



EDITORIAL

DEAR READERS

China's engagement with Africa has come to be illustrated in part through its involvement in large scale-infrastructure and construction projects. These projects have been the topic of research and media reports alike explaining China's support of these activities, be it through grants, loans and Chinese firms involved.

In some African countries, these construction projects have come to be part of post-war reconstruction efforts. Whether through Chinese financing and/or the contracting of Chinese companies, China has become part of the (re)development of African cities, towns and urban planning.

In this edition of the newsletter, Sylvia Croese looks at Angola's reconstruction efforts in Luanda and surrounds, focusing on another aspect of urban development, namely that of large scale housing projects. This is as the country continues to face challenges in keeping pace with the housing needs of its rapidly growing urban population. Sylvia's commentary draws on her larger research report that formed part of a series of research reports released by the Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative earlier this year. Her research focuses

on the engagement of both Brazil and China in the context of Angola's attempt at addressing its housing shortage in the country. The complete set of research reports is available through the Fahamu website at the following link:

http://www.fahamu.org/images/empowers_report_0311.pdf

Following our focus in July on China's role and future relations with the newly independent South Sudan, this month Renu Modi, from the Centre for African Studies at the University of Mumbai offers commentary on India's future engagement with the country. She provides an overview of India's past relations with Sudan, and its current and future areas of potential cooperation with South Sudan. Finally, our Mandarin series provides a translation of our English article on Angola's challenge in addressing its housing shortages.

We hope you will enjoy this edition of the newsletter,

Hayley Herman
Programme Officer
Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative

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More analysis and commentary from Fahamu's Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative can be found online in Pambazuka News: www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/

COMMENTARY

1 million houses? Angola's national reconstruction and Chinese and Brazilian engagement

By Sylvia Croese

AMONGST THE MANY challenges faced by the Angolan government in the reconstruction of the country since the end of the civil war in 2002 is the lack of decent housing for the majority of the rapidly growing Angolan population. In Angola, all land belongs to the state but during the war little was undertaken in terms of urban planning and development. This put tremendous pressure on infrastructure and services, particularly in the country's coastal cities to which many people fled during the war. The capital Luanda, once built for 500,000 inhabitants, currently accommodates an estimated 6 million, two thirds of which live in informal settlements in the periphery of the city and 60% of which live on less than US\$2 a day. According to a nation-wide government survey for 2008-2009, as much as 90.9% of the urban population lives in 'inappropriate conditions'.

While the government did initiate a number of relatively small scale social housing projects in the first post-war years, most reconstruction efforts were directed at infrastructural and public works. These efforts were financed through the country's increasing oil production that enabled access to oil-backed credit lines, already an important source of external financing during the war. In the 'oil-boom' period of 2004 to 2008, GDP growth rates soared and a total value of over US\$15 billion loans were reportedly extended to Angola. This gave rise to the introduction of the term 'Angola mode', designating loans for infrastructure development whereby the repayment is made in terms of natural resources. China was a key factor in the establishment of this model by being the first to offer Angola large loans under very favourable terms in order to finance and execute infrastructure projects. This way, it introduced Angola to large scale and relatively cheap infrastructure development and with it low-cost Chinese labour and construction material entered the market.

Although the scale of China's engagement is unprecedented, the essence of this 'strategic partnership' was not new to Angola as its longstanding partnership with Brazil, the first country to recognize Angola when it gained independence from Portugal, had also been motivated by pragmatic considerations on both sides and characterized by an exchange of 'oil for development'. Yet, the scale and visibility of China's presence triggered criticism about unfair competition and rumours about the alleged mismanagement of Chinese reconstruction

funds while Brazil's presence captured less direct attention. Less attention has been paid to the structural issues that have come to characterize Angola's model of national reconstruction. While the Angolan government's ownership of this model has been guaranteed through its cooperation with both China and Brazil, this has not necessarily led to more developmental outcomes.

A first problem of Angola's reconstruction model is that of the lack of transparency with regard to the use of Angola's oil wealth. Information on the financing, management and execution of national reconstruction projects is only selectively made available to the public. A second and related problem is that of the management of the country's reconstruction for which the Angolan president has created various and parallel entities. These have obscured the official division of the state's roles and responsibilities, hampering accountability. This is further compounded by the centralization of state power since the ruling party MPLA gained absolute majority in the elections of 2008. A third concern lies in the economic and social consequences of a model of development which prioritizes short-term investments in physical infrastructure and private development over long-term investments in social sectors such as health and education to the benefit of all.

The case of housing is illustrative of Angola's politics of national reconstruction. In the first post-war years, the government actually did not have a housing policy as such. A set of different programmes involved the construction of housing for former combatants and projects for civil servants and people evicted from areas in Luanda's inner city earmarked for development. Different state institutions were involved in these projects at both central and provincial level of government, but also a newly created office for National Reconstruction, accountable only to the Angolan president. However, relatively few people benefitted from them. The redevelopment of an area south of the capital of Luanda through a public-private partnership with a Brazilian company for the benefit of low-income and displaced communities is now more famous for its high-end compounds housing the country's rich. During these years the influx of foreign companies and their workers increased the formal housing shortage while creating a lucrative rental, real estate and (informal) land market, making Luanda the world's most expensive city for expats.

As the legislative elections of September 2008 approached, housing started to feature prominently on the government's reconstruction agenda. This was illustrated with a pledge by the MPLA to build one million houses in all the country's provinces by 2012 and the adoption of a new Constitution in 2010 that safeguards the right to housing and quality of life. The impact of the global financial and economic crisis in 2009 initially led to a reformulation of this National Urbanism and Housing Programme, with two thirds out of the one million houses to be built through state-led self-help building and the Angolan president publicly admitting to delays in the execution of the housing programme as a result of the financial crisis. However, since then little progress was made towards the creation of an institutional framework that facilitates access to credit for housing, land allocation, transfer and registration or bulk infrastructure required for self-help building. The Angolan president did manage to secure new oil-backed external funding from its partners from the South.

As elections are approaching again in 2012, urban requalification and social housing projects, as well as the construction of entire new cities in the outskirts of Luanda and other provincial capitals

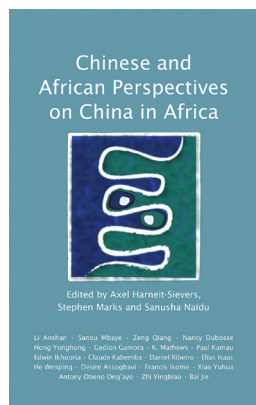
are on full steam, mainly financed and executed by Chinese credit. However, problems related to the state's own administrative, technical and financial capacity to deliver in accordance with the country's needs and realities have yet to be solved. The ready availability of external funding has allowed the government to put off choices that are necessary to guarantee the country's long-term sustainable development. If the Angolan government is serious about truly benefitting from its partnership with emerging powers like Brazil and China, fundamental changes in the management of its national reconstruction are needed.

This article draws on the study, '1 million houses? Angola's national reconstruction and Chinese and Brazilian engagement', conducted with financial support from Fahamu's Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative. The study is available at http://www.fahamu.org/images/empowers_report_0311.pdf

The author is currently enrolled in Stellenbosch University's African Doctoral Academy where she is pursuing a PhD in political science, looking at housing in post-war urban Angola.

Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa

Edited by Axel Harnett-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu



- Focuses on the dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations rather than states
- Provides new data and real insights into the burgeoning relationship between China and Africa
- Notable contributions from African and Chinese scholars and activists

The deepening engagement of China in Africa since the end of the cold war has led to debates about the evolving nature of this relationship. Yet the focus

of analysis has largely been confined to the interactions between states. Little attention has been paid to the growing dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations. This collection of essays, written by scholars and activists, explores the interaction between African and Chinese non-state actors and argues that the future of Africa-China relations rests on including such voices if a robust and vibrant engagement and a meaningful relationship are to be sustained. Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa assesses China's activities in Africa through patterns of investment, legal cooperation, effects on the environment, trade, aid and labour links, questions of peace, security and stability, the African Union response, possible regulatory interventions and the future strengthening of an Africa-China CSO dialogue.

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COMMENTARY

India and South Sudan: Potential Areas of Cooperation

By Renu Modi

THE REPUBLIC OF South Sudan was born on 9 July, 2011 and joined the international comity of nations as the 193rd member of the United Nations. The people of the new state voted with an overwhelming majority of 99% in favour of secession from Sudan. India fully endorsed the successful closure of a referendum that was envisaged in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of January 2005, designed to end the on-going civil strife between North and South Sudan.

India and Sudan have an old and established relationship. On the eve of its independence from British rule, Sukumar Sen, the then Indian Chief Election Commissioner, conducted the elections in Sudan in 1953. Later, the North African state was included, by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, for participation at the Afro-Asian Relations Conference at Bandung in April 1955 – a year before it gained independence in 1956. India extended political support to Sudan and Pundit Nehru visited the country in 1957. Since then there have been several high level political visits between Sudan and India. On 9 July 2011, a high level delegation led

by the Vice President of India, Shri Hamid Ansari represented India on the momentous occasion of South Sudan's day of independence.

India-Sudan relations have been symbiotic and characterized by people to people exchanges, trade, commerce and investments and a shared outlook on several global issues within the framework of South-South Cooperation. In the years ahead India, will seek to capitalize on the goodwill built over the years and continue to safeguard her economic engagement, amongst others, in the hydrocarbon sector and explore fresh avenues for investments, in both- Sudan and South Sudan, based on mutual interest and reciprocity.

Protecting existing Indian investments

INDIA WILL PROTECT her existing investments and loans, valued currently at about 3 billion USD (Embassy of India in Khartoum, 2010). The major investments, of about 2.4 billion USD, have been made by ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL), a government of India undertaking. The oil

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Pambazuka News has, in the short time of its existence, carved a niche for itself as an important forum where Africans talk frankly among themselves and reflect on the condition of their continent and its place in the new global order.

Dr Ike Okonta, Department of Politics, University of Oxford

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Through the voices of the peoples of Africa and the global South, Pambazuka Press and Pambazuka News disseminate analysis and debate on the struggle for freedom and justice.

company has invested in acquiring exploration and production assets that straddle both Sudan and South Sudan (Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) 28 April 2011). OVL's blocks in Sudan give it approximately 2.4 million tons of crude oil annually (ONGC 2011). Of the 160,000 barrels of oil that India sources from Sudan, India receives 100,000 barrels from South Sudan, (MEA, 28 April 2011), where about eighty percent of the total oil-producing asset reserves of undivided Sudan are located. OVL also has a 25% stake in the 1,600 km Greater Nile Oil Pipeline that originates in the South and connects the Khartoum refinery in the North to Port Sudan on the Red Sea, the point of exit for Sudanese exports, including oil exports to India. (Business Standard 21 January, 2011).

However the oil assets of the two Sudans will be recalibrated after the referendum on the contested, oil-rich Abyei region which at present, is being claimed by both sides. However, it is hoped that the solutions on such issues will be worked out through negotiations and in a peaceful manner, as the two neighbours are aware of the fact that their destinies are intertwined, and will remain so for the short to medium-term period. Until South Sudan develops its own refineries, she will have to rely on Sudan's processing facilities and shipment of oil through Port Sudan on the Red Sea. On the other hand, Sudan that has lost the major oil sources to South Sudan post-secession will now depend on the revenue payments from the transfer/ shipment/ refinement of oil through the Red Sea outlet. President Omar Hassan al Bashir's, attendance at the Independence Day celebrations at Juba, the capital city of South Sudan, is evidence of this inter-linked future ¹ (Sudan Tribune 9 July 2011).

As far as India is concerned, the bifurcation of Sudan into its two constituent units will have no impact as the contracts pertaining to India will be honoured by South Sudan (MEA 28 April, 2011). Against the above stated backdrop this research tries to outline India's present relationship with the nascent state of South Sudan and makes projections for the future, with a specific focus on economic engagements between the two countries that are based on mutual interests and reciprocity.

India and South Sudan: current engagements

- India has made a significant contribution to humanitarian assistance through donations of medicines and grain supplies to control the *kala azar* epidemic (1983) and flood relief (2008) in both North and South Sudan (Embassy of India in Khartoum, undated)
- Of the total force of about 10,000 uniformed personnel of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) set up to support the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005, a third comprises Indian police officers and military and is led by Lieutenant General

Jasbir Singh Lidder of the Indian Army ² (See UNMIS, May 2011; See also UN 24 December, 2009; UNMIS undated; MEA, 14 July, 2011).

- The UNMIS is mandated *inter-alia* to implement the Ceasefire Agreement of 2005 and monitor violations, assist with the disarmament programme, work towards reconciliation and community rebuilding through efforts that include medical and veterinary camps to prevent outbreak of diseases such as East Coast Fever (livestock is the main source of livelihood for the locals) and work towards the promotion of human rights (For details see UNMIS, Mandate).
- At independence, India was the first Asian nation to recognize the nascent state of South Sudan headed by President Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit. India's Vice President Hamid Ansari represented India at the independence day celebrations in Juba, the capital of South Sudan, where India established a consulate as early as 2007 - a farsighted step taken to support its energy investments in South Sudan.
- About 80% of the oil resources of Sudan are within the state boundaries of South Sudan where OVL has major investments in the hydrocarbon sector (oil production, oil refinery, multi product oil pipeline).
- Water and Power Consultancy Services (WAPCOS), part of India's Ministry of Water Resources provided consultancy services to the World Bank-funded Sudan Emergency Transport and Infrastructure Development Project ³ (SETIDP), for Southern Sudan (See World Bank 12 December 2005). In October 2007, WAPCOS signed a contract for consultancy services with the World Bank and prioritized six state capitals of South Sudan for the implementation of power distribution, water supply and sanitation sectors and prepared feasibility studies and tenders documents for the implementation of the above schemes in South Sudan (WAPCOS, pers comm). The project cost is estimated at 200,000 USD ⁴ (Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC), August 2010). WAPCOS is the first Indian government entity to get a World Bank project in South Sudan.
- India pledged 5 million USD towards development assistance, capacity building and training under the Aid to Africa and India Africa Foreign Summit (IAFS)-II programme (MEA 7 July, 2011). Training programs are conducted at the Vocational Training Centre and the Rural Technology Park at the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD) ⁵ (For details see NIRD website).
- Seventy five seats have been earmarked exclusively for South Sudan under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), a bilateral assistance programme launched by India in 1964 ⁶ (Ministry of External Affairs, undated). In the



past years, in addition to training under the ITEC, scholarships for higher education in sectors such as agriculture, oil exploration and others, Sudanese diplomats have attended professional training course at India's Foreign Service Institute and their defence personnel have benefited from short term courses on peace keeping at the United Services Institute (MEA 28 April 2011). India also plans to extend the tele-medicine and tele-education under the Pan-Africa E-Network Project to South Sudan (MEA 7 July 2011).

- About 30,000 Sudanese students have graduated from Indian centres of education and about 5,000 students (from undivided Sudan) enrol for higher studies in India every year (Embassy of Sudan in Khartoum).⁷
- India's role in capacity-building, training and upgrading of human resources will be its major contribution to both North and South Sudan in the years to come. In return India expects continued support from such countries in its bid for permanent membership of the UN Security Council and at other international fora. Similarly, the nascent South Sudan would look to India for backing in the international community on issues such as the grant of development aid, writing off debts and related issues and economic investments to reconstruct the infrastructure/services deficit country.

Areas of synergy: sectors for potential cooperation

SOUTH SUDAN IS blessed with natural resources such as petroleum, iron ore, coal, gold, silver, copper that it can now use to generate revenue for reconstructing the country (Government of South Sudan, GoSS). "Given the many years of civil war, Southern Sudan is literally being built from scratch. The road network, housing, banking sector, insurance, schools and other amenities in the huge country all need urgent attention and the focus is on the donor community, the government, and above all, commercial investors" (GoSS, 2011a). The new government in Juba will seek to reduce its dependence on earnings from oil and diversify its sources of earnings through investments in agriculture, tourism, power, telecom, water utilities and infrastructure development sectors. Agriculture, in particular, will be priority sector for investments- given the fact that of 'the total population of 8.23 million (2008 Census), 83 percent of the peoples live in rural areas and 78% of households depend on crop farming or animal husbandry as their primary source of livelihood and 51 % the population (55% of the rural populace as compared to 24 percent in the urban areas) live below the poverty line'(South Sudan Centre for Census Statistics and Evaluation (SSCCSE) 2010).

Indian can certainly provide the expertise that South Sudan needs in the entire above mentioned

sector in addition to others. Indian companies can be the partner of choice for the 'triple A' (adaptable, affordable and appropriate) technologies that they have mastered better than other nations. Indian companies –from the public sector and the private listed below, have business prospects in the new state in the years ahead:*

- State-owned Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited, (currently executing the 500 Mega Watt Kosti Power Project in Sudan, financed through an EXIM Bank letter of credit of \$350 million), can develop river cargo and other projects in the new state.
- Angelique International, a private sector enterprise (executing the \$41.90 million Singa Gedarif power transmission project in Sudan with EXIM Bank support) has the potential to rebuild the power and related sectors in South Sudan.
- Indian Railways Construction Company Ltd (IRCON), a state enterprise (supplied locomotives to the Sudan Railways Corporation, Sudan in 2005) (Sudan Tribune, 20 October, 2005) can help build railroads which can link cities, towns in South Sudan and with neighbouring states in East Africa.
- Rail India Technical & Economic Services (RITES) Limited, a GoI undertaking that provided engineering, consultancy and project management services in the transport infrastructure- has business opportunities for the development of railways, highways, river ports and waterways, airports that need to be built on a priority basis in South Sudan.
- The Indian postal department with its expertise in delivering mail to remote areas efficiently, can set up the network of postal services between Juba, the main cities with the interior locations and with neighbouring countries in East Africa. (GoSS, 2011b)
- South Sudan's natural beauty, bio diversity and wild life parks have the potential of generating revenues from tourism- that can be a major revenue earner. Several Indian companies from the hospitality sector can play a key role in helping rebuild the economy on the basis of reciprocal interests.
- Agriculture will be a key sector for the alleviation of poverty and generation of livelihood for the peoples in South Sudan. Agricultural potential in South Sudan is high with about 90% of its total area considered suitable for agriculture, 50% of which is prime agricultural land and the country also has abundant rainfall and waters from the Nile (USAID 2009). Agro transnational companies such as Bangalore's Karuturi Global have invested in the neighbouring state of Ethiopia, in the Gambela region that borders South Sudan. Karuturi has acquired "311,000 hectares of land on lease hold basis in the Baka and Gambela region in Ethiopia to grow cereals

(rice, maize) on 70,000 hectares and oil palm on 20,000 hectares" (Karuturi website, undated). The extension of Karuturi's investments across the border into the new state can potentially provide the much required capital and technology to the neglected agriculture sector of South Sudan that suffers from severe under-capitalisation, in particular low technology and weak knowledge-based agricultural small holder farm production systems.

- Kirloskar Brothers Limited (KBL), applications such as industrial pumps are being used for the sugar plants, heavy duty compressors for food processing sector and irrigation pumps for agriculture are being used in Sudan since the early 2000s. Agriculture development in South Sudan offers business opportunities for KBL, Jain Irrigation amongst others Indian business groups that have a presence in several African countries and can potentially supply customized appropriate and affordable agricultural equipment such as small tractors, drilling and irrigation equipments for small holdings units.
- South Sudan offers immense opportunities for India's banking sector given the fact that only 1 percent of households in Southern Sudan have a bank account! (SSCCSE, 2010) India's state-owned financial institutions such as State Bank of India that provide a range of banking products through its vast networks including in the rural parts of India can share their experience in interior regions of South Sudan where there is a need for banking infrastructure as most of the existing Banks have a presence in the country's major urban centres. The Bank of Baroda that followed the Indian diaspora, mainly the Gujaratis, has branches across the borders of South Sudan, i.e., in neighbouring Kenya and Uganda. There is potential for business for these two government owned Banks and other private sector Indian banks as well, that aim to have a foothold in Africa, seen as the new frontier for growth by the entrepreneurial community
- The list of private Indian companies that can engage with South Sudan is long - Larsen & Toubro (L&T) (technology, engineering, construction and manufacturing company), Overseas Infrastructure Alliance (OIA) (project development and management), Reliance Industries (oil and natural gas sector), Essar (oil, telecommunication), Tata (automobiles, Tata Sudan operates in Sudan, ICT, agriculture equipments), Mahindra & Mahindra (automobiles and agricultural equipments, presence of Mahindra Scorpios in Sudan in partnership with Symex International), Shapoorji Pallonji (construction, power, finance), Kalpataru (power), education, hospitality sector (three Indian owned hotels are operational in Juba) and retail (one large Indian owned departmental store exists in Juba) (MEA 14 July, 2011). Cipla, Ranbaxy, Aurobindo Pharma and others (pharmaceuticals), healthcare (multi

specialty hospitals and clinics) have a scope for business and reportedly representatives of Indian hospitals such as, 'Fortis from Bangalore, MIOT from Chennai have already made presentations and held exploratory talks with healthcare sector authorities in South Sudan.' (MEA 28 April 2011)

The Indian companies can seek support and facilitation through *inter-alia*, the EXIM Bank that has a long experience in promoting the agenda of infrastructure development and food security on the African continent through the extension of concessionary loans.

The way forward

THIS MIGHT BE the time for Indian business houses to take up the challenges and business opportunities and take a leap especially over China and the West that will offer stiff competition in the years ahead.⁸

A decade from now, one can anticipate heavy investments by Chinese companies in the major capital intensive and long-gestation projects such as; airports, roads, power projects as a part of their 'oil for infrastructure' deals, as they have done in the case of oil-rich Guinea and Nigeria. China sources oil from Sudan (5 percent of its total oil imports) and claims to be a "reliable friend" of both North and South Sudan. China too has played a role along with the international community to bring an end the civil war between the neighbours- Sudan and South Sudan (FOCAC, 10 July 2011; Business 30 June 30, 2011).

The civil strife between North and South Sudan has raged for about four decades now and the war torn countries will require sustained efforts and massive investments to rebuild their war-ravaged economies. International development and humanitarian assistance programmes funded by multiple donors such as the World Bank, United Nation and individual countries are ongoing for both North and South Sudan. In South Sudan that is in a state of transition and reconstruction, United Nations aid has been extended to sustain a food and agricultural industry and builds infrastructure. In fact, Sudan has been the thirteenth largest recipient of official development assistance (ODA) (excluding debt relief) allocated to countries between 2000 and 2009, of which 60.6% is humanitarian aid between 2005 and 2009 (Global Humanitarian Assistance report, undated).

Though South Sudan maintains access to 80% of oil reserves of the former undivided Sudan, the transportation routes through Port Sudan on the Red Sea and refining facilities lie in North Sudan. Until the proposed Juba- Lamu route for the transportation of oil and goods is executed between South Sudan and Kenya, the hydro-carbon sector – the major revenue earner for South Sudan - will remain hostage to the present regime in Sudan and



the potential for ongoing conflict, over the issues of transportation routes for oil exports through the Red Sea and sharing of oil revenues will undergird the tenuous relationship between South Sudan and its neighbour, Sudan.

Though South Sudan's proposed incorporation into the five member East African Community (EAC) ⁹ is a debatable issue, given the flip sides of an open door trade policy and the future adverse impacts on its embryonic manufacturing sector. Membership to the EAC will be crucial for the land-locked country of South Sudan, to gain access to the world through the Indian Ocean ports of Lamu and Mombasa in Kenya. An alternative outlet to Port Sudan is of essence for South Sudan's trade and shipment of oil in the years ahead, as peace between the North and South Sudan is fragile, though support by the international community and efforts by both Sudans are ongoing so that they do not slip back into the quagmire of their conflict ridden past. For the EAC, South Sudan offers the prospects of increased trade, investments in mining, quarrying, energy, agriculture, tourism and other sectors (For details see allAfrica.com 5 April 2011).

Prospects for investments in South Sudan are a highly contested business proposition. The major disincentives for investments in the new state are; an underlying potential for political instability due to the renewal of conflict between South and North Sudan, Sudan's low ranking on the global corruption index of Transparency International (Sudan Tribune 27 October 2010), tribal conflicts within South Sudan South Sudan's fledgling regulatory frameworks and lack of access to a sea port. As per UN reports "around 2,368 people were killed in 330 violent incidents in various parts of the south from the beginning of the year until the end of June" and on August 22, "600 people were killed and hundreds others were injured in tribal clashes in Jongolei State in South Sudan" (Xinhua 23 August 2011).

Thus there is the challenge of maintaining political stability within South Sudan, demining the country and reintegrating the returnees- those who were internally displaced, refugees and others from the North.

Global investors will also keep a watch over the manner in which the Republic of South Sudan works to resolve its unfinished agenda with Sudan *inter-alia*, on issues of sharing oil revenues, border demarcation, more specifically in the oil rich Abyei region, transportation of oil from South Sudan through the Port of Sudan in the North and contestation over the sharing of Nile river waters between the new state of South Sudan and its neighbour the Republic of Sudan.

The absence of a significant Indian diaspora that can be a bridge between investors from India and investments in South Sudan (an estimated 10,000 people of Indian origin and non resident Indians are settled mainly in and around Port Sudan,

Khartoum and other cities of Sudan.) can also be a drawback, mainly for the private sector investors (MEA 28 April 2011, See also Embassy of Khartoum, undated).

In the years ahead, South Sudan will have to market itself as an attractive destination for investments. The South Sudanese government's message for foreign investors through their official website affirms the government's policy of non-discrimination and states, "... foreign investors are allowed to invest in and run businesses in any sector in Southern Sudan and provides guarantees against expropriation – Government of South Sudan shall not nationalize any enterprise. Further, no investor will be compelled (by law or otherwise) to cede any part of investment capital." (For details see Information for Investors, undated, GoSS website)

At present, South Sudan is open for investment in sectors across the board. For those with an appetite for risk and seeking opportunities amidst adversities, this can be an opportune time to invest and capture the market. The vigilant investors, will wait, watch and assess the security and investment climate before foraying into business opportunities that the Republic of South Sudan offers.

Disclaimer

**The names of companies listed are not exhaustive but merely illustrative (and not confirmation of their investments) but based on areas of convergence of potential requirements by the GoSS and what the Indian companies offer at a global level. Finally economic engagements will always be based on and guided by national interest of the former and profit margins and request for investments, for the latter.*

The research assistance offered by Johann Salazar (Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai) and Mohit Nair (Cornell University, Intern, Gateway House, Mumbai) is acknowledged with gratitude Renu Modi is Senior Lecturer at the Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai, (africamumbai@gmail.com)

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Footnotes:

¹ President Bashir inaugurated North Sudan's embassy at Juba on 9th July and also affirmed his determination to settle unresolved issues such as the position of Abyei, drawing up of new borders, sharing oil revenues and debts

² Lieutenant General J.S. Lidder was appointed Force Commander of UNMIS; based on his vast experience in conflict resolution and peace-keeping in Darfur and Mozambique. He was later appointed by the UN Secretary General as the special representative for Sudan, to ensure the conduct of a free and fair referendum in 2011. Rajesh Dewan was made Police Commissioner to train, mentor and build capacity among the local police to deal with security procedures and regulations during the referendum

³ The SETIDP is a multi sector development project that includes eight infrastructure sub-sectors (i) roads and bridges; (ii) road traffic and transport; (iii) railways; (iv) inland waterways; (v) ports and maritime; (vi) electricity; (vii) civil aviation; and (viii) urban infrastructure and Municipal services. It also covered cross-cutting issues such as implementation arrangements, environment, gender, de-mining and HIV/AIDS. It is funded by multiple donors- the Multi Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) funded by USAID, UNDP and GoSS and individual states)

⁴ WAPCOS has been contracted project consultancy worth 152,900 USD, and as on June 2010, sixty percent of the above monies was disbursed (See PWC Report of August 2010, the latest available data).

⁵ The NIRD imparts knowledge and skills about rural technologies which promote growth, such as value-addition food industries, khadi and handlooms, handicrafts & cottage industries, rural housing & sanitation, energy and artisan based technologies.

⁶ The ITEC shares India's developmental experiences with its partner countries and has the following components; Training (civilian and defence) in India of nominees from ITEC partner countries; projects and project related activities such as feasibility studies and consultancy services; Deputation of Indian experts abroad; Study tours; Donation of equipment at the request of ITEC partner countries; and Aid for disaster relief.

⁷ They study humanities, sciences, medicine, law, ICT, oil exploration etc and return to their countries to share their newly-acquired skills. India has thus been able to extend its 'soft power' through these Sudanese citizens (also referred to as babujees) (Pers. Comm. Sudanese student).

⁸ Both India and China's investments in the oil sector in Sudan took place during the early 2000s, the period during which the West imposed sanctions on Sudan and their oil companies withdrew on grounds of violation of human rights by the government of Sudan.

⁹ The member countries of the EAC are Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

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Launch of the Change Online Platform

Fahamu in partnership with Society for International Development (SID) and the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA) wishes to announce the launch of the Change website (www.fahamu.org/change).

The change site is an open platform for the Kenyan people and friends of Kenya to interact and share information.

The site is one of the outputs of the Change Conference held in October 2009 in Nairobi, and is aimed at increasing access to resources and encourage dialogue towards realizing change at the

national level be it through government institutions, NGOs or at the community level.

The site highlights activities taking place under the Change project of Fahamu including Citizens' Forums across Kenya and showcases documentaries including "Making Change" by Maina Kiai.

Everyone is invited to write articles to be posted on the blog as well as share your views on change in Kenya.

Please visit: <http://www.fahamu.org/change/>
Kindly forward your comments to patita@fahamu.org or paul@fahamu.org

COMMENTARY

100万套住房？安哥拉的国家重建以及中国和古巴的参与

作者：Sylvia Croese

自从2002年内战结束后，安哥拉政府在进行国家重建过程中所遇到的挑战之一是在国内人口快速增长的情况下，无法给大多数的居民提供基本的住房设施。在安哥拉，土地归国家所有，但是在内战期间，政府并没有展开城市规划和发展的相关工作，这使得在重建基础设施和服务时政府将面临更大的压力，特别是在内战时期多数居民所逃往的国家沿海城市。国家首都罗安达原本计划容纳50万居民，现在却有大约600万居民在此居住，其中2/3的居民住在国家外围的非正式住房里，60%的居民每日生活费不足2美元。安哥拉政府发布的2008-2009年国家报告指出有高达90%的城市居民生活在“不宜环境”中。

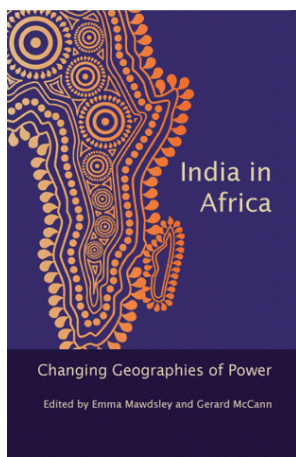
安哥拉政府在战后一年中实施了一些小规模的社会住房项目，而大部分的重建工作都集中在基础设施建设和公共建设上。这些项目的资金来源主要依赖国家不断增长的石油产量。增长的石油产量使得安哥拉获得了石油支持的信贷额度，这也是安哥拉在内战期间获得外部资金的主要方法。在石油高产期的2004年到2008年期间，国家GDP快速上涨，这使

得安哥拉获得了超过150亿美元的贷款。这就是所谓的“安哥拉模式”，即所获得的为了发展基础设施的贷款将以自然资源的形式进行偿还。中国在“安哥拉模式”中扮演了重要的角色。中国是第一个国家以优惠的政策为安哥拉提供大规模贷款，使其获得开展基础设施项目所需的资金。中国还向安哥拉引进了规模大，花费少的基础设施建设模式。这样做的同时，中国的廉价劳动力和便宜的建筑材料也进入了安哥拉市场。

虽然中国的参与规模是史无前例的，但这种所谓的“战略合作伙伴关系”对于安哥拉政府来说却并不陌生，因为安哥拉与巴西在很久以前就建立了这种伙伴关系。在安哥拉从葡萄牙独立后，巴西是第一个承认安哥拉政府的国家。安哥拉与巴西的关系是在双方进行实际考虑后，以“石油换发展”为特色建立的伙伴关系。但是，在安哥拉有许多对中国不公平竞争的指责以及对安哥拉重建基金管理不善的传言，相比较而言，巴西在安哥拉所引起的直接关注则比较少。人们对于形成安哥拉国家重建模式特色的结构问题也给予了较少的关注。安哥拉政府与

India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley & Gerard McCann



- A highly original book— one of the first to set out an extended analysis of contemporary India-African relations
- Enables readers to compare India to China and other ‘Rising Powers’ in Africa
- Written by expert authors from Africa, India and Europe
- Of interest to academic, civil society, policy and student readerships.

Major changes are taking place in the global economy and polity. While China’s relationship to Africa is much examined, knowledge and analysis of India’s role in Africa

has until now been limited but, as a significant global player, India’s growing interactions with various African countries call for detailed analysis of the Asian giant’s influence and its relations with the African continent.

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中国，巴西的伙伴关系确保了“安哥拉模式”的稳定，但这种模式不一定给安哥拉带来了更多的发展。

对安哥拉的重建模式所提出的第一个问题是安哥拉政府对石油财富使用的不透明性。关于国家重建项目的融资，管理和执行的信息只是有选择性的向公众公布。第二点是安哥拉主席为了国家重建项目的管理工作设立了很多相似的实体。这模糊了国家角色的正式划分和责任承担制度。另外，自从2008年执政党MPLA（安哥拉人民解放运动）在大选中获胜后，权利变得集中，这也使得这个问题变得更加严峻。第三点是对这种重视短期基础设施和私有领域投资，轻视对可以为更多人带来利益的社会领域的长期投资（比如：医疗和教育投资）模式将会造成的经济和社会后果的担忧。

在住房上的问题也折射出了安哥拉的国家重建政策。在战后的最初几年里，安哥拉政府并没有任何形式的住房政策。只有为了战士建造房屋的几个项目，以及为国家公务员和从罗安达内城驱赶出来的居民所建设的几个住房工程。中央和省级的不同的国家机构参与到了这些项目的建设工作中，但是这些机构以及新建的国家重建办公室都只向安哥拉主席一个人汇报。而且，只有较少的居民从这些项目中获益。政府曾经通过与一家巴西公司开展公私合作，在首都罗安达以南的一些区域为城市低收入群体和流离失所的家庭建造住房。但是，现在这个地区却以其为富人提供的高端小区所著名。不断涌入罗安达的外国公司和其外国员工使得原本就短缺的住房条件变得更加紧张，这也为房屋出租业，房地产业和（非正式）土地市场提供了有利可图的条件。罗安达现在已经成为了对外籍人员来说全球最贵的城市。

随着2008年9月的立法选举的到来，住房问题开始被纳入到政府的重建日程上，比如MPLA承诺在2012

年前建造100万套住房，以及在2010年所采用的新宪法。新宪法保护了居民住房的权利并对居民生活质量做出了保证。然而，2009年金融危机使得国家城市化和住房项目重新进行规划，100万套住房建设的2/3是国家主导自助建设的房屋，安哥拉主席也当众承认了受金融危机的影响，房屋项目的执行工作不得已被搁置。然而，在此之后，政府并没有建立制度体制来获得为了住房，土地分配，转让和注册所需的信贷，或用于自助建筑所需要的大量基础设施的信贷。安哥拉主席确保了从南方伙伴那里获得新的由石油支持的外部资金。

随着2012年大选的临近，城市翻修，社会住房项目以及在首都罗安达和其他省市首都新城建设等工作都开始全速展开，这些项目的资金和开展主要得益于来自中国的信贷。但是为了实现国家和人民的需求，安哥拉国家自身需要具备的行政，技术和资金条件还并未完善。现有的外部资金允许安哥拉政府推迟作出国家长期可持续发展所需的必要选择。但是，如果安哥拉政府真的希望可以从与新兴国家，比如和巴西，中国的伙伴关系中获得确实的利益，那么安哥拉国家的重建管理制度则需要进行根本的改变。

这篇文章是基于“100万套住房？安哥拉的国家重建以及中国和巴西的参与”研究报告所撰写。Fahamu非洲新兴力量项目为此研究提供了经费支持。您可以在以下链接读到此研究报告：http://www.fahamu.org/images/empowers_report_0311.pdf

该文作者现在在斯坦陵布什大学(Stellenbosch University)的非洲研究博士生学院攻读政治科学的博士学位，主要研究战后安哥拉城市住房问题。此篇文章是中文翻译版本。

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Call for Papers

**Association of American Geographers
Annual Meeting, New York, February 24-28
2012**

Call for papers: China in Africa

THE NUMBER OF academic studies of Sino-African relations has risen exponentially over the past decade. As the field is about to mature, the need for methodological and theoretical reflections increases. We invite researchers and graduate students from geography and other disciplines to join us in discussing theory building and methodological developments in scholarship on China and Africa at the AAG conference in New York February 24-28, 2012. The topics will be addressed in two sessions:

1. Reworking development studies in an era of 'South-South' relations The rising powers of the global South have the potential to transform the international system in radical ways. Studies of 'south-south' relationships have been polarized between optimistic and pessimistic accounts alongside case specific examples. We need to take stock of these empirical studies and rework development studies to account for these important shifts in the global balance of power.

Theorising development differently in light of the rising powers raises new questions, such as: Does the presence of Southern actors shift the moral agenda of international development away from a post-colonial guilt? How is difference negotiated across relatively new cultural divides? Do we need to rethink the geographies of neo-liberalism in light of new market actors? Are there new geographies of labour being built up through these 'south-south' relations? And do dominant donor discourses need to be rethought in the light of rival discourses?

2. Methodological challenges in studying Sino-African relations The existing literature on relations between China and Africa is relatively sparse, and research projects are therefore often designed without the benefit of information from previous studies. Quantitatively oriented scholars are faced with challenges such as unreliable datasets, lack of information about the population from which to sample, and large informal trade flows.

Qualitative research relies on relationships of trust, which are difficult to build when informants are vulnerable due to their immigration status, relationships of dependence with employers, sharp competition from business competitors, and illegal or politically sensitive activities. Additional challenges are presented by the diverse sets of linguistic competence and socio-cultural knowledge required in many research projects. This session invites scholars to use their own research experience to discuss issues related to

methodology and research ethics in Sino-African studies more broadly.

How to submit a proposal?

Prospective participants should submit an abstract of their presentation to us by **September 16, 2011**. Please indicate your institutional affiliation and the session you wish to present at. Authors will be notified of acceptance for the sessions by September 20. Participants must then register for the conference, pay the attendance fee and upload abstract to the AAG conference homepage.

Prof. Giles Mohan: g.mohan@open.ac.uk
Heidi Østbø Haugen: h.o.haugen@sosgeo.uio.no

Call for papers

**Special Issue of Global Development Studies
THEME: China-Africa Strategic Partnership:
Opportunities and Challenges for Africa's
Development Trajectories**

Global Development Studies intends to publish a special issue focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa. This issue will examine the theoretical and policy implications of the emerging economic and strategic relationships between China and the African region. Global Development Studies welcomes theoretical and policy based contributions revisiting some of the major traditional and current assumptions relating to Africa's development trajectories, in the wake of the unprecedented role and impact of Asian economies on the global economy and China's growing involvement in African economies.

The economic and trade performance of the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRICs) has resulted in the emergence of a new growth dynamism for the developing economies. In this context, the trade performance of the BRIC economies is having a major impact on Africa's overall economic growth and trade performance. China's emergence as a new source of foreign aid, trade and investment, and an alternative source of credit for African nations has engendered an intense debate regarding the motivations of China's Africa policy and its economic implications. The current expanding influence of China in Africa represents one of the strongest historical trends in the continent

Africa's (Sub-Saharan Africa) economic performance and trade expansion in the last decade have been significantly influenced by China, particularly by China's demand for raw materials. There has been a ten-fold increase in Africa's trade with China since 2000, from \$10.6 billion in 2000 to \$40 billion in 2006 and \$106.8 billion in 2008. Africa's (Sub-Saharan Africa) economic growth rate nearly doubled from 3 percent to 5.8 percent. Outside of the Asian region, and among the developing regions, Africa has emerged as the most important region in China's foreign policy. Africa has emerged as the



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most important destination for China's FDI outside of Asia, and accounts for 18 percent of China's total FDI.

Global Development Studies welcomes contributions addressing the following conceptual and analytical issues:

- China's emerging role in the global economy and responses to the new requirements and logic and global competition. In this context, assessing the impact of China's global competitiveness on African economies
- The debate on China's contribution and impact on Africa's development trajectories goes well beyond the economic context. Therefore, we welcome analyses of the conceptual and analytical issues relating to China's strategy (strategies) toward the African region and the major principles influencing China's policies towards the region, including:
 - The economic impact and broader geo-strategic considerations
 - China's cooperation with fragile African states: transparency, accountability and good governance:
 - Africa's Security and Stability: China's contribution to conflict resolution and peace keeping in Africa
 - China's role and cooperation in multilateral institutions in facilitating the promotion of peace and stability in the African region

Studies relating to the following specific areas:

(1) Africa's Strategic Direction: Economic Opportunities, Challenges and Constraints

Africa's Investment Climate: Policy, Institutional and Physical Constraints

It is widely acknowledged that improved macroeconomic policy management, economic and trade liberalization, regulatory reforms, business and investment climate are major factors explaining Africa's current economic performance.

However, there are still major structural impediments and capacity constraints affecting the exploitation of Africa's growth opportunities, and these factors continue to affect economic and trade diversification, productivity growth, Africa's competitiveness, and the pattern of integration in the global economy.

- Structural and capacity constraints account for the sharp increases in the diversity of growth performance in the last 15 years:
- Efficiency and productivity gains are constrained by the region's structural impediments, and they affect the region's trade performance and competitiveness in the global economy

- The high transaction costs in the region relate to its poor infrastructure services, power supply, communication and Internet services, limited supply of skilled labor, poor regulatory regimes, and limited domestic capital accumulation.
- High transactions costs have also had a negative impact on intra-regional trade. Shipping costs, tariffs and customs delay continue to impede regional trade and integration.

We welcome studies relating to the following:

- With approximately 2,000 Chinese firms in Africa, we welcome country and sectoral analyses assessing their contribution in improving Africa's investment climate, productivity growth and competitiveness.
- China's contribution to the development of Africa's infrastructure indicators such as communication, transportation, port facilities, electricity supplies, railways and related indicators.

(2) Africa's Trade Performance: Assessing the Pattern and Composition of China's trade with African economies

We welcome studies relating to the following:

- Analysis of factors influencing Africa-China (Asia) trade complementarities at the country level
- Determinants of Africa-China trade patterns
- Country level patterns and performance of Africa-China trade
- Structural constraints (transaction costs) affecting Africa's trade policy regimes
- Tariff rates and market access for African exports: escalating tariff rates on Africa's exports to China and Asian economies
- Africa's trade performance: Do patterns of trade (commodity) specialization with China and other Asian economies lead to economic diversification?

(3) Assessing the Determinants and Impact of Foreign Direct Investment in Africa from China

China's Emergence as a New Source of Foreign Direct Investment:

Africa has emerged as the most important destination for China's FDI outside of Asia, and accounts for 18 percent of China's total FDI.

China's strategic objective in the region is influenced by its demand for natural resources. Africa produces and exports to Asia mainly primary products and raw materials, and in turn Asia exports manufacturing goods and machinery to Africa. Chinese companies engaging in FDI have developed specific competitive advantages and production capabilities in a wide range of products and industrial sectors.

We welcome studies examining the following:

- Major motives for Chinese FDI: Analysis of those factors relevant to Africa: market access, market seeking strategy, efficiency seeking, resource seeking, and asset seeking or asset creation strategy
- Political and strategic consideration of the Chinese government influencing the motives and behavior of Chinese firms outside of Asia, and in Africa
- China's FDI in the developing economies outside of Asia, particularly in Africa, is dictated by a resource driven strategy.
- Concentration and Sectoral Composition of China's FDI: including its diversity: oil exploration and extraction, automobile manufacturing, cement production, electronic products, banking, telecommunications, and port management.
- Productivity and domestic market competition comparisons of Chinese and African firms

(4) Africa's Manufacturing Sector:

We welcome studies relating to:

- Assessments of the domestic impact of Asian and Chinese imports on key industrial sectors in African economies
- Impact of the contribution of manufacturing and industrial production to the GDP of African economies
- Positive and negative contributions of Chinese imports, including the deflationary impact of cheap imports and the positive effects -- restraints on rising domestic prices

(5) Changes in the Global Sources of Development Finance: Implications for the African Region

Sub-Saharan Africa is currently witnessing some major changes in the sources and patterns of development finance, largely due to the significant increase in global capital and the increased role of emerging and transition economies in the global economy.

Emerging economies such as China, India, Brazil, Korea, and Malaysia are now major sources of development finance.

We welcome studies relating to:

- China's development assistance to African economies
- Comparisons of the objectives and patterns of development assistance from China and the traditional (western) sources of ODA
- China's role in multilateral development institutions
- Analysis of China's development finance institutions, China Development Bank and the Export/Import Bank, pattern of development

assistance to African economies and major project areas

Instructions for Potential Contributors and Projected Publication Schedule:

Submission of Abstracts: Interested contributors should submit their abstracts of no more than 200 words to the managing editor no later than October 31, 2011. In addition to the proposed title, each abstract should include the objectives and organization of the study and the conceptual framework.

Submission Deadline for the First Draft of Each Article: The first draft of each article should be submitted for external review no later than **December 31, 2011**. Two anonymous readers will review each article submitted. Contributors should submit an electronic copy of their manuscripts in Microsoft Word.

A sample copy of a previous issue of the journal will be sent to potential contributors upon request. Each issue of the journal contains specific instructions for contributors.

Submission Deadline for Final Drafts of All Articles: Final Drafts of all articles selected for publication should be submitted electronically no later than March 31, 2012.

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Report is available at: http://www.norfund.no/images/stories/publikasjoner/andre_publicasjoner/Norfund_China_in_Africa.pdf



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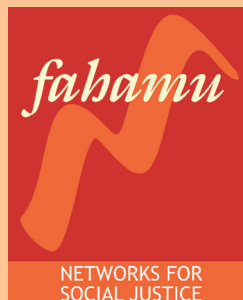
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