



EDITORIAL

DEAR READERS

The Republic of South Sudan became Africa's 55th state this month, on 9 July 2011. The historic moment was witnessed by diplomatic representatives from near and far, and saw diplomatic recognition extended to the new state by countries including Russia, South Africa, Brazil, India and China. Following the referendum resulting in favour of the creation of the independent state, it was announced that support through the IBSA (India-Brazil- South Africa) Fund would also be extended to South Sudan to assist with its post-conflict reconstruction. China's bilateral relationship with Sudan has been widely reported over the past number of years, this as Sudan became China's third largest trading partner in Africa, and due to China's foreign policy of non-interference.

The Chinese government has offered support for South Sudan, and expressed an interest in exploring investment opportunities prior to its official declaration of independence. The fostering of ties was also noted through meetings such as those between the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the vice president of the Government of Southern Sudan, Riek Machar Teny during a visit by the Chinese delegation to the area. In this month's newsletter Daniel Large provides commentary on relations between China and South Sudan, as well as the potential role for China to play in the newly independent state.

China had also become involved in other areas, besides the petroleum industry, in Sudan through the construction of the Merowe Dam in the northern part of the country. One of the largest hydro-power dam projects on the continent, China's Exim Bank provided financing for the dam and Sinohydro led the way in the construction of the 1,250 MW plant. China's flagship hydro-power project came under the spotlight recently as the Chinese government admitted to the negative impacts of the project in terms of environmental concerns and socio-economic effects amongst others. Peter Bosshard provides insight into the long-term impact of China's Three Gorges Dam and the lessons they offer Africa as the number of large-scale hydro-power projects on the continent continues to increase.

We encourage African voices to join the discussion on this topic and provide further perspectives on the emerging powers and the impact of these hydro-power projects on the continent. Our Chinese series continues with translations of this month's English articles on China's developing relations with South Sudan, and lessons for Africa from the experience of the Three Gorges Dam.

Hayley Herman
Programme Officer
Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative

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IN THIS ISSUE

COMMENTARY

South Sudan and China: a new chapter begins

By Daniel Large 2

The Lessons from the Three Gorges Dam for Africa

By Peter Bosshard 4

南苏丹和中国：新篇章的开始

作者：Daniel Large 7

非洲从三峡大坝工程中可吸取的经验

作者：Peter Bosshard 8

RESOURCES, LINKS & ANNOUNCEMENTS 10

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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

South Sudan and China: a new chapter begins

By Daniel Large

THE REPUBLIC OF South Sudan said goodbye to Khartoum and came into being on a historic day, 9 July 2011. Not long afterwards, it became the 193rd member state of the UN. Now, in the aftermath, the processes of building a new state and integrating it into the world continue, as do more mundane, but important practical tasks (like its new currency or international dialing code just issued by the International Telecommunication Union).

China was one of a growing number of countries to recognize South Sudan on 9 July, now featuring Uganda, Kenya, the US, Turkey, Egypt, Israel, India and Iran. The special envoy of Chinese President Hu Jintao, Jiang Weixin, signed a joint communiqué with South Sudan's new Foreign Minister, Deng Alor Kol, to establish relations and open a new phase in relations.

Beijing's relations with Juba have progressed far in a relatively short amount of time. Many date the start of relations to 2005, and the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which incorporated the SPLM into a national unity government and created a separate government for the South. In practice, relations between Juba and Beijing only really took off following the visit to Beijing by the President of the Government of Southern Sudan, Salva Kiir Mayardit, in July 2007. Only then, despite an ingrained preference for Sudan's unity, did Beijing appear to become more manifestly cognizant with two fundamental issues: that the majority of Chinese oil interests in Sudan were in the South, and that the South wanted to exercise its right to self-determination enshrined in the CPA and vote to become independent. This duly happened in January 2011.

The inauguration of China's consulate in Juba in September 2008, now freshly upgraded into an embassy, was an important step in enhancing relations. For China, it effectively marked the beginning of a dual-track engagement with two political systems within one Sudan, which was to be replicated more quietly by CNPC with regard to its relations with Juba. For some in the ruling northern National Congress Party (NCP), China's new outreach to the SPLM was the source of disillusionment. For the SPLM, however, it represented something of an empowering coup in their internal struggle with the NCP. Just as Darfur had forced a recalibration of China's Sudan policy, its emerging relations with the South and the politics of Juba's independence aspirations confirmed, in a very practical way, the imperative of an all-Sudan approach.

The Chinese government's rhetoric surrounding South Sudan's independence talks up what is presented as a long history of relations. There are certainly past Chinese connections with the South from the 1970s but these were limited, upstaged prominently during Beijing and Khartoum's Golden Jubilee celebrations in 2009. The contrast between China's medical aid to the South featuring acupuncture after 1972 and oil operations from the late 1990s illustrate something of the important transition in relations, hitherto almost entirely been mediated via Khartoum. In short, this is a very new phase of relations. China's actual history in South Sudan is limited, relatively brief and until now defined as much by the memory of war as the more recent formal peace created by the CPA.

The way things are developing, however, suggests that China's role in the making and in making South Sudan's future could be far more important. Properly managed, and tailored closely to need, the contribution the Chinese government and other companies might make to the project of trying to match the hopes engendered by independence to actual material realization is potentially significant.

The SPLM/A has had overwhelmingly political priorities until now: first, the referendum and, when that passed smoothly with a decisive result, independence day itself. Now that the political kingdom has been attained, the scale of human needs, economic challenges as well as ongoing conflicts is becoming more evident. More than substantially contributing to the abstraction called sustainable peace in Sudan, as many have suggested recently, in the context of perilous current fighting in South Kordofan as well as ongoing conflict in Darfur, there are stronger reasons to expect a significant, tangible Chinese contribution towards helping facilitate the infrastructure of economic development in the South. In Beijing, Juba potentially has a source of quick finance and competent rapid delivery of infrastructural needs, even if these very measures, as positive as they might be, contain within them the seeds of potential new dependency of ROSS on China if not wisely managed.

China affirms it will deal with the new Republic of South Sudan on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. As a result, besides South Sudan's likely new membership of the Forum of China-Africa Cooperation process and creation of a new embassy in Beijing, China now in principle stands ready to extend equal treatment to its newly sovereign, hypothetically equal partner. For Juba,

this presents opportunities that could enhance its position vis-à-vis Khartoum. Juba will now expect to benefit from and be likely to appreciate the very principles of China's foreign policy, notably non-interference, that it objected to so strongly during Sudan's North-South wars. For Beijing, however, this may present awkward challenges.

Outside of economic matters and oil, for example, the routine military cooperation China has carried out with Khartoum, and most African governments, in theory can be extended to the SPLA. In the current circumstances, while consistent with wider Chinese relations, this would be fraught with myriad problems, not just related to ongoing conflicts in the new Sudans, and the human devastation involved, but also the SPLA's other relations with key partners, notably the US. There looms the possibility of China supporting the two new Sudans amidst ongoing armed conflict.

Whatever happens, China's developing links with South Sudan will continue to be intertwined with

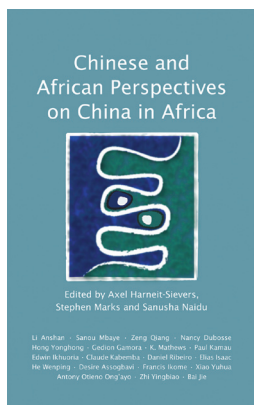
its relations with Khartoum and the NCP. China's relations with Sudan now are characterized by a newly emerging engagement in the South and efforts to intensify more established relations with the North. These are accompanied by current uncertainty about the nature of final status agreements on the oil sector, amongst other things.

China's real history in South Sudan is only just beginning. Now is the time for this to be created in a way that starts a new, positive chapter in relations between Juba and Beijing, in which the war years can be reconciled, the foundations for a new country strengthened and tangible steps taken to try to realise today's high hopes of the peoples of South Sudan about the fruits of their independence.

*Daniel Large is Director of www.sudanarchive.net and co-editor, with Luke Patey, of *Sudan Looks East: China, India and the Politics of Asian Alternatives* (James Currey, forthcoming 2011).*

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

The Lessons from the Three Gorges Dam for Africa

By Peter Bosshard

THE THREE GORGES Dam on the Yangtze River is the world's largest hydropower project. In practical and symbolic terms it has served as a model for dam building around the world. The project allowed Chinese companies to acquire the technology to build large hydropower dams in the 1990s – an expertise which they have since exported to the rest of the world. With 70 projects at different stages of implementation, Chinese dam builders are playing a dominant role in Africa. Many of them – including Sinohydro and the Three Gorges Power Corporation – use the giant dam on the Yangtze as their showcase and reference.

The Three Gorges Dam has also become the symbol for a development model that promotes economic growth at all cost. Government delegations from South Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo and many other countries visited the giant hydropower project on the Yangtze when they traveled to China. And in an effort to borrow from its prestige, projects like the Merowe, Tekeze, Mambilla and Grand Inga dams have been touted as the Three Gorges dams of Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria and the DRC.

The Three Gorges Dam has always been controversial even within China. In May of this year, the Chinese government for the first time officially admitted that the project has serious social, environmental and geological problems. What are the lessons from the Three Gorges experience for Africa?

Project impacts

With a capacity of 18,200 megawatts – almost the hydropower capacity of all African countries combined – the Three Gorges Dam is the world's biggest hydropower project. In spite of its daunting complexity, the government completed the project ahead of time in 2008. The Yangtze dam generates 2 percent of China's electricity and substitutes at least 30 million tons of coal per year.

On May 18 the State Council, China's highest government body, for the first time acknowledged that the dam has serious problems. "The project is now greatly benefiting the society in the aspects

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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.

of flood prevention, power generation, river transportation and water resource utilization”, the government maintained, but it has “caused some urgent problems in terms of environmental protection, the prevention of geological hazards and the welfare of the relocated communities.” Here is a brief overview of the main problems:

Displacement: The Three Gorges Dam has submerged 13 cities, 140 towns and 1,350 villages, and displaced more than 1.2 million people. Many resettlers were cheated out of their compensation payments and did not receive the new jobs or land that the government had promised. While some of the newly built towns have recovered from the initial shock of displacement, others are beset by widespread unemployment and impoverishment.

Ecological collapse: Damming the Three Gorges caused massive impacts on the ecosystem of the Yangtze, Asia’s longest river. The reservoir has turned the once mighty river into a stagnant garbage dump with frequent toxic algae blooms. Because the barrage stopped fish migration, commercial fisheries have plummeted, the Yangtze river dolphin has been extinct, and other species are facing the same fate.

Erosion: Government officials were prepared for social and environmental problems, but not for the dam’s massive geological impacts. The strong fluctuation of the water level in the Three Gorges reservoir destabilizes the slopes of the Yangtze Valley, and triggers frequent landslides. Erosion affects half the 600 kilometer long reservoir, and more than 300,000 additional people will have to be relocated to stabilize the reservoir banks.

Downstream impacts: The Yangtze River carries more than 500 million tons of silt into the reservoir every year. Most of this is now withheld from the downstream regions and particularly the Yangtze delta. As a consequence, up to four square kilometers of coastal wetlands are eroded every year. The delta is subsiding, and seawater intrudes up the river, affecting agriculture and drinking water supplies. Because of the lack of nutrients, coastal fisheries are also suffering.

Vulnerability to climate change: The Three Gorges Dam illustrates how the vagaries of climate change create new risks for hydropower projects. The dam operators planned to fill the Three Gorges reservoir for the first time in 2009, but were not able to do so due to insufficient rains. The current year has brought Central China the worst drought in five decades, which has again sharply reduced the power generation of the Three Gorges. The nearby Danjiangkou Dam, which serves as the starting point of an equally gigantic scheme to transfer water to northern China, did not have sufficient water for its own operation – let alone for sending water elsewhere. Ever more unreliable rainfalls put a big

question mark behind the benefits and financial viability of big, centralized water projects.

Financial cost: The official cost of the Yangtze dam is \$27 billion. Critics argue that if all hidden costs are included, the real price tag amounts to \$88 billion. It would have been cheaper to generate electricity and replace coal through other means. While the dam was under construction, the energy efficiency of China’s economy decreased. According to the Energy Foundation in the US, it would have been “cheaper, cleaner and more productive for China to have invested in energy efficiency” rather than new power plants.

Lessons for Africa

Over the past 50 years, China’s focus on infrastructure development has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, but has also destroyed the lives of millions and undermined the ecological foundation of the country’s future prosperity. This confirms that water and energy projects are essential for a country’s development, but are more than engineering challenges. They need to respect the limits of nature, empower affected people, invite public scrutiny, and recognize the threats of climate change.

More specifically, the Three Gorges Dam holds the following lessons for Africa:

Large dams are massive interventions into highly complex ecosystems. Their impacts can occur thousands of kilometers away and many years after construction has been completed. Environmental impact assessments must err on the side of caution, because it is impossible to predict and mitigate all social and environmental impacts of such projects. When environmental costs are factored into the analysis, other solutions – including efficiency improvements – may be cheaper than large dams.

The Three Gorges experience demonstrates that damming the mainstream of major rivers is particularly damaging, in that it will interrupt the migration of fish and the transport of sediments throughout a river’s ecosystems. As the World Commission on Dams recommended in its path-breaking report, *Dams and Development*, a river’s mainstream should not be dammed as long as there are other options.

In two of the project’s first three years, the Three Gorges Dam has not been able to produce at full capacity due to insufficient rainfalls. This demonstrates that big, clunky dams are highly vulnerable to the vagaries of climate change. Diversifying and decentralizing infrastructure makes societies more resilient to global warming than sinking billions of dollars into projects that



may be left high and dry when rainfall patterns change. This lesson is particularly relevant for Africa, which already depends on hydropower to a higher degree than any other region.

The companies that built the Three Gorges Dam have not adopted social, environmental and human rights standards of their own, but instead rely on the laws and regulations of projects' host governments. This is not sufficient in countries such as Sudan or Ethiopia where governments routinely flout their own laws and violate human rights. The Chinese government has urged its foreign investors to pay more attention to the interests of local communities, workers and the environment, and Sinohydro, the world's biggest hydropower contractor, is currently preparing an environmental policy. In the meantime, the media and civil society should hold these companies to account for their compliance with international environmental, social and human rights standards.

China spent tens of billions of dollars on the resettlement program for the Three Gorges Dam. But because affected people were excluded from

decision-making, the program often ignored their needs and desires, and resulted in wide-spread impoverishment and frustration. This experience must sound familiar to the thousands of families who were displaced by the Kariba, Aswan, and Merowe dams. It demonstrates that affected communities should be involved in the decision-making regarding large infrastructure projects from the beginning.

Finally, Chinese scientists predicted many of the impacts of the Three Gorges Dam, yet their voices were silenced in what the government claimed was the national interest. In multi-billion dollar projects, the national interest is often taken hostage by political prestige, bureaucratic power brokers, and the generous kickbacks of a bribery-prone industry. These vested interests need to be balanced and held accountable through a fully transparent and participatory decision-making process.

Peter Bosshard is the Policy Director of International Rivers. He has monitored the Three Gorges Dam and projects in Africa for many years.

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/>
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南苏丹和中国：新篇章的开始

作者：Daniel Large

南苏丹共和国在和喀土穆挥手告别后，迎来了它具有历史性的一天-2011年7月9日。之后不久，南苏丹共和国成为了联合国第193个成员国。南苏丹正在积极发展国家建设，希望尽快融入到国际社会。南苏丹政府已经开始着手解决一些实际的问题，比如，新货币的发行和国际区号的建立（南苏丹已经从国际电信联盟获得了国际区号）。

中国是在7月9日当天承认南苏丹独立的国家之一，其它的国家还包括乌干达，肯尼亚，美国，土耳其，埃及，以色列，印度和伊朗。中国主席胡锦涛派去的特别使节与南苏丹新任外交部长Deng Alor Kol签订了建立外交关系的联合公报，这见证了中国和南苏丹外交历史的新篇章。

中国和朱巴的外交关系在相对较短的时间内得到了快速的发展。许多人认为中国和南苏丹的关系可追溯到2005年。当时签订的全面和平协议把苏丹人民解放运动纳入了全国统一政府中并建立了一个南方的独立政府。而实际上，中国和南苏丹关系是在南方苏丹政府主席Salva Kiir Mayardit 2007年7月访华后逐渐建立起来的。尽管当时北京支持苏丹的统一，但是也很快意识到了两个基本问题：第一，中国大部分的石油利益集中在苏丹南部。另外一点是，苏丹南方政府希望行使在全面和平协议中所注明的自决权的权利并投票争取独立。

中国在2008年在朱巴建立了领事馆（现在已经升级成为了大使馆），这是两国关系建立上至关重要的一步。在当时，这也标志着中国在苏丹两种政治体系中开展双轨关系的开始。之后，中国石油天然气集团也悄悄地与朱巴开展了同样的关系。对于北方的执政党-全国大会党（NCP）来说，中国对苏丹人民解放运动的新推广是一些矛盾的源头。而对于苏丹人民解放运动来说，这是对他们与全国大会党（NCP）内部斗争的有力支持。

中国政府对苏丹南方政府独立的言论证明了两国关系的长久历史。虽然从1970年起，中国和苏丹南方政府就有一些接触，但这些接触是有限的。双方关系的突破口发生在2009年北京和喀土穆举办的金禧（Golden Jubilee）庆典活动时。中国在1972年后对苏丹南部开展了医疗援助，而从90年代后期起，双方的关系经历了过渡时期，中国开始在苏丹南部开采石油。而这些运作几乎全部都要通过喀土穆来进行。而现在，中国和南苏丹的关系将进入一个全新的时代。中国在南苏丹真正的历史很有限，主要是由战争的历史和近期通过全国和平协议所达到的和平状态。

事情发展的方向说明中国将在南苏丹今后的发展中

扮演着重要的角色。中国政府和中国公司也承担着来自南苏丹政府和人民的期许。

苏丹人民解放运动/军到现在为止都拥有着重要的政治优先性：第一，公投（公投过程进展顺利并取得了决定性的成果）和独立日。国家的独立已经取得，而其它问题，比如人民的需求，经济方面面临的挑战，以及正在进行的斗争问题都将变得更加突出。苏丹的和平进程是在以南科尔多凡和达尔富尔的战争为背景的，这一点使得人们更加确信中国将在南苏丹的经济发展和基础设施建造方面做出重要的贡献。朱巴在北京可以需找到快捷的融资渠道和解决基础设施建设的援助。但无论这些举措有多正面，如果管理不当，南苏丹会对中国有着潜在的新的依赖。

中国会在遵守和平相处五项原则的基础上与南苏丹共和国进行往来。南苏丹很有可能会成为中非会的新成员并且在北京建立大使馆。除此之外，中国现在在原则上也准备与南苏丹建立平等的合作伙伴关系。对于朱巴来说，这是提高其自身地位，获得与喀土穆面对面对抗的机会。南苏丹将会从中国的“不干涉”外交政策中获益并对此心怀感激。而对于北京而言，这有可能会给北京带来尴尬的挑战。

撇除经济和石油因素，中国和喀土穆，以及和其它非洲国家所开展的军事合作从理论上讲也会扩展到苏丹人民解放军中。从现在的情况来看，这会造出许多问题。除了会涉及到苏丹正在进行的斗争和人类破坏，还会涉及到苏丹人民解放军和其它伙伴的关系，特别是苏丹人民解放军和美国的的关系。这使得中国有可能会陷入同时支持两个苏丹政府的窘境。

无论怎样，中国和南苏丹的关系将会继续与喀土穆和全国大会党的关系交织在一起。中国和苏丹的关系有了新的定义。中国要开展与南苏丹的关系，同时也要加强与北苏丹的关系。但现在中国要面临许多包括石油领域在内的不确定因素。

中国在南苏丹的历史才真正展开。现在就是朱巴和北京双边关系进入全新篇章的时机。在这新的篇章中，多年的战争将会和解，新国家的基础将会被巩固，南苏丹人民对独立后成果的期待也将会实现。

Daniel Large是 www.sudanarchive.net 网站的主任。他与Luke Patey共同编辑了《Sudan Looks East: China, India and the Politics of Asian Alternatives》一书。

*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。



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COMMENTARY

非洲从三峡大坝工程中可吸取的经验

作者：Peter Bosshard

坐落在长江上的三峡大坝是世界上最大的水电工程。从实际意义和象征意义的角度来讲，三峡大坝已经成为了全世界大坝建造工程的典范。从90年代起，中国的公司便获得了建造大规模水电大坝所需的技术。之后，这项技术被传播到了世界各地。在非洲，由中国筹建的大坝工程有70个，这些工程现在都在不同的建造阶段。由此可见，中国公司在非洲的大坝建造领域扮演着非常重要的角色。在这些公司中，许多公司（包括中国水利水电建设集团公司和三峡电力公司）都把三峡大坝当做可以彰显其水平和实力的展示品。

三峡大坝代表了为了提高经济而不惜一切代价的发展模式。南非，刚果民主共和国和其它国家的代表们访问中国时都参观了三峡大坝。为了借助三峡大坝的威望，很多在非洲的大坝项目，比如Merowe, Tekeze, Mambilla 和 Grand Inda 大坝都被冠以苏丹，埃塞俄比亚，尼日利亚和刚果民主共和国的“三峡大坝”之名。

三峡大坝在中国一直都备受争论。而中国政府在今年5月第一次正式承认三峡大坝存在的社会，环境和地质方面的问题。那么，非洲能从中国的三峡大坝中吸取什么经验教训呢？

项目的影响力

三峡大坝拥有18,200 百万瓦的总装机容量，这几乎是所有非洲国家总装机容量的总和。这也使三峡大坝成为了世界上最大的水利发电工程。尽管建设过程艰巨复杂，中国还是在2008年提前完成了大坝的建造工作。三峡大坝的发电量占中国发电量的2%，并且可以代替至少每年3000万吨的煤使用量。

中国国务院（中国的最高政府机构）在5月18日承认三峡大坝存在着严重的问题。政府官员指出“三峡大坝对洪灾预警，发电，内河运输和水资源利用方面都可以带来益处。但是，三峡大坝也造成了一些急需解决的问题，比如环境保护和地质风险预防方面的问题，还有如何处理因建坝造成的居民搬迁问题”。以下列举了其中几个主要问题。

迁移：三峡大坝经由13个城市，140个县城和1350座村庄，总计迁移人口达到120万人。其中很多人没有获得应得的迁移费，以及政府曾承诺的新工作或土地。虽然一些迁移的人们已经在新城镇安顿下来，但还有相当一部分居民正在面临着失业和贫穷的情况。

生态破坏：三峡大坝的建造影响了亚洲最长河流-长江周围的生态系统。大坝的建造使得曾经波澜壮阔

的长江变成了一滩死水并成为了滋生有毒海藻的温床。由于大坝的拦河坝挡住了鱼类的迁移，当地的渔业严重受阻。长江豚已经灭绝，而其他生物也正在面临着同样的命运。

侵蚀：虽然政府官员们对因大坝而产生的社会和环境问题早有准备，他们却没有意识到大坝可能对地质产生的巨大影响。三峡水位的强烈波动使得长江流域的斜坡变得不稳定，造成山崩频发。侵蚀影响了600公里水库的一半，并迫使额外的30万居民背井离乡，以确保库岸的稳定。

对下游的影响：长江每年将5亿吨的淤泥带到水库。大部分的淤泥都不能到达下流地区，尤其是长江三角洲地区。这所造成的结果是每年大约4平方公里的沿海湿地被侵蚀。三角洲正在消退，海水侵入到了河流中，这影响了农业的发展和饮用水的供应。由于缺乏足够的养分，沿海的渔业也遭受重创。

应对气候变化时的脆弱性：三峡大坝证明了气候变化是如何给水利工程造成新的风险的。大坝的工作人员在2009年第一次计划给大坝水库注水，然而，由于降水量的不足，这次计划未能成功。今年，中国中部地区遭遇了百年不遇的旱灾，这更加减弱了三峡大坝的发电能力。而附近的作为“南水北调”工程起点的丹江口大坝也正在面临缺水的困境，更别提要把水调到中国的北部地区了。降水量的不可预测性使得人们开始质疑大规模水利发电工程是否可以真正为民造福并带来经济收益。

财政花费：据官方数据称，建造大坝所投入的资金为270亿美元。一些评论家则认为，如果把所有隐藏费用都加起来，所投入的实际资金应该为880亿美元。如果运用其它方法来发电并取代煤的使用，投入会减少很多。在大坝建造期间，中国经济的能源效率下降了。美国能源基金会表示比起建造新的发电站，“中国应该在能源效率方面进行投资，这样做更便宜，更清洁，生产力也更高”。

给非洲的教训

在过去的50年中，中国将重心放在了基础设施的建设方面，这使得超过1亿的居民脱离了贫困，但与此同时，也破坏了上百万居民的生活，损坏了国家未来发展的生态基础。这显现了开发水资源和能源项目的重要性。但是在应付工程本身的挑战外，我们还应该尊重自然的局限性，使得受影响群体变得强大，在群众中开展公开检查工作并且认清气候变化所带来的威胁。

以下是非洲可以从三峡大坝中所吸取的经验：

大规模的大坝建造会对复杂的生态系统造成极大的干预。这种干预会影响到大坝所在地之外的上千公里，并且这种影响会一直持续到大坝竣工后的若干年后。对在环境影响进行评估时，我们也要防患于未然，因为我们是不能完全预测和减轻工程会给社会和自然造成的影响。如果把对环境所造成的影响纳入到分析工作中，其它解决办法（包括效率改进）可能会比建造大坝更加便宜。

三峡大坝工程证明了在主要河流的主流上建造大坝是非常具有破坏性的，因为这样做干扰了鱼类的迁移和整个河流的生态系统沉积物的运输工作。世界大坝委员会在其发表的《大坝和发展》报告中指出：在有其它选择的情况下，一条河流的主流上是不应该建造大坝的。

在大坝建成后的头2年中，受降水量不足的影响，三峡大坝还不能充分地发电。这证明了大型坝的建设在应对气候的多样变化时所显现的脆弱性。具有多样性和分散性的基础设施可以使得社会在应对全球变暖问题时更有弹性。这方面的经验对非洲来说尤为重要，因为非洲对水利发电方面的依赖比起其它地区都要高。

参与建造三峡大坝的公司并没有制定本公司对社会，环境和人权的标准，而是遵守政府的法律和法规。这一点，在一些国家，比如苏丹和埃塞俄比亚

是不可取。因为这些国家的政府经常藐视自己所定的法律并违反人权。中国政府正在敦促外国的投资方关注当地社区，工人和环境的利益。而世界上最大的水利承包商中国水利水电建设集团公司也正在准备制定一项环境政策。同时，媒体和民间组织也要监督这些公司是否遵循了国际环境，社会和人权标准。

中国花费了上百亿美元用在三峡大坝居民迁移工作上。由于被迁移居民不能参加决定的制定工作，他们的需求往往被忽视，这造成了许多人处在贫穷境地并遭受挫败感。这一点和上千家庭因为Kariba, Aswan和Merowe大坝工程的建造而被迫迁移的情况很相似。所以，这些受到影响的社区居民的意见应该从一开始就被采纳到决定的过程中。

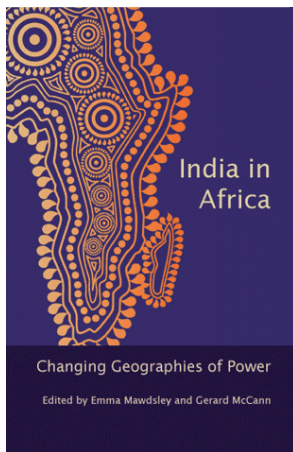
最后，许多中国的科学家们在三峡大坝建造期间就预测到了很多大坝将会引起的问题，但他们的声音被淹没在了政府所强调的国家利益中。一项花费上百亿美元的工程，国家的利益经常会被政治的威望，官僚的权利和丰厚回扣的诱惑所挟持。这一点应该通过完全透明和全民参与的决策过程来得到平衡。

Peter Bosshard 是国际河流(International River)的政策主任。他多年来一直都在关注三峡大坝工程和非洲的工程。

*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。

India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley & Gerard McCann



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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 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

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- 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:

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(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:

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