



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
HARRIS SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC POLICY

Harris School of Public Policy
University of Chicago
PPHA 35565

Lecturer: W. Gyude Moore
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Office Hours: Fridays, 1- 3 PM
TA: TBD

Spring 2024, Infrastructure in International Development -PPHA 35565

Course Description:

In the practice of statecraft – states will use a range of tools to advance their interests. This practice has been true since the rise of the first polities, with powerful political entities maintaining their relationships with weaker allies and partners by providing or withholding gifts. In modern times, powerful states continue this practice by deploying a range of instruments – economic, military, and social – in pursuit of national interests. This course is designed to introduce students to the role of infrastructure financing, construction, and ownership as one such tool in the practice of foreign policy. It will explore the intentions and motivations of both providing and receiving countries. We will examine the interaction of these dynamics within the constraints of the norms and institutions of the international system. The course will serve as a foundation for students who intend to pursue careers in international development and foreign policy. It will provide the tools to understand state-led programs like China’s Belt and Road Initiative and the Marshall Plan.

Assignments and in-class exercises will help students to develop skills in the design and analysis of large bilateral and multilateral infrastructure programs. While there are no formal prerequisites, the course structure assumes students already have a reasonable level of familiarity with introductory IR theories.



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By the end of the course, students should be able to:-

1. Clearly explain the use infrastructure as a key foreign policy tool
2. Identify, describe and analyze the motivations, processes and actors involved in bilateral and multilateral provision of infrastructure
3. Describe the importance of IFIs in this sector, especially in low- and middle-income countries
4. Understand, synthesize, and implement strategies to promote the effective use of infrastructure development from the perspectives of providing states, receiving states and multilateral institutions.

Credits: 3

Prerequisites: NONE

How this course will work:

The course will be taught through lectures by the instructor and guest lecturers. It will also make frequent use of class discussions. We will dedicate the first ten minutes of the class to foreign affairs. Students will provide brief summaries of world events and, where possible, make connections to topics and subjects covered in the class.

Student assignments, course materials and exams will be uploaded to canvas. Students are expected to upload written assignments, including the mid-term exam and the final policy brief to Canvas.

Six weeks of class will be in person. This includes the first and penultimate weeks. The other four weeks will be communicated once classes begin. The remaining five weeks will be on Zoom. Zoom links will be posted to Canvas.

Grades: "The University and this class will use a 4-point scale for grades: 4.0 = A, 3.7 = A-, 3.3 = B+, 3.0 = B-, 2.3 = C+, 2.0 = C, 1.7 = C-, 1.3 = D+, 1.0 = D, 0 = F (There is no A+ or D- in the common grade scale)

Method of Student Evaluation:

Attendance: 10%

Students are docked 1 percentage point for each unexcused absence.

Reading Response: 10%

Students are required to submit a 300/350-word response to each set of weekly readings. These responses are not meant to be a summary of readings, but student reaction to concepts and views covered in the readings. Response submissions are due by midnight each Thursday.



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Responses submitted after midnight will not be accepted.

Mid-term: 40%

An in class written exam on the ideas and concepts covered in the preceding weeks. The exam will last 90 minutes, and normal coursework will continue for the rest of the session.

Policy brief: 40%

Students assume the role of countries or international financial institutions offering infrastructure or receiving countries requesting infrastructure. The policy briefs will be addressed to the Principal making the investment decision and will utilize concepts covered in the class to provide a compelling basis/justification for the offer/request.

ADA student accommodations: include the following statement “Any student who believes they may need assistance should inform the Harris Dean of Students office by the end of the first week of class. The Dean of Students office will coordinate any student accommodations with Harris instructors.”

Academic Dishonesty statement and penalties:

All University of Chicago students are expected to uphold the highest standards of academic Integrity and honesty. Among other things, this means that students shall not represent another’s work as their own, use un-allowed materials during exams, or otherwise gain unfair academic advantage. All students suspected of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Harris Dean of Students for investigation and adjudication. The disciplinary process can result in sanctions up to and including suspension or expulsion from the University. In addition to disciplinary sanctions, I will impose a grade penalty of a full letter deduction for students who have committed academic dishonesty. The Harris policy and procedures related to academic integrity can be found at <https://harris.uchicago.edu/gateways/current-students/policies>. The University of Chicago Policy on Academic Honesty & Plagiarism can be found at <https://studentmanual.uchicago.edu/academic-policies/academic-honesty-plagiarism/>



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Course Timeline:

WEEK #/CLASS DATE	KEY IN-CLASS ACTIVITIES, ASSIGNMENTS & MILESTONES
Week 1/ Fri Mar 22nd	Course Orientation and Overview/ Introduction
Week 2/ Fri Mar 29th	International Institutions and the Global Context
Week 3/ Fri April 5th	Historical Precedents: The British in India, Japan's ODA to China
Week 4/ Fri April 12th	US Experience
Week 5/ Fri April 19th	China in the World
Week 6/ Fri April 26th	China in Africa
Week 7/ Fri May 3rd	Midterm Exams/Private Sector View of the Project Cycle
Week 8/ Fri May 10th	Multilateral View of the Project Cycle – Western Infrastructure Initiatives
Week 9/ Fri May 17th	Dual Use Infrastructure and National Security
Week 10/ Fri May 14th	Class Review/ Policy Memo Overview
Week 11/ Fri May 31st	Final Paper Due by 11:59 PM



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Syllabus

Week 1: Introduction

- Talk through syllabus, discuss paper, first 10 minutes current affairs
- Introductions
- Lecture: Westphalia and sovereignty, IR theories, National Interests– What is infrastructure? Why is it important?
- Reading: Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Cohen & West, 1966.
- Berg, Claudia N., Uwe Deichmann, Yishen Liu & Harris Selod (2017) Transport Policies and Development, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 53:4, 465-480, DOI: [10.1080/00220388.2016.1199857](https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2016.1199857)
- Burchill, Scott. 2005. *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. Gordonsville, VA: [Palgrave Macmillan](https://www.palgrave.com/).
- Corporate Finance Institute
- Grant, Adam. *In Negotiations Givers are Smarter than Takers*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/27/smarter-living/negotiation-tips-giver-taker.html#click=https://t.co/F96uuqFKCZ>
- Palej, Tatyana. Assessing the Impact of Infrastructure on Economic Growth and Global Competitiveness. *Procedia Economics and Finance*. December 2015, 23:168-175
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282555067_Assessing_the_Impact_of_Infrastructure_on_Economic_Growth_and_Global_Competitiveness/stats
- Philpott, Daniel. Sovereignty: An Introduction and Brief History. *Journal of International Affairs*, Winter 1995, (48), 2, 353-368.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994 (Chapter 1)
- Stupak, Jeffrey M. Economic Impact of Infrastructure Investment. *Congressional Research Service* (2018) <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/78289>
- Walt, Stephen. International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998, 110, 29-46.



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Week 2: International institutions –

- Students to choose paper position
- Lecture: Bretton Woods - <https://voxeu.org/article/operation-and-demise-bretton-woods-system>
- https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/bretton_woods_created
- Paris Club – <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RS21482.pdf>
- HIPC, MDRI, - <https://www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2016/031516.pdf>
- Birdsall, Nancy and Scott Morris. Five Innovations at the AIIB. 2017. <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/five-innovations-aiib>
- Curran, Enda. The AIIB: China's World Bank. <https://www.bloomberg.com/quicktake/chinas-world-bank>
- China Creates a World Bank of its Own, US Balks <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/05/business/international/china-creates-an-asian-bank-as-the-us-stands-alooft.html>
- The Global Financial Crisis: The Role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)- <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacrs10813/>
- ABCs of the IFIs: The World Bank <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/world-bank-abcs-ifis.pdf>
- ABCs of the IFIs: The African Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the International Fund for Agricultural Development <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/AfDBADBIFAD.pdf>
- The Dilemma of the African Development Bank: Does Governance Matter for the Long-Run Financing of the MDBs? - Working Paper <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/dilemma-afdb-does-governance-matter-long-run-financing-mdb>

Week 3: Historical Precedents

- <https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/panama-canal-troubled-history-astounding-turnaround>
- <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/panama-canal-helped-make-u-s-world-power>
- Donaldson, Dave. *Railroads of the Raj: Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure*.
- Masuda, Masayuki. *Japan's Changing ODA Policy Towards China*. China Perspectives, 47 May- June 2003, <https://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/358>
- After 40 years, Japan Stops Aid to China <https://www.nippon.com/en/features/h00321/after-40-years-japan-stops-aid-to-china.html>
- Maurer, Noel and Yu, Carlos. *The Big Ditch: How America Took, Built, Ran, and Ultimately Gave Away the Panama Canal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011
Chapters 1, 3, 6 & 9



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- Wolmar, Christian. *Railroads and the Raj: How the Steam Engine Transformed India* Washington: Atlantic Books 2018 (Chapters 1,5,7)

Week 4: US Experience

- Lecture: history of US infrastructure investment
- Mutual Security Act of 1951 – <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg1015.pdf#page=1>
- (Marshall Plan), DLF, USAID,
- Steil, Benn. *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*. New York. Simon & Schuster. 2019. Read Chapter 4: Plan and Chapter 13: Success?
- Millennium Challenge Corporation – <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/ft/overview-millennium-challenge-corporation>
- Terminal report of the Development Loan Fund, https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pdabc787.pdf
- USDFC, USEXIM
- White House B3W Factsheet - <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/12/fact-sheet-president-biden-and-g7-leaders-launch-build-back-better-world-b3w-partnership/>

Week 5: China in the World (Guest: Damien Ma - @damienics)

- Afzal, Madiha “At all Costs: How Pakistan and China Control the Narrative on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
- Belt and Road Economics: Opportunities and Risks of Transport Corridors – World Bank Report (Overview, Chapter 1)
- Brautigam, Deborah and Meg Rithmire “Chinese ‘Debt Trap’ is a Myth” *The Atlantic*, 6 Feb. 2021 <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/02/china-debt-trap-diplomacy/617953>
- Dube, Ryan and Gabriele Steinhauser, “China’s Global Mega Projects are Falling Apart”, *Wall Street Journal*, 20 January 2023 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-global-mega-projects-infrastructure-falling-apart-11674166180>
- Economy, Elizabeth C. “The Game Changer Coping With China’s Foreign Policy Revolution” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2010
- Gelpern et al, “How China Lends: A Rare Look into 100 Debt Contracts with Foreign Governments” Intro, Section 3 to Conclusion



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- Nugent, Ciara and Charlie Campbell “The U.S. and China Are Battling for Influence in Latin America, and the Pandemic Has Raised the Stakes” <https://time.com/5936037/us-china-latin-america-influence/>
- <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/global-chinese-financing-is-fueling-megaprojects/>
- Picture: <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/chinese-diplomacy-spending.html>
- - “Examining the Debt Implications of BRI” - <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/examining-debt-implications-belt-and-road-initiative-policy-perspective.pdf>

Week 6: China in Africa

- Lecture: China and Africa –
- Alden, Chris. Large, Daniel and Soares de Oliveira, Ricardo (Ed.). “*China Returns to Africa – A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*” London: Hurst and Company. 2008
- “African Scramble.” *Financial Times, London, United Kingdom*, 28 September 2007, <https://www.ft.com/content/bf484d66-6df3-11dc-b8ab-0000779fd2ac>
- Brautigam, Deborah. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of Africa in China*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009
- Chen, Yunnan. “Cooperation with European characteristics? Lessons from China for the EU–Africa summit” <https://odi.org/en/insights/cooperation-with-european-characteristics-lessons-from-china-for-the-euafrica-summit/>
- “China in Africa: Implications of a Deepening Relationship” *Rand Institute*. Arlington, VA., 31 December 2013, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html
- Lee, Ching Kwan. Lee, Ching Kwan. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa*. London; Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 2017 (Chapter 1)
- Why it Costs so Much to Move Goods Around Africa.” *Economist, London, United Kingdom*, 25 March 2022, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2022/03/26/why-it-costs-so-much-to-move-goods-around-africa>



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- Parks, Brad et al. “Aid on Demand: African Leaders and the Geography of China’s Foreign Assistance” http://docs.aiddata.org/ad4/files/inline/wp3_revised_working_paper_series_dreher_et_al_2016_october.pdf

Ngoma, Agnes Leslie, “Zambia and China: Workers’ Protest, Civil Society and the Role of Politics” <http://asq.africa.ufl.edu/files/v16a7.Leslie.AL-HD.pdf>

Week 7: MIDTERM (First 90 minutes for test followed by regular class)/ Guest: D. Carl Prather

- Private sector of the Infrastructure Project Cycle (concept to financial close)

Week 8: Multilateral Project Cycle / Western Infrastructure Initiatives

- MDB Guest presentation on clinic on the process of infrastructure investment from concept to 1st disbursement
- Associated Press, Jacob Magid. “US, Saudi, UAE and India said Aiming to Ink Joint Railway Deal at G-20”. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-saudi-arabia-uae-and-india-said-aiming-to-ink-joint-railway-deal-at-g20/>. Times of Israel. 2023
- “Creating Alternatives to China’s Belt and Road”. <https://www.ft.com/content/51528d5c-ff1b-4b00-afa2-5bdf2af27855>. The Editorial Board. Financial Times. 2021
- Gavas, Mikaela and Samuel Pleeck. “The EU’s Global Gateway Is Not a Groundbreaking Plan for Domination in Global Infrastructure.” CGD Blog, 6 December 2021. <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/eus-global-gateway-not-groundbreaking-plan-domination-global-infrastructure>
- Global Gateway Press Release: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_6433
- Kynge, James. “China’s Blueprint for an Alternative World Order”. <https://www.ft.com/content/8ac52fe7-e9db-48a8-b2f0-7305ab53f4c3>. Financial Times. 2023
- Lintner, Bertil. “Japan Offers ‘quality’ Alternative to China’s BRI”. <https://asiatimes.com/2018/10/japan-offers-quality-alternative-to-chinas-bri/>. Asia Times. 2018
- Peel, Michael “Japan and EU Sign Deal in Riposte to China’s Belt and Road”. <https://www.ft.com/content/dd14ce1e-e11d-11e9-9743-db5a370481bc>. Financial Times. 2019
- Peel, Michael et al. “EU and India Plan Global Infrastructure Deal: Move Seen as Response to China’s Vast Belt and Road Initiative”. <https://www.ft.com/content/2e612c38-aba9-426a-9697-78e11ab1c697>. Financial Times. 2021
- Phillips, Michael M. “How the US is Derailing China’s Influence in Africa”. <https://www.wsj.com/world/africa/angola-africa-china-us-railroad-f0e23523>. Wall Street Journal. 2023

Week 9: Dual Use Infrastructure & National Security

- Berg, Ryan C. “Combating Chinese Dual-Use Infrastructure: Bringing in the Private Sector”. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/combating-chinese-dual-use-infrastructure-bringing-private-sector>. CSIS. 2022
- Chihaiia, Mihai Sebastian. “Advancing Military Mobility in Europe: An Uphill Battle.” European Policy Center. 2023
- Nakashima, Ellen and Cate Cadell. “China Secretly Building a Naval Facility in Cambodia, Western officials say”. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/06/06/cambodia-china-navy-base-ream/>. Washington Post. 2022
- Chaudhury, Dipanjan Roy. “Dual-Use Infrastructure Projects Cause of Concern in the Indo-Pacific”. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/dual-use-infrastructure-projects-cause-of-concern-in-the-indo-pacific/articleshow/86956869.cms?from=mdr>. The Economic Times. 2021
- Lema, Karen. “Philippines Reveals Locations of 4 New Strategic Sites for U.S. Military Pact”. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/philippines-reveals-locations-4-new-strategic-sites-us-military-pact-2023-04-03/>. Reuters. 2023
- European Commission. “Transport infrastructure: EU allocates further EUR 616 million to civilian-defence dual-use investments on the Trans-European Transport Network. https://cinea.ec.europa.eu/news-events/news/transport-infrastructure-eu-allocates-further-eur-616-million-civilian-defence-dual-use-investments-2022-12-21_en. 2022
- Hudson, John et al. “Buildup Resumed at Suspected Chinese Military Site in UAE, leak says” <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/04/26/chinese-military-base-uae/>. Washington Post. 2023
- Week 10: Class Review – Policy Memo Overview
- Week 11: Final Paper due by 11:59 PM