



EDITORIAL

GREAT ATTENTION HAS been paid to pledges and commitments made by the Chinese government to Africa over recent years, in particular since the first Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). The FOCAC Summit has been viewed as a framework for engagement between China and Africa in various fields since its establishment and has outlined China's policy towards the continent. At the same time, comparatively less attention has been paid to the India-Africa Forum Summit. While the first Summit was only inaugurated in 2008 in New Delhi, India has sought to solidify its role in the establishment of new areas of partnership and the enhancement of traditional fields of common interest.

The second India-Africa Forum Summit took place at the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in May 2011. Besides the discussions between trade ministers, foreign affairs ministers and the like, private sector input was also a focus of proceedings with the India-Africa Business Conclave meeting on 21 May. With the Indian private sector being labelled the driving force of contemporary Indian activity in Africa, the Summit proved that the Indian government was now playing catch up to the corporate sector in Africa. At the same time, the Summit provided new insights into pilot projects and ventures to be introduced over the coming years. Links to the outcome documents from the Summit, namely the Addis Ababa Declaration and Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation are provided below.

Two articles focus on the Summit in this edition of the newsletter. First, Prof K Mathews provides

an overview of the activities and outcomes of the Summit, as well as commentary on the state of relations between the Indian government and Africa. A second article by Manish Chand also looks at the Summit, with specific mention of some of the commitments made during the event focusing on capacity building, education and human resource training.

In addition, Rashaad Amra provides an interesting overview of Turkey's engagement with Africa in terms of trade and investment activities. Turkey provides an interesting case study for emerging power activity in Africa, especially in light of its heavy engagement with North Africa specifically. Questions are being asked as to what the recent developments and outcomes of the Arab Spring will mean for future engagement between the region and countries such as China, but this is similarly the case with other emerging powers.

Finally, last month we introduced articles translated into Mandarin, and this continues in this month's edition with focus on the African journalist study tour to India conducted by the EMPA Initiative. It also draws comparisons with the tour to China conducted last year. The second article provides a review of the recent report by Global Witness titled "China and Congo: Friends in Need".

Hayley Herman
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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/

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COMMENTARY

A New Architecture for India-Africa Cooperation: The Second India -Africa Forum Summit, May 2011

By Professor K. Mathews

The Context

THE SECOND INDIA-AFRICA Forum Summit took place in Addis Ababa, the Headquarters of the African Union (AU) on 24th and 25th May 2011. It was hosted by the African Union and focused on the development of a partnership framework between India and Africa in the 21st century. The agreed theme of the Summit – “*Enhanced Partnership – Shared Vision*”, manifested India’s desire to further invigorate the historic India-Africa relationship. India is set to build on its historic relations and its strength in knowledge industries to impart a strategic character to its relations with Africa. The Second Summit provided a new architecture of the fast growing India-Africa cooperation in the economic, political, cultural and related fields. The Summit was accompanied by a series of business (trade exhibition, business conclave, and crafts women interaction), academic (Seminar on Africa and India – A Partnership for Development and Growth) and cultural events (multimedia exhibition, film festival and a Media Symposium -Building Bridges), among others. I personally participated in some of the events connected with the Summit. This commentary covers only some of the highlights of the Summit.

India has now created a three-tier engagement with Africa: at pan-African, regional and bilateral levels. The development of continental level cooperation between India and Africa, with the first India-Africa Forum Summit held in New Delhi in April 2008, marked an important milestone in India’s long standing relations with Africa. This Summit not only marked the first continental level and intensified engagement between India and Africa but also marked the institutionalization of India-Africa cooperation, with the signing of the *New Delhi Declaration* and the *Africa-India Framework for Cooperation*. Since then there has been substantial growth particularly in financial flows from India to Africa in terms of grants, foreign direct investment (FDI) and concessional loans and the like.

Fifteen African countries and the AU Commission participated in the Second Summit and India was represented by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The African continent was represented by the AU Commission Chairperson, Jean Ping, the current

Chairperson of the AU Assembly and President of Equatorial Guinea, Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasago. The 53 AU member states were represented by the five founding members of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, NEPAD, (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa) and the current Chair of the NEPAD Implementation Committee (Ethiopia) as well as the current Chairs of the eight Regional Economic Communities (Kenya, Libya, Namibia, Burundi, Swaziland, Nigeria, Chad, and DR Congo). The summit culminated with the adoption of two documents – *the Addis Ababa Declaration* and *the Framework of Enhanced Cooperation between India and Africa*. The Addis Ababa Declaration rightly affirmed the critical importance of South-South Cooperation as an instrument that can effectively supplement existing international efforts and lead to tangible and real benefits for the developing world.

The Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation outlined the agreed areas of cooperation, including human resource development, research and development, institutional capacity building, education, science and technology, agricultural productivity, industrial growth, mineral extraction, development of the health sector, development of infrastructure, ICT as well as establishment of judicial systems with police and defense establishments under civilian control. Summarizing the initiatives for enhancing partnership between Africa and India at the Summit, the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh outlined four broad areas of Indian support. These are infrastructure development, regional integration, capacity building and human resource development.

The Trade Show and Dialogue

As part of the Summit an impressive trade show was organized by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) at the Millennium Hall in Addis Ababa. Here 84 Indian companies had the opportunity to showcase their strengths and capabilities. With bilateral trade worth some US\$ 45 billion a year currently and expected to reach US\$ 70 billion by 2015, it is no surprise that the appetite for more is so active in the name of cooperation and mutual benefit between India and Africa. There has been a registered rise of 22% in African exports to India

and a 52% rise in Indian exports to Africa.

As part of the Summit, a meeting between African Trade Ministers and the Indian Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Anand Sharma, took place on 21st May at the Millennium Hall in Addis Ababa. Recognizing the market opportunities for both sides, they agreed to strengthen trade relationships, build trade-related capacities and conclude trade related agreements between Regional Economic Communities and India. The meeting also recalled the objectives set for the WTO Doha negotiations and reiterated both sides' commitment to Special and Differential (S&D) Treatment and more preferential treatment for Least Developed Countries. It was also decided that the ministerial trade meeting will take place annually as an "India-Africa Trade Ministers' Dialogue".

During the meeting, the ministers explored ways to establish trade investment linkages between India and Africa through institutionalizing trade cooperation agreements between India and African Regional Economic Communities (RECs). They also agreed on the need for reform of the global financial system to avoid a recurrence of the recent crisis by focusing on the need for regulation of the markets. Indian entrepreneurs have invested more than US\$ 25 billion in Africa, in agriculture, manufacturing, telecommunications, infrastructure and other areas. In Ethiopia, for example, Indian investment has risen from US\$ 500 million in 2005 to nearly US\$ 4.5 billion in 2010. India is the largest private sector investor in Ethiopia.

India is evidently excited by the raw materials that Africa has to offer as well as the 900 million hectares of underutilized arable land. Of all the African markets, India is showing most interest in the agricultural, mining and manufacturing sectors. India has expressed that if Africa has the basic commodities to offer, then African economies would benefit by granting India the licenses to provide value addition, i.e., through manufacturing and agro processing. The combined markets of India and Africa comprise about 2.2 billion people with a combined GDP of more than US\$ 3 trillion in 2009. Africa-India investments reached US\$ 90 billion in 2010. India in consultation with the African Union has also announced that it is committed to fulfilling its promise from the first Summit to support and promote regional integration. To substantiate this pledge India announced its support of the development of a new Ethio-Djibouti Railway line by offering US\$ 300 million.

Capacity Building

India has continued to deliver on its promise to develop capacity building in the human resource development sector. Prime Minister Singh proposed the establishment of the following new institutions at the Pan-African level:

1. An India-Africa Food Processing Cluster – which would contribute to value addition and the creation of regional and export markets;
2. An India-Africa integrated Textiles Cluster, which will support the cotton industry and its processing and conversion into value products;
3. An India-Africa Centre for Medium Range Weather Forecasting, which will harness satellite technology for the agriculture and fisheries sectors as well as contribute towards disaster preparedness and management of natural resources;
4. An India-Africa Institute of Agriculture and Rural Development;
5. An India-Africa Virtual University that will help meet the demand in Africa for higher studies in Indian institutions. India also proposed 10,000 new scholarships under this proposed University that will be available for African students after its establishment.

The Prime Minister of India also proposed that India and Africa work towards the establishment of an India-Africa Volunteer Corps which would be devoted to development work. The Volunteer Corps can, on a pilot basis, identify projects in the areas of public health, informal education and women. Prime Minister Singh also proposed to enhance Indian aid to Africa by expanding concessional lines of credit and undertaking projects against grants in excess of US\$ 500 million over the next five to six years. These will focus on human resource development and capacity building. India will strengthen local capacities by creating regional and pan-African institutions of higher education, especially in pure sciences, information technology and vocational education. India will also make investments in research and development in renewable forms of energy and agricultural development, through these institutions. An important aspect of the capacity building programme is the offer from India of 300 scholarships in the field of agricultural education and research over four years.

To institutionalize India's pledge to maximize capacity building, Prime Minister announced during the Summit that four pan-African institutions will also be established:

1. India Africa Institute of Foreign Trade;
2. India-Africa Diamond Institute;
3. India Africa Institute of Educational Planning and Administration and
4. India Africa Institute of Information technology.



India-Africa Media Partnership

As part of the Summit an “India- Africa Media Partnership Symposium: “Building Bridges” (IAMPS) was held on 21st May at the Hilton Hotel, Addis Ababa. The Symposium brought together some of the brightest minds from African and Indian media to brainstorm on enhancing media engagement and synergies in order to build an Africa-India multi-dimensional media partnership. This was the culmination of intense media exchanges that have occurred throughout the year. Topics discussed at the event included: The role and responsibilities of the media, role of partnership between countries media, use of modern technologies, the role of foreign correspondents etc. Participants and media representatives from India and many African countries promised to work closely with each other to promote the widest possible respect for the freedom of the press and media. Amongst others it was announced that there would be fully funded slots in Indian media schools for students in Africa. It was also proposed that there should be an Afro-Asian Satellite TV Channel. The growth of the African movie industry will also be encouraged by using African locations to shoot Bollywood films.

Political and Other Issues

It was also announced that India will provide US\$ 2 billion to support the African Union peacekeeping mission in Somalia. India's stated position at the Summit regarding the on-going NATO air strikes in Libya was that any further attempt to de-escalate the crisis in the region must avoid humanitarian catastrophe. At the Summit India also made a strong plea for reform of global political and economic institutions, including the UN Security Council. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh told the African leaders that, “the current international economic and political system is far from favourable, particularly for developing countries. “The world faces new challenges in meeting the requirements of food and energy security”. He continued: “The global institutions of governance are outmoded and are working under stress. We, therefore, need a new spirit of solidarity among developing countries”. It was also announced that India could count on the AU for the support for their seat on the UN Security Council.

Overall Assessment

India has a window of opportunity as well as major challenges in Africa. With regard to international partnerships with Africa, we have mainly two models available to us, the European and Chinese Models. The Europeans through the Lome Agreement and the EU-Africa Summits, have established

special relations with African countries, promising them substantial aid and preferential access. But it still follows a colonial pattern: procurement of raw material, and selling subsidized food and other products, often destroying the indigenous industries. The other is the Chinese model- a blatantly mercantile approach based on deals struck to ensure energy and mineral supplies to China. It has already caused backlash due mainly to cheap Chinese products flooding African markets.

It is the Chinese challenge that worries Indian policy makers. China has been proactive and has reached out to Africa, while India has been passive in the past two decades or more. India is a poor third after Western multinationals and the Chinese companies in securing energy contracts in Africa. India needs to realize that China is a competitor not a threat to India in Africa. There are valuable lessons for Indian diplomacy from China's initiatives in Africa. There is no shame in emulating some of Chinese best practices in Africa. Overall, however, India must strike its own unique policy towards Africa. Neither Europe nor China has the historical linkages or the enormous fund of good will and soft power advantage that India enjoys in Africa. India should be in Africa neither for exploitation nor for striking oil or defense deals with corrupt regimes.

It can be observed that there is a lack of coherence in India's Africa policy and that while most African countries give India high regard and appreciate it for its non-intrusive policy, India has not capitalized on the good will it enjoys in Africa because of a lack of vision in its foreign policy. It is high time India looked at Africa from a strategic point of view and planned accordingly; otherwise it will miss the opportunity. India's engagement with Africa has to be strategic to unlock Africa's potential through win-win partnerships. India needs to be and can be, different from Africa's other development partners. To be sure, India's ambitions and vested self-interest in Africa may not arouse the same suspicions as that of China. If India truly wants to be a different development partner to Africa, it may be worthwhile to bear in mind what Mahatma Gandhi said about India-Africa relations: “*The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of Western exploiters*”.

Prof K. Mathews is Professor of International Relations at the Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. Earlier Professor of African Studies, and Chair of the Department at the University of Delhi, he has lectured in several leading African Universities for over 20 years. Formerly an Editor of Africa Quarterly (New Delhi) and The African Review (Dar Es-Salaam), he has over 90 publications to his credit including his widely referred book Africa, India and South- South Cooperation (edited in collaboration with N.N. Vohra)

COMMENTARY

A two-way street: India brands its Africa diplomacy

By Manish Chand

AGAINST THE BACKDROP of the rise of emerging powers on the African continent and the ongoing African resurgence that has defied gloom-and-doom narratives, India held its second summit with leaders of 15 African countries in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa May 24-25. The summit, that was held on the basis of the Banjul formula which entails the African Union choosing participating African countries for the conclave, marked a major surge of India's diplomatic and economic foray into Africa on the one hand and sought to brand India's engagement with the continent from those of other external players on the other. Striking a tone of ineradicable Afro-optimism, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unveiled a \$5.7 billion package for Africa and pledged India's full support for the continent's resurgence. This marked an increase of USD 1.6 billion in Indian lines of credit on USD 5.4 billion announced by India at the first summit in New Delhi in 2008 for the period 2009-2014. Of this amount, USD 2 billion has already been given by India for a host of projects in Africa, leaving over \$3 billion for the next three years.

A slew of signature initiatives that distinguished India's development-centric approach towards Africa, Manmohan Singh announced New Delhi's intention to set up over 80 capacity-building institutions across the continent and unveiled additional scholarships for African students. These institutions will encompass a wide array of areas ranging from agriculture, rural development and food processing to information technology, vocational training, English language centres, and entrepreneurial development institutes. These institutions will be in addition to 19 training centres unveiled by India in the action plan it launched with the AU in March 2010.

The summit, held every three years, culminated in the Addis Ababa Declaration and the Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation, the all-encompassing documents that will serve as templates for expanding this mutually empowering partnership revolving around enhanced trade, capacity-building and training. The two sides also resolved to add 'strategic depth' to the burgeoning relationship and promote mutual resurgence. In yet another important initiative, India announced USD 300 million for the development of a new Ethiopia-Djibouti railway line, a step that is being seen as New Delhi's entry into large-scale infrastructure projects that are traditionally considered as China's forte.

Cutting through all these announcements and initiatives was an inescapable Afro-optimism and focus on capacity building and human resource development, an approach that may well prove to be more rewarding than mammoth infrastructure projects. The new training institutes were decided upon after much deliberation and underlined India's strategy of building the industrial and managerial base of the continent by spawning a new generation of entrepreneurs and an educated middle class that will shepherd African resurgence in the day to come. An India-Africa Food Processing Cluster and an India-Africa Integrated Textiles Cluster were among new institutions announced by India at a pan-African level. These institutes are aimed at bolstering industrial capacity, what Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi was to call "value-addition" during his bilateral talks with his Indian counterpart on the sidelines of the summit. Another set of institutes were aimed at an agricultural renaissance that included an India-Africa Centre for Medium Range Weather Forecasting and an India-Africa Institute for Rural Development. The decision to set up an India-Africa University of Life and Earth Sciences was in response to Africa's long-standing request.

On the economic front, a trade show held in Addis Ababa in the run-up to the summit underscored a new wave of Afro-optimism that has swept Indian industry. India announced a fresh target of scaling up \$45 billion bilateral trade to \$70 billion by 2010. To give further impetus to business ties, Manmohan Singh suggested an India-Africa Business Council that will bring together chief executive officers of major corporations from both sides.

With more than half its around one billion population between the age of 16-35, Africa should also look forward to an India-Africa Virtual University New Delhi plans to set up, with its hubs spread across the continent. India pledged 10,000 scholarships for this proposed university that will be available for African students. In the area of education and skill development, India announced 400 more scholarships for African graduates and 500 more training positions under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC). Put together, India's total commitment for the next three years by way of scholarships to African students will stand at more than 22,000.

These initiatives, announced by Manmohan Singh on Africa Day, found much appreciation from



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the leadership across the continent. The African Union reciprocated, with Equatorial Guinea President Teodore Obiang Nguema Mbasago, also chairperson of the AU, declaring at a joint press conference that that India can "count on its support" for UN reforms and declared support for New Delhi's claim for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

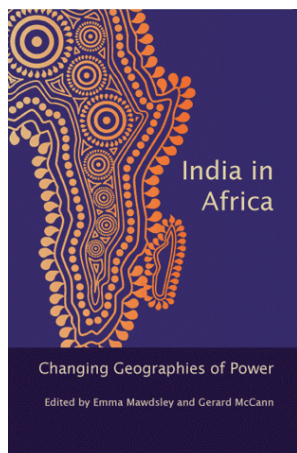
Put together, the May 24-25 summit has charted an ambitious and all-encompassing agenda for pushing India's multi-pronged engagement with a reascent African continent to greater heights. Both before and after the summit, Western commentators obsessed about competition and rivalry between India and China for Africa's resources and markets. India has vigorously rejected these attempts to conjure up a zone of contention between New Delhi and Beijing, in Africa. Furthermore, the outcome of the summit distinguished India's capacity building approach from that of China's focus on massive infrastructure projects, hydrocarbons and mineral resources and showed there was enough room for a multiplicity of external players in the continent as long as they took care to avoid the trap of neo-colonial exploitation. The Addis Ababa declaration defined mutual resurgence as the prime driver of the India-Africa relationship. "Africa is determined

to partner in India's economic resurgence as India is committed to be a close partner in Africa's renaissance," the Addis Ababa Declaration stated, adding: "African countries are progressing rapidly, opening greater avenues for economic cooperation."

The sentiment of Afro-optimism permeated the entire summit and a slew of concurrent events held around the summit included imaginative people-centric events like 'Handicrafting Hope' that brought together craftspeople from both Africa and India and an editors' forum that saw senior journalists from both sides brainstorm for an entire day to build better communication channels between two of the fastest regions in the world. In fact, the second summit will go down in history when India places on record its long-awaited awakening to the African renaissance. In a speech bristling with optimism about the future of India-Africa partnership, Manmohan Singh described Africa as "a major growth pole of the world" and sought "a new solidarity" with developing African countries for pushing the reform of global institutions, including the UN Security Council for which India is a leading contender. "Africa possesses all the prerequisites to become a major growth pole of the world in the 21st century. We

India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley & Gerard McCann



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Published 2011

Paperback 978-1-906387-65-5

GB pounds 16.95

Ebook 978-1-906387-66-2

GB pounds 12.95

Pambazuka Press

51 Cornmarket Street,

Oxford OX1 3HA, UK

Tel +44 (0)1865 727006

sales@pambazukapress.org

www.pambazukapress.org

Distributed in Europe by

Central Books Ltd

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Fax +44 (0)20 8533 5821

orders@centralbooks.com

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Distributed in N America by

Michigan State University Press

1405 S. Harrison Road, Suite 25

East Lansing, MI 48823-5245

Tel +1 517 355 9543 ext. 100

Fax +1 517 432 7484

msupress.msu.edu



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will work with Africa to enable it to realize its potential," Manmohan Singh said at the opening session of the two-day second Africa-India Forum Summit. "We believe that a new vision is required for Africa's development and participation in global affairs," the prime minister said, adding that India and Africa are on "the right side of history."

The summit also saw a wider convergence of interests and positions on a slew of global issues, ranging from jointly combating terrorism and piracy to close coordination in global fora over the UN reforms, climate change and the WTO negotiations. The reform of political, security and economic institutions of governance was among key issues in the discussions, with both sides underlining the urgency of energising negotiations for the UN reforms and expansion of the UN Security Council. "The current international economic and political system is far from easy, particularly for developing countries. The world faces new challenges in assuring food and energy security," Manmohan Singh said. "Global institutions of governance are outmoded and under stress," he added. The Indian economist-turned-prime minister underscored the need for a new spirit of solidarity among developing countries to achieve the goal of recasting the larger global governance structure. The response from the African side was positive and mutually reinforcing. "Africa is paying special attention to developing relations with emerging powers of the South. Our common aim is to promote multilateralism as a paradigm in international relations," Jean Ping, chairperson of the African Union Commission, said at the plenary of the summit.

The summit also brought to the fore unique and enduring features of India's engagement which is animated by a response to Africa's "needs, requests and priorities." "In accordance with Africa's own priorities, we have decided to significantly enhance

support for institutional capacity building, technical assistance and training programmes for human resource development in Africa," Manmohan Singh said at the summit. "The similarity of our development experiences and circumstances has made India-Africa cooperation a genuine two-way street. This is its true strength and its distinctive feature," he said.

This "genuine two-way street," relationship is clearly different from the presumptuous and prescriptive diktats of the traditional Western actors in Africa on the one hand and China's resource-focused diplomacy on the other and could well be India's winning card in the long run as it forges and nurtures "a contemporary and modern partnership" with the African continent. By announcing a string of training institutes and making capacity building the centrepiece of its revived engagement with Africa, India has signalled that unlike others New Delhi considers Africa's overwhelmingly young population its chief asset and is resolved to nurture it. India reinforced its signature partnership with the African continent when the Indian prime minister headed to Tanzania on a bilateral visit after the summit. Launching the Indo-Tanzanian Centre for Excellence in ITC in Dar es Salaam, Manmohan Singh reached out to African youth by offering to make Tanzania a "communication and IT hub of East Africa" by creating a pool of world class professionals" in East Africa's largest country. This was the first time an Indian Prime Minister was addressing an African university, signalling to the world to take a closer look at Africa's overwhelmingly young population if they wish to forge a quintessential modern partnership that can unlock one billion dreams of Africa.

Manish Chand is Editor, Africa Quarterly and Senior Editor, IANS

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COMMENTARY

Suleimaniye Minarets on the Midrand: Turkey's Economic Incipience in Africa

By Rashaad Amra

THE N1 HIGHWAY, linking the city that contributes more than 40% to Africa's GDP to the city with the second highest number of embassies in the world, is lined on both sides with mushrooming glass and steel edifices housing head-offices of various multinationals, billboards, wrought-iron corporate artwork and new residential developments for the economically mobile. Embedded amongst these symbols that have come to characterise the teaming metropolis sprawling Johannesburg and Pretoria, is a more quaint and welcoming sight away from the crassness and pretence of the free-market's landscaping. "Istanbul" is the first thought that springs to mind of even the least cosmopolitan individual. Still under construction is a charming throwback to an era in which the Ottomans dominated Europe, Asia-Minor, the Middle-East, North Africa who even sent a religious envoy to South Africa at the request of the then British authorities. Multiple domes and pointed minarets penetrate the Gauteng skyline and although certainly of a different epoch, this Suleimaniye styled Mosque still to be completed, serves as a harbinger to a new player in the second "scramble for Africa", the Turks have arrived.

The "second scramble for Africa" has brought to the attention of NGOs, governments and watchdog organisations China, India and Brazil as the key players. As the BRICS members emerging market economies battle out against each other for the continent's coveted resources and markets, tempting African leaders with contracts and spoils, also at play in this jostle between emerging and existing powers in Africa is a less celebrated older resurgent power.

Ironically cold-shouldered from accession to the European Union, only to have weathered the financial crisis far better than most EU member nations without needing to bail out its banks or apply for an IMF loan, Turkey's economic performance over the past decade has been particularly impressive. Europe's central bankers and the few pragmatic leaders it still has are probably asking themselves "why the hell did we say no?" behind closed doors in Frankfurt and Brussels. With economic growth consistently above 5% in recent years, apart from the aftermath of the financial crisis, unemployment levels at 10% and inflation reduced from above 60% to 6.5% over the past decade, Turkey under the Islamic-inspired AK Party (Justice and Development Party), which came to power in 2002 and looks set to retain its

majority position in the next general elections, has achieved what eluded the previous secularist led governments often marred by instability and rampant corruption. At the helm of Prime Minister Erdogan, President Gul and Foreign Minister Davetoglu, Turkey has grown to become the world's 15th and Europe's 6th largest economy.

Turkey's impressive economic growth, only rivalled by China and India amongst non-petroleum dependent economies, has been met by a commensurate increase in demand for resources. This is indicated by an increase in its imports of 13.4% over the last decade that exceeds that of BRICS countries Brazil, Russia and South Africa. Similarly Turkey's exports over the past decade have grown on an average of 16%, surpassed only by India, China and Brazil. Between 2000 and 2009 Turkey's overall exports in goods and services grew 186%, again only rivalled by China and India. The significant growth experienced by Turkey has necessitated greater resources, this combined with the contraction of western markets in the wake of the global financial crisis has also meant that the former Ottoman seat has been forced to seek alternate markets. Africa has naturally played a major part in this venture.

Enter Africa

Expedited by several high profile diplomatic delegations and trade missions to Africa in recent years, including an offer a few months ago by Turkey's Public Works and Housing Minister Mustafa Demir to construct a 150 megawatt energy plant in Senegal on his visit to that country and Nigerian President Goodluck Johnathan's visit to Istanbul the previous week, Turkey's economic relations with Africa have been growing consistently.

Istanbul to Africa: Exports to Africa

Turkey's exports to Africa have grown in nominal terms over 180% between 2005 and 2009, surpassing that of the US, EU, Asia, the BRICS countries and Africa. In the wake of the financial meltdown where all other countries experienced a decline in exports to Africa between 2008 and 2009, Turkey remarkably experienced an increase of 12.3% in the level of exports to Africa for that period (\$12.17 bn). When compared to its regional rivals, Turkey's exports to Africa are more than 6 times that of Israel and 3 times that of Egypt.

A decomposition of Turkey's exports to Africa shows the scramble to capture the African market with Turkey exhibiting a structure of exports to Africa similar to that of India, China, South Africa, the EU and Israel with manufactured goods accounting for over 75% of exports to the continent. In addition, other exports of Turkey to Africa include iron and steel, machinery and transport equipment.

This is in contrast to Brazil and Russia, which have as their main exports to Africa primary commodities and agricultural products. However these exports constitute sectors for which Turkey has the potential to successfully compete with Brazil and Russia given its existing competitive advantage in these sectors.

Africa to Istanbul: Imports From Africa

With its imports from Africa having largely remained the same over the past 5 years, Turkey's imports from Africa have not been as prolific as the trade in the opposite direction. However Turkey still remains one of Africa's main destinations for exports. Between 2005 and 2009 Turkey was Africa's 13th largest importer amongst all countries and 4th largest amongst developing economies, only lagging behind China, India and Brazil.

Like in the case of exports to Africa there is a marked similarity between Turkey's imports from Africa and that of the BRICS nations, an affirmation of the mantra "the scramble for Africa" and Turkey's vying for it. Primary commodities have constituted over 60% of Turkey's imports from Africa of which more than half (32%) include fuels, ores, metals and precious stones. This bears a marked similarity to China's and India's composition of imports from Africa with 70% and 18% of Chinese imports from Africa constituting fuels and ores corresponding to 65% and 16% for India respectively.

Who in Africa?

Despite the plethora of trade delegations and a growing stake in Africa over the past decade, Turkey's trade considered on a geographic level indicates a concentration within particular regions of Africa. Almost two-thirds of Turkey's imports from Africa can be accounted for by all the North African and two sub-Saharan African states (South

Africa and Nigeria). This is in marked contrast to Turkish exports to Africa of which Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for over 70%. This is spread across many states with only two African states accounting for more than 10% of Turkey's exports to Africa (South Africa and Egypt).

Investments

Africa has certainly constituted an important destination for Turkish capital in recent years with the number of Turkish companies with investments or operations in Africa increasing from 52 to 90 companies between 2005 and 2009 (an increase of 38%). This was in marked contrast to Turkey's investments in Europe and North America, which experienced an overall decline in the number of companies, as well as its investments in the Middle East, South America and Asia, which experienced relatively modest increases. However Turkish investment in Africa reflects a bias towards North Africa with 60% of companies operating in this region of Africa. The majority of these companies are involved in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade with many also involved in construction. Although there exists a discrepancy between actual and recorded investment levels, OECD statistics on Turkish investment in Africa show an even higher concentration of FDI flows in North Africa with over 89% of FDI inflows from Turkey to Africa having destinations in North Africa between 2005 and 2009 (\$ 317 million).

Before the Mosque is completed

The trade and investment relations between Turkey and Africa, although significant and growing, have only been actively promoted by Ankara for the last 5 years, the period dominated by the eye and aftermath of the financial crisis storm. Celebrated emerging powers of China, India and Brazil would do well to throw caution to the winds blowing south from the Aegean sea, their dominance may be challenged even before the Turkish mosque on the Midrand is completed, the Turks are in Africa to do more than erect charming minarets and domes!

Rashaad Amra is a public-sector economist and independent researcher based in South Africa, he writes in his personal capacity

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



China/Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org

Fahamu 非洲记者印度学习之旅：迈向非洲-印度媒体交流的新时期 海玲 (Hayley Herman)

继成功举办了非洲记者北京学习之旅后，Fahamu 非洲国家新兴力量项目又于 2011 年 1 月 22 日至 29 日期间组织非洲记者去印度的新德里与当地记者进行学习和交流。这是 Fahamu 组织的第一次印非两国记者之间的学习。被选中的三名非洲记者和一位传播学讲师参加了这次为期一周的旅程。这次旅程的主要目的是要促进印非两国媒体间的交流和互动，加强非洲媒体在报道印非两国关系时的客观性。另外，此次旅程还希望可以进一步深化非洲媒体对印度的了解，比如对印非关系，印度国内发展所面临的挑战，以及印度的外交政策等方面进行了解。通过对这些问题的认识从而使得非洲记者可以更好地向非洲国内读者和观众报道有关印度的新闻。

除了报道印度知名跨国公司在非洲的投资计划或两国国家领导人会晤的新闻外，非洲媒体很少对印度的其它方面进行报道。非洲媒体更多关注的是印度的快速增长率和其增长所需的对资源和原材料的大量需求。然而，对于此类新闻背后的故事却往往被非洲媒体所忽视，比如对签订商业协议后的后续报道。正如一位印度研究员所说：“我们主要的问题在于实施。在签订完协议后应当如何落实这些条款？”当非洲记者希望在签订协议后进行追踪报道或采访相关政府官员时，不少非洲媒体的负责人都指出了其中存在的困难。此类在进行后续报道时所遇到的问题，在 2010 年进行的北京学习之旅期间也被提到。记者表示媒体把镜头主要聚焦在中非两国在政治经济领域的高层访问上，而当非洲记者希望进行协议签订后的后续报道时则遇到不少困难。

事实上，媒体经常会把中印两国在非洲的表现进行比较，特别是西方的媒体。在这次的学习之旅期间，非洲记者会特别感兴趣知道印度记者对中国的看法，特别是有关中印两国在非洲较量的问题，以及这两个亚洲大国是如何看待彼此的。很多记者都想知道印度是不是只想获得非洲的资源？非洲在处理全球治理问题上所处的地缘政治是什么？以及印度与非洲的双边关系是否和其它新兴国家与非洲的关系有所区别？对这些问题所给出答案多是从外交角度出发的。有人认为中印两国在非洲的表现不是竞争关系，而更多的是互补关系。因为中国主要关注的是非洲在基础设施建设方面的需要，而印度则有史以来都把主要精力集中在教育和技术转让上。另外一些分析师认为印度-非洲论坛会议的举办是印度政府对中国进军非洲后所表现的“膝跳反应”。印度政府希望可以在印非两国企业合作方面迎头赶上。印非两国之间的南南合作，印非两国双边关系的特殊性以及印度合作动机的差异性问题还会继续被非洲记者所追问。比如，印非关系真的是互利的吗？如果是，为谁互利？

在与印度学者，智囊团和印度媒体进行交流时，非洲媒体提出的第二个令他们感兴趣的话题是有关在非洲居住的印度侨民的情况。在肯亚和乌干达居住着很多印度侨民。尽管他们曾被驱除，但还是可以很容易被当地非洲人所认出。非洲记者指出，就像住在非洲的中国人一样，很多非洲人还是把当地的印度侨民当做印度本国人看待。这也使得这些非洲印度侨民社区成为了印度在非洲政治经济活动的推动者。

事实上，很多非洲记者都在质疑这些印度侨民与印度的关联到底有多深，特别是很多在非洲居住的印度侨民已经是第二代，甚至是第三代印度移民了。对于印度政府希望可以在非洲找到印度政策的“代表人物”这一做法，一位印度学者对此作出了很好的概括，他说印度政府需要向印度国内居民和非洲人民展示印度在非洲的活动，而印非论坛就是一个很好的展示舞台。

另一个问题是非洲媒体在中国和印度学习期间所共同提到的，那就是媒体对于国内问题和社会问题报道的缺乏，比如对当地的情况，社会关注的问题和国内面临的挑战和政策方面的报道。许多被派去学习的记者都表示他们对中国和印度的国内情况知之甚少。而中国和印度的记者则希望可以更多地了解非洲居民的日常生活情况。在与中国和印度学生，代表见面时，他们表示除了收看两国高层互访的新闻之外，他们更多地希望可以了解非洲国内居民的生活情况。印度经济的快速发展被许多媒体所关注，特别是被西方媒体所报道。印度被视为是一个正在崛起的新兴大国。但是，很多媒体却很少对印度国内的社会问题进行报道，比如像印非两国政府都关注的脱贫问题，公共服务问题，发展计划和基础设施方面的问题。对这些问题的了解可以帮助两国减少对彼此的误解。这些国内问题在政府制定外交政策和印非关系时也起着非常重要的作用。

而驻华和驻印度的非洲记者人数的匮乏也在这两次学习之旅中分别被提到。比如在中国，只有3个非洲驻华记者。而在印度，则连一家长驻的非洲记者都没有。一位参加讨论的印度记者谈到，当计划派记者去印度或非洲长驻报道时，资金是一个问题，而另一个问题则是两国记者对彼此国家兴趣的缺乏。尽管如此，一些印度媒体记者还是表示有意坚持和非洲媒体的合作，进行人员的互换学习或派去常驻记者。这一话题在讨论中被多次提及，并且双方记者都表示愿意稍后进一步就此问题继续跟进。

比起印度媒体在对其邻国和亚洲国家，西方国家的报道幅度来说，印度媒体对非洲的报道就显微乎其微了。大多数印度的平面媒体都会先报道其国内的新闻，其次是亚洲新闻，西方国家的新闻，文化新闻，科技发展方面的新闻，而对非洲新闻的报道则非常的少（如果有的话）。印度和非洲的媒体都意识到自己在报道彼此国家新闻时对西方媒体的依赖。正如一位印度媒体代表所说，我们“并没有从媒体上直接获得非洲的第一手新闻”-同样的问题也存在在非洲媒体报道印度时。

印非论坛在今年5月份就要举行了。此次论坛为印非两国记者报道双方共同关注的利益发展方面的问题提供了良好的机会。然而，在与几位印度媒体代表和一位印度官员的沟通时，我们意识到两国媒体需要摒弃其“事件报道”的报道风格，不要只将报道局限在特殊（政治）事件的报道，而是要将焦点放在如何运用媒体的力量一起建立一个持续性的报道。而关键的一点是，这种持续性报道的建立要由两国独立的媒体机构自己来引领，而非政府所控的媒体和政府派去的交换记者所控制。

在印度访问学习期间，双方记者都发现了可以探索发展共同利益领域的各种机会。这种潜在的合作关系应该是对双方互利的。印非双方记者还表示会进一步加强印非

媒体持续的合作和交流。现在这个时机已经成熟，可以允许国内社会来领头创造这种持续性的合作。这次的非洲记者印度学习之旅可以被视为迈向这一方向的第一步。非洲媒体也将需要以一种平等的合作伙伴姿态参与到这种合作中来。正如一位参加此次学习之旅的非洲记者所说，对于非洲媒体来说，“报道的态度和方法比拥有良好的报道设施硬件更重要”。

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*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。



《中国和刚果：互相需要的朋友》评论
一份值得欢迎的报告以及其中所存在的分析方法的不足
作者：Johanna Jansson/姜闻然（Wenran Jiang）

Global Witness最近发表了一份名为《中国和刚果：互相需要的朋友》的报告。报告分析了2007年刚果和中国企业所签订的价值60亿美元的Sicomines交易。这笔交易对于新兴大国们在非洲投资的进程具有里程碑似的意义。这份报告向读者全面介绍了此项协议进行时的背景，细节以及由此产生的关于华刚（中国-刚果共同建立的合资企业的简称）的争议。

不少读者对于这份报告中所表达的批评性的观点并不陌生，因为这些观点早已在2007年由刚果的反对派，民间组织，外交官和国际积极份子们所提出。但是，这份报告前所未有地将华刚协议的复杂性和围绕此协议而产生的讨论有机结合在了一起。作为一个在西方社会具有影响力的人权组织，Global Witness有着更广泛的受众群。这份报告有英文，法语和中文三种语言版本。Global Witness试图向更广泛的非专业人群解释华刚交易。这是一种具有创新精神，并值得称赞的努力。

Global Witness的权威地位和它对公众的影响力使其必须具备良好的研究方法和分析能力。但这一点并没有在这份报告中得以良好的体现。虽然这份报告中所提出的建议是恰当中肯的，所围绕华刚发展方面的分析也是全面的，但出现的几个分析方法方面的欠缺使读者们感到这份报告并没完整的对华刚项目进行分析。

实地调研一直都是一项艰巨的任务，在刚果的实地调研也不例外。Global Witness的调研小组去刚果实地进行调研并希望接触相关负责人这一点是值得赞扬的，但通过这些努力所得出的结果并不是很尽如人意。当然，刚果和中国的相关负责人员应该对此项协议的信息持更为公开的态度，但Global Witness的调研小组是抱着全面了解这一敏感问题的决心开展实地调研的，他们应该更努力地接近协议的相关负责人并获取更多的信息。获取信息渠道时所遇到的困难是可以适当调整人际策略来得以解决的，这种方法在刚果也同样适用。这份报告在信息方面的缺乏也削弱了该报道主旨的效力，即所签协议信息的缺乏。

这份报告是在刚果和中国企业签订第三和最后修正案后18个月后发表的，但在报告中并没有对合同修正案进行分析，这也使我们对Global Witness的分析研究方法有了更多的质疑。这些修正案的资料在签订协议初期确实是不容易被找到的，但现在这些资料早已在金沙萨(Kinshasa)所流传。对合同的分析是此次报告重要的一部分。所以一份对于这些修正案的分析会大幅度增加Global Witness报告的全面性。

另一点值得对Global Witness这份报告称赞的是，这份报告试图用一种浅而易懂的方式向读者解释华刚交易。但是，这种尝试是需要由充足的背景信息分析来支持的。这份报告使那些对华刚没有足够了解的读者在读完报告后仍对此事感到迷惑不解。比如，这份协议签订的环境背景是什么？对于国家矿产业和由优惠资金政策所

资助的基础设施项目方面的信息共享的运作模式是什么？这次华刚的保密政策是一次不幸的特例，还是运作常规的一部分？

基础设施的计划方案和价格是不透明的，而在程序上的延误也是致使该问题的原因之一。中国国家发展改革委员会正在对华刚项目进行审议，只有当发改委对煤矿的生产能力认可后，基础设施项目的贷款支付率才会被决定。Global Witness的任务是针对某件特殊的事件展开讨论并形成舆论。Global Witness应该允许让这些复杂性成为他们分析的一部分。

最后，这份报告没有提及中国的态度和意见，这也在很大程度上削弱了该报告在分析方面的份量。正如上述所提到的在人际策略方面的欠缺也使得该报告少了中方相关负责人的看法和见解。最为显著的例子是，该报告称中国现在并没有面临商业风险（p.6 英文版本）。但在我们近期的采访中，相关中方负责人和西方使节认为中国在华刚项目中承担着很大的风险。华刚项目并不是一项经过深思熟虑的决定。中方负责人也承认，为了确保得到优惠政策，他们在还没有制定一份深入的可行性研究报告前就匆忙地签订了此项协议。

对此事有了解的读者这时可能会问，这种风险是所有煤矿企业都要面临的，并且中国企业实际上可能拿回他们在基础设施方面所花费的资金。中国确实会从此项目中获利，但是在易变的政策氛围下，希望可以用煤矿所创造的利益来抵消如此庞大的贷款优惠数目，中国还是会面临着许多风险。这也是为什么中国发展与改革委员会在最后批准华刚项目前，正在对此进行全面的评估的原因。这份报告没有对中国企业所感到的不安全感进行客观的分析，这也使读者感到该报告并没有对华刚项目进行全面的剖析。

总体来说，《中国和刚果：相互需要的朋友》是一份值得欢迎的报告，它很好地向更广泛的读者们介绍了有关Sicomines的复杂性和争议性，以及所面临的困难。但是，鉴于报告中所出现的分析方法的不足，我们还需要以批判和客观的眼光来阅读此报告。

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文章中所提到的Global Witness报告，可以在这里找到：

http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/library/friends_in_need_en_lr.pdf

此篇文章的观点仅代表作者个人观点，并不代表Fahamu非洲新兴力量项目的观点。

*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。



LINKS, RESOURCES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Call for Contributions**Workers' Struggles from East to West:
New Perspectives on Labour Disputes in
Globalised China**

Conference to be held in Vienna, Austria, from Thursday, 22nd to Saturday 24th of September 2011

It is well known to researchers and activists, both in the labour/union movement and at universities, that during the last decades of neoliberal "globalisation" the worlds of work and employment have been profoundly transformed. Moreover, as has been powerfully demonstrated again by the recent global economic crisis, socio-economic developments and the transformations of labour realities in different regions of the world, are highly interconnected and mutually influence each other. However, while the capital side continues to optimise capital accumulation on a global scale (by an international organisation of working processes and an externalisation of social costs) the international coordination of labour organisations is still quite limited and has not yet given rise to a global labour movement.

This lack of international coordination in the realm of labour is particularly discernible in the cases of China and Europe. While during the last thirty years, China has become the 'world's factory', the transformation of industrial relations within the country and on a global scale, are still being discussed in Europe predominantly in terms of a 'threat' of shift of investments and jobs to China or more generally with regard to the implications of low-wage competition. In fact, the production of goods "made in China" is predominantly characterised by high profit margins at different levels of global supply chains and based on high exploitation rates as well as environmental destruction. However, the knowledge about and the mutual understanding of different working conditions as an essential pre-condition for collective action has not been considered in any great depth so far. Presently little serious and authentic information on social movements and labour disputes within the country is available outside of China. In addition, only limited information on specific historical and institutional conditions is attainable. This reinforces wide-spread clichés on both sides.

Especially since the mid 1990s, China has experienced essential transformations in the realm of labour. The unmaking of the old working class made up of (former) workers in state owned enterprises following large-scale privatisation efforts was accompanied by the making of a new working class of migrant-workers (nongmingong; "peasant-workers") whose number has already reached more than 200 million people. Moreover,

there has recently been a significant increase in labour disputes and strikes in China which are becoming more and more successful. Despite widespread opinions that the "middle class" will mainly influence the country's development, it is obvious that these struggles of a new working class have the potential to fundamentally shape the future of China and across the border.

This context will provide the background for our conference which aims to bring together researchers and activists to discuss – in solidarity with the labour movements – key features of labour relations and workers' struggles in China and Europe and, thereby, to encourage further cooperation in academic and activist terms.

We are certainly aware that there are also undeniable differences between the worlds of work and employment in China and Europe and that the task of "comparing" different situations based on specific historical-institutional developments is not unproblematic.

Nevertheless, we believe that regarding, such issues as the impact of the crisis on working conditions and labour disputes, the role of trade unions, the situation of migrant-workers or the increase of precarious work it is necessary to deepen the debate between researchers and activists in both regions.

At this conference, therefore, we aim not only to bring together experts in the field of labour from two different regions of the world but essentially also to challenge the demarcations which still separate the university from the rest of society and to bring together researchers and labour/union movement activists in joint discussions.

Apart from some invited key[note] speakers (Pun Ngai from Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Chang Kai from Renmin University Beijing, Lu Huilin from Peking University, Anita Chan and Jonathan Unger from Australian National University who have, among others, already confirmed their participation) we are seeking contributions by researchers and activists on, but not limited to, the following topics:

- China's socio-economic transformation and its impacts on industrial relations and the transformation of labour relations in Europe
- The impact of China's economic rise on labour relations and the labour/union movements in Europe
- Realities of labour and the protection of labour rights in China and Europe
- The situation of Chinese migrant workers (including migration, class and gender perspectives) and comparisons with the situation of migrants in Europe
- State strategies in regulating labour relations in China and Europe

- The specific situation of working women in China and Europe
- The impact of the crisis and of post-crisis policies on working conditions in China and Europe
- Reports on recent labour disputes in China and some comparisons with Europe
- Perspectives of solidarity on labour and civil cooperation between China and Europe
- Experiences of labour NGO's in dealing with recent socio-economic transformations in China and Europe
- Perspectives on the trade union work in China and Europe and possibilities for cooperation in/ against global capitalism

Details concerning the conference:

- Project executing organisations: Transform Austria (aligned with the European Left Party), Renner Institute (aligned with the Austrian Social Democrats), Grüne Bildungswerkstatt Wien (aligned with the Austrian Green Party), Weltumspannend arbeiten (Organisation within

the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions), Arbeiterkammer Austria (official representation of employees in Austria), Department of Political Science (University of Vienna), Department of East Asian Studies (University of Vienna)

- Location of the conference: Renner Institute, Kheslplatz 12, 1120 Vienna, Austria
- The language of the conference will be English; we will provide interpreters (Chinese–English; partly also Chinese–German).
- We will be able to provide airline tickets, accommodation and meals for about 10 participants from China and/or other non-European countries.
- In addition, we will also strive to provide meals and accommodation for all contributors. However, depending on the funding, speakers might be asked for a contribution towards accommodation.

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Dr Ike Okonta, Department of Politics, University of Oxford



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China/Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
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- General registration for the conference is open from July 1, 2011.

Please register by sending an e-mail to:
daniel.fuchs@univie.ac.at

Submission of proposals for contributions:

- Deadline: June 10, 2011
- Submit your abstract of 200–300 words to Daniel Fuchs: daniel.fuchs@univie.ac.at
- Include a brief biographical statement (max. 150 words).
- We will notify you by June 30, 2011 if your proposal is accepted.

For further information about the conference please visit the homepage of the conference <http://labourchina.univie.ac.at> (online soon) or contact the organisers:

Daniel Fuchs (University of Vienna), e-mail: daniel.fuchs@univie.ac.at
Claudia Schürz (Austrian Federation of Trade Unions), e-mail: claudia.schuerz@oegb.at
Thomas Immervoll (University of Vienna), e-mail: thomas.immervoll@univie.ac.at

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Second Africa-India Forum Summit, Addis Ababa, 25 May 2011

<http://au.int/en/summit/sites/default/files/Addis%20Declar-1.pdf>

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Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation

Second Africa-India Forum Summit, Addis Ababa, 25 May 2011

http://au.int/en/summit/sites/default/files/Frameworkenhancedcoop%2021%20May%202011%20-%20clean-2_0.pdf

French version: <http://au.int/en/summit/sites/default/files/Cadre%20de%20Coop%C3%A9ration%20Renforc%C3%A9%20eme%20AIFS%20-20%20mai%202011.pdf>

Two Billion Dreams: Celebrating India-Africa Friendship

E-book can be accessed at: <http://2billiondreams.in/>

Climate-change journalism in China: Opportunities for international cooperation

Written by Sam Geall, China Dialogue, May 2011

Report can be accessed at: http://www.chinadialogue.net/content/file_en/4289/climatejournalism.pdf

For the Global Good: India's Developing International Role

Written by Gareth Price, Chatham House Report, May 2011

Report can be accessed at: http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/19287_r_indiarole0511.pdf

India's Growing Involvement in Humanitarian Assistance

Written by Claudia Meier and C.S.R Murthy, Research Paper, Global Public Policy Institute, March 2011

Research paper can be accessed at: http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/media/pub/2011/meier-murthy_2011_india-growing-involvement-humanitarian-assistance_gppi.pdf

Russia's Economic Engagement with Africa

Africa Economic Brief, African Development Bank, Volume 2, Issue 7, 11 May 2011

Brief can be accessed at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Russia%27s_Economic_Engagement_with_Africa.pdf

Brazil's Economic Engagement with Africa

Africa Economic Brief, The African Development Bank, Volume 2, Issue 5, 11 May 2011

Brief can be accessed at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Brazil%27s_Economic_Engagement_with_Africa_rev.pdf

Post-crisis prospects for China-Africa relations

Working Paper written by Jing Gu and Richard Schiere, The African Development Bank, No.124, April 2011

Working paper can be accessed at: <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/WORKING%20124%20word%20document%20docx-OK-RS.PDF>

Back to BASICS? The Rejuvenation of Non-traditional Donors' Development Cooperation with Africa

Written by Peter Kragelund, Development and Change, Volume 42, Issue 2, pg 585-607, March 2011

Article can be accessed at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01695.x/pdf>

Windhoek Declaration of Africa-China Young Leaders Forum

Declaration released following first Africa-China Young Leaders Forum, 21-22 May 2011

Declaration can be accessed at: <http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx/zzjw/t826312.htm>

United States-China Collaboration on Health and Agriculture in Africa

Written by David H. Shinn, Paper presented at a Joint Conference Hosted by The Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington) and the China Institute of International Studies (Beijing) Beijing, China, 24 May 2011

Paper can be accessed at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/56154100/United-States-China-Collaboration-on-Health-and-Agriculture-in-Africa>

Useful Websites

China Dialogue: <http://www.chinadialogue.net/>

Programme Activities

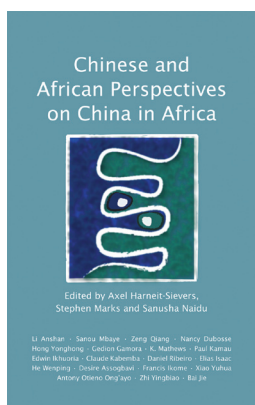
Ms Hayley Herman, Programme Officer, Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative, provided input on contemporary India-Africa relations and background on the India-Africa Forum Summit at a workshop for African journalists selected by PANOS West Africa to attend and provide press coverage on the 2nd India-Africa Forum Summit, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 20-25 May 2011.

PANOS West Africa also provided funding for a journalist who participated in the EMPA Initiative's African journalist tour to India earlier this year to attend the workshop and Summit.

The following link lists the articles written by the journalists during the Summit: <http://www.panos-multimedia.org/indeaf/> and are available in PDF format via the following links: <http://www.panos-multimedia.org/indeaf/addis1.pdf>; <http://www.panos-multimedia.org/indeaf/addis2.pdf>; <http://www.panos-multimedia.org/indeaf/addis3.pdf>

Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa

Edited by Axel Harneit-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.

Published 30 September 2010

Paperback GB pounds 16.95

978-1-906387-33-4

Pambazuka Press

51 Cornmarket Street

Oxford OX1 3HA, UK

Tel +44 (0)1865 727006

sales@pambazukapress.org

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Distributed in N America by

Michigan State University Press

1405 S. Harrison Road, Suite 25

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