contemporary economic demands. Chinese loans for large-scale infrastructure projects executed by Chinese firms have also contributed to Nigeria's development but raised concerns about debt sustainability and dependency (Momani, 2003, pp. 88-101). Hence, Chinese investments have diversified Nigeria's economic partnerships beyond traditional Western allies, signaling a significant shift in economic relations.

Thus, the economic strategies of the USA and China in Nigeria reveal contrasting approaches to economic diplomacy and development assistance (Hassan, 2017, pp. 322-337). US aid focuses on governance reforms and capacity building, aiming to strengthen Nigeria's institutional frameworks and socio-economic reforms. In contrast, Chinese investments prioritize infrastructure development and industrialization, reflecting a strategic emphasis on enhancing Nigeria's physical connectivity and economic productivity. These divergent approaches contribute to distinct dependency patterns for Nigeria, as the country navigates

the benefits and risks associated with foreign investments and loans. US assistance supports Nigeria in fostering sustainable development through institutional strengthening, while Chinese infrastructure projects offer avenues for economic growth but potentially increase Nigeria's reliance on Chinese technology and expertise (Mabrouk, 2019). Managing these dependencies is significant for Nigeria's long-term economic sustainability, requiring careful planning and a balanced approach to maximize the benefits of economic engagements while minimizing risks of overreliance.

To cut the story short, in Nigeria, the USA and China employ distinct economic strategies with significant impacts on development. To compete global markets, both the USA and China signed various agreements on strategic partnerships with the Nigerian government; emphasizes aid, governance reforms, and strategic trade, while China focuses on infrastructure through the BRI, including railways and energy projects. These policies shows that their roles in shaping Nigeria's economy and regional influence. Despite many concerns about debt and dependency, Chinese investments have diversified Nigeria's economic partnerships, altered traditional Western influences. It is therefore, effective management of these ties is necessary for Nigeria to sustain growth amid global economic changes.

c) Ethiopia

Ethiopia, despite being one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, remains one of the poorest countries, with around a quarter of its population living in extreme poverty. The economic diplomacy of the USA and China in Ethiopia have developed a different policies and implementations in order to counter and balance each other in the region. The USA approach combines humanitarian and development assistance, climate and food security as well as bilateral trade partnership with a particular focus on manufacturing, energy, and agriculture. On contrary, China views Ethiopia as a bridge between the BRI and Africa's

development i.e. China-Africa production capacity cooperation. As Ethiopia's rapid economic growth continues, it becomes a significant market for Chinese exports.

On the one hand, US economic engagement in Ethiopia has centered on development assistance, trade partnerships, and investment to promote economic growth, poverty reduction, and regional stability (Ayferam, 2016, pp. 791-792; Ploch, 2013, pp. 3-17). Significant US aid has supported health, education, agriculture, and infrastructure projects. Programs funded by the USA Agency for International Development (USAID) have focused on poverty alleviation, governance reforms, and capacity building, reflecting a strategic commitment to Ethiopia's socio-economic progress (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 5-12). Post-Arab Spring, President Obama's 2015 visit to Ethiopia which has witnessed the multifaceted nature of US involvement in the region (ABABA, 2015; Fortin, 2015). It also shows that US has influenced long-term economic dependency in Ethiopia along with China and other major powers.

Trade relations between the USA and Ethiopia include Ethiopian agricultural exports and US imports, facilitated by the AGOA (Ploch, 2013, pp. 1-27). The USA has supported Ethiopia's efforts to attract FDI through policy reforms and business-friendly initiatives, with investments spanning telecommunications, energy, and manufacturing sectors, contributing to economic diversification and job creation (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26). Under the Biden administration, the USA has taken executive actions in response to the crisis in northern Ethiopia, including extending Executive Order 14046, reflecting a continued commitment to regional peace, security, and stability (The White House , 2023).

On the other hand, despite a strong political engagement, economic and trade cooperation of China in Ethiopia have grown significantly under the BRI, as optimal choice of partner as opposed the USA. Chinese investments include constructing railways, roads,

telecommunications networks, and industrial parks to enhance connectivity and foster industrialization. Major projects, such as the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway, aim to support Ethiopia's transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy, promoting commerce, urban mobility, and job creation (Cisse, 2022, pp. 1-9). Historically, it is also witnessed that resource investments by Chinese companies in Ethiopia's mining and energy sectors aim to secure access to natural resources and strengthen bilateral trade relations (Momani, 2003, pp. 88-101).

These infrastructure projects, often financed through loans and executed by Chinese companies, have contributed to Ethiopia's development but raised concerns about debt sustainability and dependency on Chinese financing and technology (Hassan, 2017). While these projects hold the potential to transform Ethiopia's economy, they come with significant costs and debt obligations, raising questions about economic independence and the long-term implications of such indebtedness. It is also considered that China's focus on industrialization and infrastructure rather than resource extraction sets Ethiopia apart from other African countries, aligning with dependency theory, which suggests that while China fosters growth, it may also increase economic reliance (Blanchard, 2013, pp. 1-26). Despite these challenges, Chinese investments have driven economic growth and employment opportunities in Ethiopia, albeit with concerns about climate and economic dependency i.e. not to facilitate the country's economic activities.

As a results, if we analyse the economic strategies of the USA and China in Ethiopia, they highlight different approaches to economic diplomacy and development assistance (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015; Mohyeldeen, 2021). Dependency dynamics emerge as Ethiopia has established economic relations with both powers, balancing the potential benefits and risks associated with foreign investments and loans. However, the implications of economic dependency on Ethiopia's development trajectory are significant, influencing policy choices

and economic sustainability. US development programs support Ethiopia's socio-economic reforms and institutional capacity building. In contrast, Chinese investments in infrastructure and resources offer opportunities for industrialization but may lead to indebtedness and reliance on Chinese technology and expertise. Managing these dependencies requires strategic planning and a balanced approach to maximize the benefits of economic engagements while mitigating potential risks.

In short, the economic policies of both the USA and China in Ethiopia find contrasting approaches to develop economic diplomacy. In Ethiopia, the USA employs aid, trade partnerships, and strategic investments to foster socio-economic growth and governance reforms, aiming for stability despite challenges like the northern crisis while reflects dependency in long-term economic development. Conversely, China focuses on infrastructure and industrial projects, stimulating economic growth but raising concerns about long-term debt sustainability and dependency on Chinese resources and technology. These contrasting strategies underscore Ethiopia's strategic role in global economic dynamics and highlight the complexities of managing foreign engagements within the framework of dependency theory.

It is found that the economic diplomacy of the USA and China in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia highlights the strategic interests of global powers within regional dynamics, yet both have failed to overcome the economic problems and growth challenges in these countries. Despite their efforts, rising interest rates and the burden of loans, issues of natural resource extraction, critiques of indebtedness, and the vulnerabilities of long-term financial obligations have persisted. Both approaches have led to new infrastructure but few new jobs, reflecting the complexities of managing foreign engagements and internal power politics. It is also important to balance economic growth with strategic autonomy while to move with global economic and geopolitical landscapes.

5.3.Comparative Analysis of Resource Diplomacy

The comparative analysis of resource diplomacy between the USA and China in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia reveals distinct approaches aimed at leveraging economic and strategic interests, navigating challenges of dependency, and shaping regional dynamics in post-Arab Spring Africa. In Egypt, the USA and China pursue resource diplomacy with distinct strategies. Historically, the USA has prioritized military cooperation and security aid, aiming to safeguard access to strategic waterways and maintain regional stability (Katito, 2009; Aly, 2014; Okeke, 2021). In contrast, China has increasingly focused on infrastructure projects and energy resources such as oil and natural gas, reflecting its broader economic ambitions and strategic interests in the region. China aims to enhance its energy security through ventures led by the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) (Downs, 2007, pp. 42-86). These engagements by both the USA and China underscore their strategic calculations in leveraging resources for geopolitical influence.

In Nigeria, the USA historically focuses on oil and gas exploration, security cooperation to combat piracy, and promoting regional stability. The USA supports power generation reforms and enhances maritime security through initiatives like the African Partnership Station (APS). In contrast, China competes for Nigeria's energy resources by offering loans for oil exploration rights and investing in refineries, pipelines, and mineral mining operations (Christopher Alden, 2008, pp. 54-69). Ethiopia, while not as resource-rich, attracts Chinese interest in minerals such as gold, tantalum, and potash, alongside agricultural investments aimed at ensuring food security, reflecting China's broader resource-driven strategy in Africa (Blanchard, 2013; Ploch, 2013, pp. 19-20; Brautigam, 2011, pp. 70-80). Additionally, China emphasizes infrastructure development in Ethiopia, including railways, ports, and investments in oil exploration and mining, aligning with its BRI strategy to secure resource access and expand influence in West Africa (Mabrouk, 2019). These contrasting

approaches underscore how resource diplomacy serves as a critical component of both the USA and China's economic and geopolitical strategies in Africa.

Analysis of the impacts of resource dependency on the economies, governance, and social structures of selected African countries varies under the influence of US and Chinese engagements. In Egypt, US military aid enhances security yet may reinforce authoritarian governance, while Chinese infrastructure investments improve connectivity but raise concerns over debt sustainability and governance standards. In Nigeria, US oil investments bolster economic growth but heighten environmental and social inequalities, while Chinese infrastructure projects stimulate development yet potentially foster dependency on Chinese technology and financing. Ethiopia's resource diplomacy with the USA emphasizes aid for development and governance reforms, bolstering capacity building but maintaining reliance on external assistance. Meanwhile, Chinese investments in Ethiopian infrastructure promote industrialization but prompt scrutiny regarding debt dependency and environmental impacts.

Therefore, the comparison of US and Chinese resource diplomacy strategies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia highlights their distinct impacts on economic development and governance. The USA focuses on governance reforms, security cooperation, and targeted economic assistance to encourage stability, though its emphasis on military aid in Egypt and oil investments in Nigeria limits broader socio-economic effects (Katito, 2009; Ploch, 2013). As opposed to China prioritizes infrastructure development and resource extraction through initiatives like the BRI, aiming to enhance connectivity and industrialization. However, these investments raise concerns about potential economic dependency and environmental risks in all three countries (Aly, 2014). Thus, one can say that these contrasting approaches have shown how global powers influence local economies, governance structures, and social stability, necessitating careful management of dependency dynamics and alignment with sustainable development goals amid shifting global and regional dynamics.

5.4.Comparative Analysis of Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy

Africa, a continent rich in rare earth minerals and other natural resources, plays a critical role in global economic growth. Both the USA and China employ diverse strategies to enhance their soft power and cultural influence in African countries such as Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, reflecting their distinct geopolitical objectives and historical engagements. Since World War II, the USA government has systematically utilized soft power in the Arab world. In Egypt, the USA employs educational exchange programs, cultural initiatives, and English language teaching to foster ties and promote American values (Aly, 2014, pp. 1-7; Katito, 2009, pp. 145-157). These efforts aim to strengthen bilateral relations beyond military cooperation, despite occasional political tensions. However, the USA has faced criticism for perceived interference in Egypt's domestic politics, as evidenced by reactions to Hosni Mubarak's resignation in 2011. Despite such controversies, many Egyptians and Arabs admire American democracy, rule of law, accountability of leaders, and freedom of speech.

In contrast, China leverages Confucius Institutes, media partnerships, and Chinese language training to expand its cultural influence in Egypt. These efforts are part of a broader strategy emphasizing mutual economic benefits under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and fostering cultural understanding (Chen J. , 2017). Chinese cultural diplomacy in Egypt is characterized by an ethno- and geo-centric approach, focusing on historical ties and economic cooperation to enhance bilateral relations and public perception of China's role in regional development. The Confucius Institute at Cairo University, for instance, offers language courses, cultural activities, and educational exchanges, thereby strengthening cultural ties (Hartig, 2015, pp. 77-89).

In Nigeria, the USA promotes cultural exchanges, educational scholarships, and media collaborations to reinforce democratic values and strengthen bilateral relations

(Blanchard, 2013; Ploch, 2013). These efforts aim to counter extremism and promote governance reforms, despite challenges in security cooperation and economic disparities. Programs such as the Fulbright Program, the Mandela Washington Fellowship, TechWomen, and the International Visitor Leadership Program exemplify this commitment. Since 2017, over 500 emerging filmmakers have participated in workshops led by US filmmakers, in collaboration with the Department of State's American Film Showcase and Global Media Makers ECA programs. Besides Mission Nigeria has contributed to the development of the creative ecosystem by supporting various film, theater, and arts festivals, including the Africa International Film Festival, Africa Creative Market, Abuja Open House, and Ake Arts and Book Festivals (The White House , 2024).

Conversely, China's cultural diplomacy in Nigeria focuses on infrastructure projects, cultural exchanges, and media partnerships to enhance cultural understanding and support economic development. Institutes at NnamdiAzikiwe University and the University of Lagos teach Chinese culture and organize events like Chinese New Year celebrations to foster goodwill (Wekesa, 2013, pp. 62-78). Chinese initiatives emphasize mutual benefits and economic cooperation, reflecting a strategic approach to strengthen bilateral ties and expand influence in Africa. Despite the image challenges faced by Nigeria through its entertainment industry, the sector holds significant soft power potential (Alex, 2022, pp. 1256-1266). This potential has been leveraged to achieve Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.

While Ethiopia utilizes soft power through various channels including celebrities, cultural exchanges, art and musical shows, media relations, sister city partnerships, parliamentary engagements, scholarships for foreign students, and collaborations with think tanks. Its engagement with US cultural diplomacy includes educational exchanges, development assistance, and cultural programs aimed at capacity building and governance reforms. These initiatives support Ethiopia's socio-economic development while promoting

American values and enhancing bilateral relations (Jakkie Cilliers, 2015). COVID-19 and conflict have severely impacted Ethiopia's education system, leaving 30 percent of children aged 7-14 out of school and over 8,000 schools damaged or destroyed. To address this, USAID is investing USD 14.5 million annually to restore education and create safe learning environments. Moreover, USAID is empowering over 2 million youth in 18 cities to advance their social and economic development, demonstrating the USA's commitment to fostering stability and positive relations through soft power and cultural diplomacy in Ethiopia (The US Department of State, 2023). Meanwhile, Chinese cultural diplomacy in Ethiopia focuses on infrastructure investments, educational scholarships, and media collaborations to promote mutual understanding and support economic growth. The Confucius Institute at Addis Ababa University and scholarships for Ethiopian students studying in China enhance educational and cultural connections, aiming to build a positive image of China and create a network of individuals with favorable views towards China (King, 2013, pp. 40-55). These efforts contribute to China's soft power in Ethiopia, shaping public perception and fostering economic cooperation under the BRI.

Therefore, it can be said that the evaluation of USA and Chinese cultural initiatives in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia underscores their varying effectiveness influenced by strategic goals, local reception, and socio-political dynamics. USA cultural diplomacy emphasizes democratic values and governance reforms, aiming to strengthen bilateral relations amid occasional political tensions and security challenges. Meanwhile, Chinese initiatives prioritize economic development and infrastructure projects, fostering cultural understanding and support for Chinese investments while addressing local developmental needs. The BRI serves to amplify China's influence through cultural exchanges and media partnerships, highlighting mutual benefits. So to analyze the comparative impact of USA and Chinese soft power and cultural diplomacy provides insights into their roles in shaping public perception

and enhancing bilateral relations across diverse geopolitical contexts. So to fulfil success with these initiatives requires implementing sophisticated strategies that are in harmony with local aspirations, thereby promoting sustainable development within the frameworks of global competition and regional cooperation.

5.5.Challenges and Criticisms

In Africa, historical dominance has shaped the geo-strategic, geopolitical, and socio-economic landscape influenced by major powers like China and the USA. Both nations maintain distinct policies in the region, with criticisms of neo-colonialism and economic exploitation often leveled against them. The Arab Spring's mass movements further altered internal power structures, cultural heritage, and economic diplomacy across the continent, impacting responses in countries like Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia to external engagements. Despite challenges, opportunities for mutual cooperation and sustainable development exist.

Criticism of USA engagement in Africa often revolves around accusations of neo-colonialism, economic exploitation, and a selective promotion of democracy and human rights. Critics argue that USA policies, focused on strategic interests like counterterrorism and resource extraction, can overshadow efforts towards sustainable development and local governance. This approach has been cited for its potential to interfere in domestic affairs and exacerbate socio-political tensions in countries such as Nigeria and Ethiopia. In this sense, Dependency Theory offers a lens to analyze these challenges, while concerns about perpetuating unequal power dynamics and reinforcing dependence on external aid, which pose significant obstacles to achieving sustainable development and autonomy in the contemporary world. Despite these challenges, there are opportunities for the USA to deepen cooperation with Africa, particularly in sectors like trade, investment, and development. Thus, to stimulate sustainable economic growth and bolster regional stability, a balanced

strategy will be required that respects sovereignty and self-reliance. It also have a long-term strategies to maximize the positive impacts of US involvement while mitigating potential drawbacks inherent in Dependency Theory frameworks.

China's engagement in Africa has drawn criticism for its focus on economic gains through infrastructure projects under the BBRI, leading to accusations of debt-trap diplomacy and exploitation of natural resources. Critics argue that Chinese investments prioritize short-term economic benefits for China at the expense of local economic diversification and environmental sustainability. Challenges facing China in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia include political instability, security concerns such as the Nigerian insurgency and ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia, and Egypt's complex post-Arab Spring landscape, all of which jeopardize Chinese plans and investments. Moreover, local resistance to Chinese labor and firms due to fears of economic displacement and cultural insensitivity hampers China's efforts. Despite these obstacles, opportunities exist in renewable energy, digital infrastructure, and industrial development, where China's technical expertise could modernize African economies and improve connectivity. Initiatives like the BRI and increased educational and cultural exchanges aim to enhance China-Africa collaboration. Therefore, to counter opposition while settle these challenges and maximizing benefits from China's involvement in Africa requires enhancing transparency and sustainability in Chinese investments, implementing stringent environmental and cultural standards, promoting local employment and capacity building, and encourage diplomatic and cultural exchanges to build mutual trust and benefits.

However, Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia exhibit varied responses to criticisms of USA and Chinese engagement, shaped by their economic priorities, political strategies, and historical ties with both powers. Egypt strategically balances its relations by leveraging US military aid against Chinese economic investments, aiming to maintain autonomy while

benefiting from dual partnerships. Nigeria adopts a dual approach by cooperating with the USA on security and governance issues while embracing Chinese investments in infrastructure and technology transfer to diversify economic partnerships and address developmental goals. Ethiopia similarly engages cautiously with both powers, seeking to balance economic benefits from Chinese investments with USA support for governance reforms and development assistance to mitigate dependency risks and maximize gains. These strategies reflect their efforts to navigate global competition while advancing national development and sovereignty agendas. Understanding these responses provides critical insights into the diplomatic choices and priorities of these African nations amidst complex international relations.

5.6.Conclusion

In conclusion, the USA and China take different approaches to Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, driven by economic, strategic, and socio-political factors. In Egypt, the USA focuses on military aid and counterterrorism, while China prioritizes infrastructure and economic partnerships. Nigeria balances security cooperation with the USA alongside economic engagements with China. Ethiopia manages US support for governance reforms alongside Chinese investments through the BRI, adopting a cautious approach to external partnerships.

These strategies impact USA-China relations, Africa's development, and the relevance of Dependency Theory. Competition between the USA and China in Africa affects regional stability and economic growth, highlighting how their engagements are shaped by unequal power dynamics. Dependency Theory explains how strategic interests and economic ties influence these interactions, emphasizing the need for sustainable development and governance improvements for Africa's long-term advancement amid global competition.

To enhance partnerships between the USA, China, and African countries, policies should prioritize inclusive development, transparency, and accountability in economic engagements. Promoting governance reforms, sustainable investments, and capacity-building initiatives can reduce dependency risks and empower African nations in managing external relations. Addressing human rights, environmental sustainability, and cultural diplomacy is essential for overcoming criticisms and fostering trust, thereby supporting stability and sustainable development across Africa. Subsequently, aligning strategies and sharing benefits among stakeholders will be crucial in unlocking Africa's potential and promoting inclusive development and regional prosperity.

CONCLUSION

The USA and China have significantly shaped the post-Arab Spring landscape of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia through their distinct policy approaches. The Arab Spring uprisings of 2010-2011 were pivotal moments, triggering political transformations and reshaping regional dynamics. Analyzing the policies of both nations towards these countries provides insights into evolving global power relations and their impact on Africa. Each country's strategy reflects economic, strategic, ideological, and competitive considerations, influencing their spheres of influence. These policies either reinforce or challenge dependency patterns in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, underline the complex dynamics of global economic interactions and their implications for Africa's development trajectory.

The engagement of the USA and China in Africa centers on their economic, political, and strategic interests, notably through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), influencing socio-economic and political landscapes in countries like Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. This investment affects traditional social structures, political dynamics, and broader aspects of governance, stability, and development. Their rivalry intensifies in local contexts, potentially shaping regional stability and geopolitical alignments, particularly post-Arab Spring. Their policies in Africa faces scrutiny for neocolonialism, economic dependency, and sovereignty concerns, echoing global power debates and Africa's development challenges. The USA prioritizes military aid in Egypt and balances security cooperation with economic partnerships in Nigeria, contrasting with China's focus on infrastructure and economic development across all three nations. These strategies impact US-China relations and Africa's development trajectory, emphasize Dependency Theory's relevance in understanding global dynamics. Moving forward, encourage partnerships with African nations requires inclusive development, transparency, accountability, and efforts in human rights,

environmental sustainability, and cultural diplomacy to promote regional stability and sustainable progress.

Africa's pivotal role in global geopolitics, driven by its abundant resources, large population, and strategic significance, accentuates the intense competition between the USA and China for global influence. This rivalry is particularly pronounced in Africa, where both nations meticulously monitor each other economic activities, mindful of their implications for governance, debt sustainability, and commercial interests. The historical trajectory and comparative evaluation of US and Chinese policies towards Africa, especially in the context of the Arab Spring, have profoundly shaped the region's political dynamics. The Arab Spring acted as a catalyst for transformative political movements across Africa, igniting discussions on governance, democracy, and sovereignty. This period of upheaval vividly illustrates the intricate interplay of economic, social, and political factors that shape Africa economic developmental challenges. Dependency theory underscores concerns about neocolonialism and geopolitical influence in terms of Africa's geostrategic importance and its influence on superpower competition, significantly impacting its sustainable development and global integration.

On the one hand, China's policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia have primarily focused on enhancing trade partnerships, although these relationships have presented both opportunities and challenges. Its significant investments in infrastructure and key sectors have undoubtedly supported economic growth in these countries. However, they have also raised concerns about escalating debt levels and socio-political implications. China's role in Africa hold diverse approaches, including its policy of non-interference, which contrasts with Western norms and raises questions about its long-term impact on governance standards and human rights. Moreover, China's strategic objectives to counter US influence are evident, influencing regional

geopolitics and governance dynamics. Local resistance to Chinese labor and firms, driven by concerns over economic displacement and cultural insensitivity, has further complicated social and environmental landscapes in these African countries.

On the other hand, the evolution of USA policies towards Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia across the Obama, Trump, and Biden administrations has been shaped by strategic interests, geopolitical shifts, and domestic priorities. Beginning with a focus on democratic values and security in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, USA priorities later shifted towards economic and security concerns amidst changing regional dynamics. In Egypt, this shift prioritized security cooperation, often overshadowing human rights considerations, reflecting the complexities of bilateral relations. Nigeria experienced initiatives like Prosper Africa, where economic goals intertwined with geopolitical strategies, while Ethiopia's GERD negotiations underscored the intersection of regional geopolitics and development challenges. However, these policies, critiqued through Dependency Theory, risk perpetuating unequal power dynamics and reinforcing external dependencies, potentially compromising local sovereignty and self-reliance. Give a discourse to these complexities requires a balanced approach that promotes inclusive development, transparency, and local capacity-building, plan the route to the complex environment of global power dynamics.

a) Findings and Discussion

The analysis shows that both the USA and China are involved in different but sometimes similar ways in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia after the Arab Spring. The USA primarily focuses on bolstering security partnerships, promoting democratic governance, and enhancing economic ties via trade and investment. This approach underscores the USA's historical interests in maintaining stability in the region while fostering economic development and governance

reforms. In contrast, China's strategy is characterized by extensive infrastructure investments, resource extraction agreements, and economic partnerships aimed at securing access to raw materials and expanding its global influence.

The study finds that FDI plays a pivotal role in shaping the socio-economic and political landscapes of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. For these African countries, FDI from both the USA and China has contributed to economic growth, infrastructure development, and job creation. However, it has also sparked debates over its impact on traditional socio-economic structures and political dynamics. While USA investments often come with conditions related to governance reforms and human rights standards, Chinese investments are more focused on securing access to resources and fostering bilateral economic dependencies. This difference in approach has varying implications for local governance and societal stability, influencing how these countries navigate their development trajectories.

The study also has found that the rivalry between the USA and China exerts significant influence on Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt, shaping their geopolitical alignments and internal policies. Competition between these global powers manifests in diplomatic maneuvers, economic incentives, and strategic partnerships offered to these African countries. The rivalry often incentivizes governments to leverage these dynamics to their advantage, negotiating favorable terms and balancing between multiple international actors and donors. Nonetheless, it also introduces complexities, as African countries navigate competing interests and seek to maximize benefits from both the USA and China while avoiding over-reliance or vulnerabilities associated with external dependencies.

Therefore, after the careful observation, the findings underscore the nuanced interplay between economic interests, strategic competition, and local dynamics in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia within the broader context of US-China relations. While both countries contribute to Africa's development and geopolitical landscape, their approaches reflect divergent priorities and strategies, influencing how these nations evolve post-Arab Spring. Understanding these findings is important for policymakers and stakeholders aiming to navigate the complexities of global power dynamics while fostering sustainable development and stability in Africa.

The analysis of economic, resource, and soft power strategies between the USA and China in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia reveals several important insights. The USA predominantly employs economic aid, trade relations, and investment to bolster governance reforms, promote democratic values, and enhance security cooperation in these African countries. This approach reflects US's strategic interests in fostering stable political environments conducive to economic growth and regional stability. On the contrary, China focuses heavily on infrastructure development, resource extraction, and bilateral trade agreements aimed at securing access to natural resources and expanding its global influence. This economic strategy underpins China's broader BRI, which seeks to enhance connectivity and infrastructure across Eurasia and Africa.

Similarly, Dependency dynamics resulting from US and Chinese policies significantly influence Africa's development trajectory. While US investments often come with conditions related to governance standards and human rights, Chinese investments are typically characterized by loans and investments tied to resource extraction and infrastructure development. This difference can create varying degrees of economic dependency among African countries, influencing their policy choices and development priorities. Therefore, it

could be argued that the competition between the USA and China in these regions introduces strategic complexities, as African countries navigate between maintaining sovereignty and maximizing economic benefits from both global powers.

The effectiveness of soft power and cultural diplomacy in shaping bilateral relations between the USA and China in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia varies. The USA leverages its cultural influence, educational exchanges, and development assistance programs to bolster public diplomacy and strengthen ties with African countries. This approach aims to cultivate favorable perceptions, enhance people-to-people interactions, and promote American values of democracy and human rights. In contrast, China employs Confucius Institutes, media partnerships, and cultural exchanges to enhance its soft power and strengthen diplomatic ties with African countries. The effectiveness of these cultural initiatives in shaping bilateral relations depends on local perceptions, historical ties, and socio-political contexts in each country.

Thus, the discussion concludes that the complex interplay between economic strategies, dependency dynamics, and soft power initiatives employed by the USA and China in Africa. Understanding these dynamics is essential for comprehending Africa's evolving role in global affairs and managing the complexities of US-China competition in the region. Policymakers and stakeholders must assess the implications of these strategies on African sovereignty, economic development, and bilateral relations to foster sustainable partnerships and promote inclusive growth in the post-Arab Spring era.

b) Recommendations

Based on the comparative analysis of US and Chinese policies in Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia post-Arab Spring, this study recommends supporting local economies via joint ventures and

managing competitive interests diplomatically. It emphasizes the need for collaboration and strategic engagement to enhance mutual understanding in Africa, requiring cooperation among African governments, the USA, China, and international organizations. By fostering partnerships, improving governance, promoting sustainable development, and encouraging diplomatic efforts, stakeholders can promote inclusive growth and stability in Africa. Constructive competition and cooperation opportunities are also important for shaping positive US-China relations in Africa, promote progress and hold forth to global challenges through mutual gains.

- a. **Encourage Equitable Partnerships:** It is very important to encourage balanced economic and trade relations between Africa, the USA, and China. This can be achieved by promoting fair trade practices, reducing trade barriers, and diversifying economic engagements beyond resource extraction. It is vital to ensure that African countries must negotiate favorable terms that prioritize mutual benefit and sustainable development.
- b. **Promote Sustainable Development and Economic Activities:** Sustainable practices should be prioritized in resource extraction and economic development projects. This includes adhering to environmental standards, promoting renewable energy sources, and ensuring local communities benefit from economic activities. African governments, along with US and Chinese investors, must collaborate on sustainable development initiatives that preserve natural resources and mitigate environmental impact.
- c. **Enhance Good Governance Frameworks:** It is necessary that transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights should be central to all engagements between African countries, the USA, and China. Strengthening governance frameworks will help mitigate corruption, promote inclusive decision-making processes, and

safeguard democratic institutions. International partners should provide technical assistance and capacity-building support to strengthen governance structures in Africa.

- d. **Strengthen Cultural Exchanges:** Initiatives that enhance mutual understanding and cultural cooperation between African countries, the USA, and China are essential. Cultural exchanges, educational programs, and people-to-people interactions can foster goodwill, bridge cultural divides, and promote long-term diplomatic relations. Both the USA and China must invest in cultural diplomacy to build lasting partnerships based on shared values and cultural respect.
- e. **Importance of Constructive Competition:** Constructive competition between the USA and China in Africa can drive development and innovation. When both powers strive to offer the best economic, technological, and infrastructural solutions, African nations stand to benefit from improved services and investments. Constructive competition encourages each country to provide more attractive terms, fostering a race to the top rather than a scramble for dominance. This competition can stimulate economic growth, infrastructural development, and technological advancement in African countries.
- f. **Cooperation Opportunities:** Identifying areas for cooperation between the USA and China in Africa can lead to mutually beneficial outcomes. Both countries have shared interests in areas such as combating extremism, addressing climate change, and promoting public health. Joint initiatives in these fields can pool resources and expertise, amplifying their impact. Likewise, collaborative efforts in renewable energy projects or healthcare infrastructure can enhance sustainability and resilience in African nations. By working together, the USA and China can leverage their strengths to tackle complex challenges more effectively than they could alone.

- g. **Diplomatic Dialogue and Engagement:** Diplomatic dialogue and negotiation are essential for mitigating tensions and promoting stability in US-China relations in Africa. Regular diplomatic engagement can help both countries understand each other's intentions and reduce the risk of conflicts escalating. By establishing communication channels and conflict resolution mechanisms, the USA and China can address disputes constructively and maintain regional stability. Promoting stability in Africa requires not only bilateral diplomatic efforts but also multilateral cooperation involving African governments and regional organizations. Diplomatic engagement must prioritize respect for African sovereignty and support for locally-led development initiatives.

To conclude, the present study has explored the comparative policies of the USA and China towards Africa, especially Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia in the post-Arab Spring era. The study finds a complex landscape where both countries engage with these African countries via distinct yet overlapping strategies, driven by economic interests, strategic concerns, and ideological motivations. The USA tends to emphasize military aid, counterterrorism, and promoting democratic governance, while China focuses on infrastructure development, resource extraction, and economic partnerships and engagements. These differing approaches highlight the varied means by which the two global powers seek to exert influence and achieve their objectives in Africa.

The implications of these policies for Africa's development are significant. The USA and Chinese policies can profoundly shape the socio-economic landscape of Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. The USA policies often aim to strengthen political institutions and security frameworks, Chinese investments drive infrastructural growth and economic modernization. However, this dynamic also brings challenges, such as increased dependency on foreign aid

(FDI) and investments, potential neo-colonial exploitation, and the risk of undermining local and regional governance structures. The competition between the USA and China can create opportunities for African countries to leverage their strategic importance, yet it also necessitates careful management to avoid exacerbating inequalities and dependency in long term relationships.

Reflecting on Dependency Theory (Raul Prebisch), the present study reaffirms its relevance in understanding the global power dynamics and North-South relations evident in US-China policies towards Africa. The interactions between the USA, China, and African countries like Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia exemplify these dynamics, where the benefits of foreign direct investment and aid come with strings attached, influencing local economies, politics, and social structures. This thesis underscores the need for a nuanced application of Dependency Theory to grasp the full extent of global power relations and their impact on Africa's development trajectory.

The significance of this study lies in its detailed examination of US and China policies towards Egypt, Nigeria, and Ethiopia in the post-Arab Spring era, advancing our understanding of how global power dynamics shape Africa's development. By comparing the economic, political, and social strategies employed by the USA and China, this research highlights the complexities and implications of their rivalry in the region. It demonstrates the need for African countries to navigate these engagements strategically to maximize benefits and mitigate risks. This study also underscores the importance of integrating theoretical frameworks like Dependency Theory to analyze the broader impacts of international relations on developing countries.

Hence, future academic discourses and researches must look into deeper into specific sectors impacted by US and Chinese engagements, such as technology, education, and healthcare, to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the long-term effects on African societies. Besides comparative studies involving other global actors, such as the European Union or emerging economies like BRICS, and G-7 could offer further insights into the multifaceted nature of international influence in Africa. Studying how African leaders and communities respond to foreign policies would add valuable insights. It is also important to include African perspectives so that their voices and experiences are at the forefront of understanding global power relationships.

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