



## EDITORIAL

2010 HAS SEEN South Africa's President Zuma conduct visits to each country within the BRIC grouping. His high profile visit to China in August this year garnered much interest for a number of reasons. The visit itself aimed to generate greater trade and business opportunities for South Africa and its corporate sector. Yet at the same time the president came under a large degree of scrutiny for his absence during the public sector strike crippling South Africa at the time. The corporate sector clearly had much to gain from such a visit to China, but beyond that- what can South Africa learn from China's robust economic growth? Douglas Scott provides commentary on possible lessons in the first article of this edition. Shortly before visiting China, President Zuma led a delegation to Moscow- a visit he described as a meeting of "historical friends". An article by Vladimir Shubin provides an overview of the history of relations between Russia and Africa, explaining that economic ties now have to play catch-up to the established political ties with the continent.

The Emerging Powers Programme provided four African journalists with the opportunity to visit China earlier this year. We hope to conduct a

similar visit to India in 2011, and encourage African journalists, based on the continent, to respond to our call for applications. With the India-Africa Summit to take place in 2011, and initiatives such as the partnership between the United States and India, announced by President Obama recently, the need for greater coverage and critical analysis of India's engagement with Africa continues to increase. The journalists visit to India in 2011 hopes to create networks between Indian and African media to this end.

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to thank the members of our newly established steering committee for responding positively to becoming involved in the planning and work of the Emerging Powers in Africa Programme. We believe their expertise will play an important role in the future development and growth of the Programme and look forward to working with them in our future endeavours.

Hayley Herman  
*Programme Officer*  
*Emerging Powers in Africa Programme*

© Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, Fahamu Cape Town 2010

## IN THIS ISSUE

### COMMENTARY

#### **The Chinese Economic Growth Miracle: Lessons for South Africa**

Douglas Ian Scott 2

#### **Russia and Africa: Coming Back?**

Vladimir Shubin 8

### LINKS, RESOURCES & ANNOUNCEMENTS 11

### PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES 13

## EDITORIAL TEAM

**Ms Sanusha Naidu - Research Director**  
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme  
Fahamu- Cape Town  
Email: sanusha@fahamu.org

**Ms Hayley Herman - Programme Officer**  
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme  
Fahamu-Cape Town  
Email: hayley@fahamu.org

**Mr Stuart Rothgiesser - Layout Editor**  
www.stuarthgiesser.com  
Email: stuart@stuarthgiesser.com

**Ms Shifrah Perkel - Graphic Designer**  
www.insideout.co.za  
Email: design@insideout.co.za

For further information on the Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, or submission of commentaries for the newsletter please email Ms Sanusha Naidu or Ms Hayley Herman.



More analysis and commentary from Fahamu's Emerging Powers in Africa Programme can be found online in Pambazuka News: [www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa\\_china/](http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/)

## COMMENTARY

## The Chinese Economic Growth Miracle: Lessons for South Africa

By Douglas Ian Scott

### Introduction

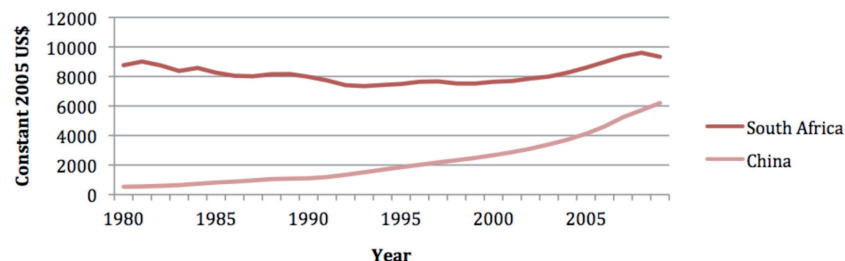
EVER SINCE PRESIDENT Zuma's trip to China in late August more and more people, within both the media and government, are talking about what lessons South Africa can learn from China's economic miracle. To say that the last thirty years have been good to China in economic terms would be an understatement. Ever since Deng Xiaoping's 'opening up' policy that gradually but consistently liberalized the Chinese economy, the country has been experiencing a very long period of consistent and rapid economic growth. Growth that has hauled more than 400 million people out of poverty, increased average per-capita GDP (PPP) from US\$524 in 1980, two years after the reforms started, to US\$6200 in 2009<sup>1</sup>, measured in constant international 2005 US\$ so as to factor out inflation.

This is an increase of US\$5,676 per person or a 1083% increase over 19 years. This economic growth has made China an important, powerful and increasingly respected world power again.

Compare that same period of economic growth to South Africa's over the same period, 1980 to 2009 also measured in constant year 2005 US\$, and our per-capita GDP only grew from US\$8,763 to US\$9,332; increasing by only US\$569 (or 6%), after factoring out inflation, in the same 19 year period. From the graph below we can see the difference in terms of economic growth between China (light red) and South Africa (dark red). China has been constantly booming with only a short period of relatively flat growth between 1989 and 1992 largely as a result of the Tiananmen Square incident; whilst South Africa has been standing still.

### GDP per Capita, PPP (constant 2005 international US\$) 1980-2009

Source: World Development Indicators (2010), (<http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do>)



## 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](http://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.

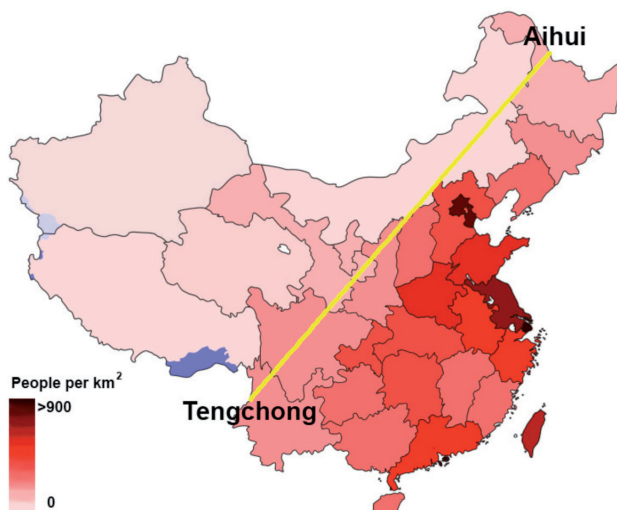
The site highlights activities taking place under the Change project of Fahamu including Citizens' Forums across Kenya and showcases documentaries including "Making Change" by Maina Kiai.

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](mailto:patita@fahamu.org) or [paul@fahamu.org](mailto:paul@fahamu.org)

There is an increasing consensus in South Africa that there are lessons that we can learn from China in our own efforts to promote long term economic growth. The challenge we have in this regard is working out exactly what it was that worked for the Chinese and to what extent those lessons and policy initiatives are applicable to us and our development experience and, very importantly, whether or not these are compatible with the constitution of South Africa.

It goes without saying that China and South Africa are two very different countries in very different stages of development. China is bigger than South Africa both geographically and demographically. Geographically China is roughly equal in size to the United States. China's population is larger than the entire population of Africa combined, 94% of whom are concentrated in 43% of the country's land area to the east of what is called the Aihui-Tengchong line.<sup>ii</sup> This means that roughly 1.22 billion people are within a couple hundred kilometres of the coast or a major navigable water way. The enormous economies of scale that they can achieve because of this give them a substantial advantage that South Africa cannot hope to match.



Data: Naughton, Barry (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 18-19 and *China Statistical Yearbook 2007*.

Despite China's rapid economic advancement it remains considerably poorer than South Africa on a per-capita basis. South African's are on the whole better educated and our economy is better plugged into the world economy than China's. We also have better developed institutions, such as a more just, independent and trusted judicial system, highly developed civil society and a more sophisticated financial sector. South Africa remains more technologically advanced in many fields. So much so that, to use one example, China has tried to purchase second generation thermal imaging cameras and other advanced components from South African defence company Denel for its

unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAV) weapon development programme.<sup>iii</sup>

The Chinese, to their credit, are all too aware of their inadequacies and are working hard to address them; improving many of these institutions at a pace at least equal to their rate of GDP growth. On the other hand South Africa has a very advanced and respected constitution that is the supreme law of the land, unlike the Chinese constitution which is largely nullified by the fact that it is subordinate to the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); a clause that the CCP is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. Any lessons that South Africa can learn from China would and should have to be completely compatible with the South African constitution; both in practice and spirit.

#### Core causes of Chinese economic growth that South Africa can learn from:

There are many factors that one can attribute to China's rapid economic growth. Some factors contributing more than others. Some better known and understood than others. Below is a short summary of what I consider to be the most important factors to China's economic growth. Factors that I believe South Africa can learn from. They are:

1. A rising culture of entrepreneurship
2. Autonomous local government with clear objectives and freedom to experiment
3. Focus on technology transfer
4. Intensive competition between state owned enterprises (SOE)
5. Access to start-up capital for private firms
6. Clearly defined five year objectives
7. A stable currency

#### Rising culture of entrepreneurship

One of the most remarkable aspects of China's economic story has been the growth and establishment of a culture of entrepreneurship. Beginning in the late 1970s when the very first of the opening up policies allowed peasant farmers to privately cultivate their own plots, a strong culture of entrepreneurship has established itself in the country; more so in the coastal south of China where economic growth has been most profound<sup>iv</sup>. What is most surprising is that many of China's most successful privately owned firms were setup before the mid-1990s when it was still illegal to own a private business.<sup>v</sup> This indicates the strong entrepreneurial spirit that currently grips China.

One cannot underestimate the importance of such a culture in pushing real development. It makes the setting up of new businesses seem less risky and so attracts a whole group of people that would otherwise be too risk adverse to the idea of becoming their own boss. It sets other cultural norms and creates institutions that make it easier for people that would otherwise be less entrepreneurial to set up their own businesses. It is



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of  
Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice  
[www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org)

easier to set up a business if everyone else around you is also doing so as it creates a network of easily accessible individuals for you to share experiences and information with; thereby creating even more opportunities.

However, deeply embedded sociological phenomenon like a culture of entrepreneurship is very difficult, if it is even possible, for government to foster or emulate and takes considerable time to do so. There is truth to the analysis that, for whatever reason, the culture of entrepreneurship in South Africa is not as strong as it is in China. This does not mean that government should not at least try to promote a culture of entrepreneurship.

In absence of such a culture 'spontaneously' emerging like it has in post-Mao China, there are many policy initiatives that government can embark on to further this objective. For example, the British government uses the national broadcaster, the BBC, to run numerous interesting and informative programmes<sup>vi</sup> that inform the public on how to set up and run a successful business and on the benefits of being one's own boss. Such programmes, either for TV or radio, are easy and cheap to produce. More support could be given to institutions that

assist potential entrepreneurs in establishing their own businesses, particularly for small and micro enterprises. Greater focus could be placed on how to setup a successful business in our educational system, particularly at a high school level. Teaching people when they are still young that setting up a business is a real and very promising life choice and how best to go about doing it. After all, the best way to get rich is to be your own boss.

#### Autonomous but accountable local government

The importance of a kind of policy experimentation at a local level should never be underestimated when looking at China's rise. Strong local government with a high degree of autonomy accompanied by support and encouragement from central government to experiment with policy initiatives and pilot projects to achieve their objectives.<sup>vii</sup> This is also accompanied by strong inter-municipal connections that allow different municipalities to know about, adopt and adept successful policy ideas from other municipalities. The people running the municipal and local governments are driven by strong incentives for future professional advancement handed down

## Pambazuka News

PAN-AFRICAN VOICES FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE

- innovative and influential weekly newsletter
- a platform for voices that challenge mainstream perceptions
- politics, current affairs, development, human rights, refugees, gender issues, culture...
- commentary and analysis by a pan-African community of over 1,500 who hold their governments to account
- read by 500,000



Read it on [www.pambazuka.org](http://www.pambazuka.org) or sign up to have it emailed weekly



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

Pambazuka News is published by Fahamu [www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org) Fahamu Ltd & Fahamu Trust: 2nd floor 51 Cornmarket Street Oxford OX1 3HA, UK. Fahamu Trust is registered as a charity 1100304. Fahamu Ltd is a company limited by guarantee 4241054.



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.



from central government. If they are successful in achieving the directives and objectives passed down from Beijing they are more likely to be promoted with the government and the party.

The policy directives and objectives handed down from Beijing can be summarised into the following three objectives:

- Grow their local economies <sup>viii</sup>
- Ensure social stability (ie, ensure as few civil disturbances as possible <sup>ix</sup>)
- Minimize environmental degradation (This is a recently added objective and the least important of the three. It was implemented in the last five year plan in 2007)

The third and final objective is relatively new and still not as important as the first three. Beijing is also aware of the fact that it is easier in some places than others to satisfy these objectives. And this is taken into account when judging the performance of local officials.

There is also a close relationship between most local businesses and their local government as local government provides a lot of support to businesses in their region so as to help grow the economy and provide jobs. This ensures that local government is aware of any problems that are within their power to solve that is negatively affecting business and by proxy the overall economic growth, of their region. Examples of such a problem would be inadequate infrastructure, red tape or trouble finding local suppliers. Many local governments even set up export offices that actively assist local business in exporting their products to the rest of the country or abroad. Due to their high degree of autonomy and strong central government incentives, local government is well motivated to act on these problems and has the freedom to do so.

#### Focus on Technology Transfer

The Chinese have never been very interested in attracting foreign investment purely for financial reasons like most other developing countries have, including South Africa. When it comes to the issue of foreign investment the main focus and justification for the Chinese is, and has always been, gaining access to new and ever better technologies. This is because the Chinese government understands very well that the only way to truly grow an economy is in adopting new and improved technologies and methodologies to enhance productivity so that the economy of the country can do more with less.

This is clearly illustrated in the way in which they have set conditions on foreign companies entering the Chinese market; particularly in the case of industrial free trade zones. A foreign company, particularly if it is in a high-tech industry, must meet stringent commitments to technological transfer of key technologies. Part of this involves them employing as many Chinese technicians and managers as possible and ensuring that they are

fully trained and educated on the technologies that they must operate.

#### Intensive competition between state owned enterprises (SOE)

Intense competition between China's state owned companies (SOE) ensures that prices for primary and many secondary industrial and manufacturing inputs are very low; again reinforcing China's international competitiveness. Each province in China has its own collection of SOEs that compete with SOEs from other provinces and central government SOEs. Because each province is under increasing pressure to balance its books each SOE can no longer afford to lose money like they used to and are increasingly seen as a source of revenue for either their province or the central government. Due to increasingly harder budget constraints the number of SOEs has dropped from around 120,000 in the mid-1990s to 31,750 in 2004. <sup>x</sup>

This means that SOEs in China can be highly competitive and are always trying to outcompete one another. This reduces transaction costs and so increases China's international competitiveness.

South African parastatals and former parastatals are under no such pressure. Indeed the partial/full privatizations of many of these firms, done so whilst maintaining their respective monopolies (such as is the case with Telkom or ArcelorMittal Steel), has produced industries that over charge whilst providing the minimum level of service that they can get away with. Thereby increasing transaction costs by unnecessarily increasing overheads, and so reducing our international competitiveness.

The message is clear, in established industries monopolies should be broken up and more competitors should be introduced, whether private or public, into those sectors of the South African economy that are dominated by a small number of large companies. Greater competition and better regulation to avoid collusion is key to increasing the competitiveness of South African industry.

#### Access to start-up capital

Due to China's very high personal savings rate many people have access to start-up capital in the form of their own savings. As of 2007 the personal savings rate in China is around 53% giving even relatively poor Chinese citizens access to some start up capital should they wish to set up their own business. However this high savings rate is largely a result of China's poorly developed financial and insurance industry. People need to save so much because getting a loan to buy a house or finding a good insurance policy should you fall ill is very difficult, to nearly impossible, for many Chinese. The inefficiency of those institutions in China to distribute capital makes it difficult for many small and medium sized businesses in China to expand their businesses. So the system that has produced a high savings rate and so given people access to



start-up capital is a double-edged sword in that it also makes getting access to capital for other activities more difficult.

Unlike China though, South Africa has a very well developed financial sector that can provide this access to capital, however our financial sector does a very poor job of providing access to start-up capital to those budding entrepreneurs that need it the most, namely entrepreneurs from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds. Fix that and South Africa is one step closer to more robust economic growth.

#### Clearly defined five year objectives

The Chinese Government's ability to come together every five years and reevaluate how far they have come and then set new priorities for economic development is very important. It gives local government officials a clear idea of what is demanded from them and sets guidelines as well as gives suggestions on how to go about achieving these goals. For the past thirty two years now the overall rate of economic growth and the methodology by which it is to be achieved has remained unchanged. Promote prosperity through a gradual process of opening up and liberalizing the economy, slowly exposing more and more industries to competition from both local and foreign firms. Whilst at the same time always trying to increase productivity by acquiring and adopting ever better technologies and methodologies.

Most functioning democracies also have this ability as the same thing happens every time a new government gets elected and the new government comes in with a new mandate. However in a democratic country where one party rules supreme and there is no possibility of a new government being elected to revitalize policy objectives, a mechanism that allows the ruling party to refocus, evaluate then formulate and implement a new set of long term objectives to be achieved within a clearly defined finite length of time becomes very important.

#### Stable Currency

China has a very stable monetary environment partly due to the fact that the Yuan is pegged to a basket of international currencies. This greatly aids exporters as they have greater certainty about future returns and profits and so they can afford to squeeze their own margins a little more, thereby helping them become more competitive on the international market. It also gets rid of the destabilising problem of currency speculation. Additionally, China also provides tax rebates and export credits to many exporters.<sup>xi</sup> A practice that is not very popular with the WTO but one that they seem to have got away with so far.

China does pay a price for following this monetary policy. Because it must keep the value of its currency stable it must keep all those export dollars it earns abroad outside of China. This is why China

is such a large buyer of American, Japanese and European debt in the form of government bonds. The down side to this is that these are low yield investments. China knows that it could invest that money elsewhere and get a higher yield but so long as this monetary policy is followed and it is a cause of its comparative advantage in international trade, the trade-off for China makes this policy worth their while.

There is a debate going on today in South Africa as to whether or not the monetary policy that China is following would be a good policy for us to follow so as to give us a greater comparative advantage in international trade. The South African Communist Party and COSATU<sup>xii</sup> advocate such a policy whilst others, including Trevor Manuel, argue against it.<sup>xiii</sup>

It is important thought to be mindful of the Argentinean financial crisis that occurred ten years ago that was caused, at least in part, by the pegging of the Argentine Peso to a foreign currency. And that Argentina, being an upper-middle income democratic country also seemingly stuck in a middle income trap, has more in common with South Africa than South Africa has in common with China. The author of this article has not yet made up his mind as to whether or not China's monetary policy might be a good or bad policy for South Africa. On the one hand it might give us a stable monetary environment to encourage exports. On the other hand it might fail to do that and over-expose us to increasing national debts and cause financial problems on a national level.

#### After thought

When looking at the developmental model of other countries, especially when those countries are as different from each other as South Africa and China, it is always important to keep in mind that developmental models and their success and/or failures cannot be isolated from the unique historical, social, cultural, and political circumstances which gave birth to them. All policies and institutions, in any country or society, are the result of many different compromises in that country's history and in the history of the formation of that particular institution. This means that while it is a very good idea for us to search for policy ideas in other countries, as no one has a monopoly on the production of good ideas, we should never deceive ourselves into believing that we can simply copy another country's policy or that there is a failsafe blueprint for development. Every country's path to development is unique and special and can only be discovered by themselves.

To paraphrase one of the key architects of China's opening up and reform process, Chen Yun (in a phrase that Deng Xiaoping got the credit for<sup>xiv</sup>), one must 'feel the rocks to wade (their own way) across the river.' The trick is finding the common themes that all these success stories share and then adapt them to local conditions. After all, policy must first be good politics if it is to become good policy.

<sup>i</sup> GDP per Capita (PPP), in Constant international 2005 US Dollars, World Development Indicators 2010, World Bank, <http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do>, retrieved: 10 October 2010.

<sup>ii</sup> Naughton, Barry (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 18-19. ISBN 0-262-14095-0.

<sup>iii</sup> Hsiao, Russell. *Advances in China's UCAV Program*. Jamestown Foundation, Publication: China Brief Volume: 10 Issue: 19, 24 September 2010. [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single?tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=36913&tx\\_ttnews\[backPid\]=414&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=36913&tx_ttnews[backPid]=414&no_cache=1)

<sup>iv</sup> Nee, V., and S. Opper (2010). 'Political Capital in a Market Economy'. *Social Forces* (forthcoming).

<sup>v</sup> Nee, Victor, "Capitalism from Below," Lecture to the School of Public Policy and Management faculty at Tsinghua University, Beijing, China (25 May 2010)

- Details the rise of private manufacturing businesses in the Yangzi Delta, one of China's richest and now best developed regions.
- 711 entrepreneurs were looked at in a series of surveys from 2003 to 2006.
- Only 1% of entrepreneurs involved in manufacturing in the survey experienced bankruptcy.
- Most businesses were started in the early 90's when owning a private business was still illegal in China.
- NB: Entrepreneurship is more a creation of social institutions (a culture of entrepreneurship) and less an attribute of exceptional individuals than we previously thought.
  - Social norms are very important to setting up businesses
  - Once the norm becomes firmer (better established within a community) and support for it is entrenched the norm becomes formalized. Then the norm grows into laws that support, reinforce and perpetuate it.

<sup>vi</sup> Examples include Mary Queen of Shops, Dragon's Den, American Inventor, Shark Tank, Tycoon, Back to

the Floor, extra.

<sup>vii</sup> Heilmann, Sebastian (2007). *Policy Experimentation in China's Economic Rise*. *Studies in Comparative International Development* (SCID), Volume 43, Number 1, 1-26, DOI: 10.1007/s12116-007-9014-4

<sup>viii</sup> This objective is of equal importance to the Social Stability objective but more important than all the rest. Recently the focus has moved towards maximizing the growth of High-tech industries in particular.

<sup>ix</sup> In South Africa this could not be done using the same autocratic and draconian methods used in China. Local governments will have to adhere to the constitution of South Africa. This is not only achievable but in the best interests of the country at large.

<sup>x</sup> Naughton, Barry (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 313. ISBN 0-262-14095-0.

<sup>xi</sup> China raises tax rebates to shore up exports, Beijing, China: Xinhua, 9 June 2009, <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/t566714.htm>

<sup>xii</sup> COSATU (2003), *Resolution of the COSATU 8th National Congress*, pp. 19, retrieved: 12 October 2010. <http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/resolutions/2003/resolutions8th.pdf>

<sup>xiii</sup> It is suicide to peg rand to dollar – Manuel. *Business Report*, Sapa, 27 September 2010, <http://www.busrep.co.za/index.php?fArticleId=5662953&fSectionId=614&fSetId=662>

<sup>xiv</sup> Osnos, Evan. *Boom Doctor: Can the Chinese miracle continue without reform?* New York, United States: The New Yorker, October 11, 2010. pp.46

Douglas Ian Scott obtained a MA in Public Management from Tsinghua University in Beijing. He has spent the last 3 years studying Chinese economic development policy and Chinese language. He is based in Cape Town.

© Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, Fahamu Cape Town 2010

## EMERGING POWERS IN AFRICA PROGRAMME

### Steering Committee

**Prof Ari Sitas**

**Dr Renu Modi**

**Dr Ebrima Sall**

**Dr Xiao Yuhua**

**Dr Liu Haifang**

**Prof Li Anshan**

**Sanusha Naidu**

**Hayley Herman**

**Mercia Andrews**

**Prof Olu Ajakaiye**

**Alexandre Barbosa**

**Prof Kuruvilla Matthews**

**Mouhamet Lamine Ndiaye**

**John Patrick Ngoyi Kasongo**



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice  
[www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org)

## COMMENTARY

## Russia and Africa: Coming Back?

By Vladimir Shubin

### Abstract

AS RECENT PRESIDENTIAL visits demonstrate, Russia is placing increasing priority on relations with African countries. However, this should not be viewed as a new phenomenon, positive relations between Moscow and many African countries date back several decades. An important challenge for these relationships is to improve economic trade links to match the recent increase in political interaction. Several common economic interests exist between Russia and certain African countries, and thus the development of these should be a priority for Russia's foreign policy, in order to consolidate these relationships.

\*\*\*

The recent visit of South African President Jacob Zuma to Moscow represents the latest example of a process that is often regarded as "Russia coming back to Africa". Speaking in Moscow, President Zuma referred to Russia as "a historic friend of the South African people", underlining Moscow's past support for Africa, by stating that: "We [South Africa] have fond memories of that solidarity and friendship, which existed when friends of the oppressed in South Africa and Africa were very few. It is the basis on which we can build stronger political, economic and social ties".

Similar perceptions about Russia are evident in other African countries as well. Not only did Russia never have colonies in Africa, but it made a vital contribution to decolonization in various ways: from initiating the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1960, to versatile assistance, including military, to the liberation movements, primarily in Southern Africa.

Russia's "return" to Africa was highlighted last year, when President Medvedev visited Egypt, Nigeria, Namibia and Angola. Indeed, this trip was unique, as no previous Russian leader had visited Tropical Africa, although in 2006 Vladimir Putin did cross the Equator to visit Cape Town.

Medvedev's visit provides convincing proof that the Russian leadership has at last turned their attention towards Africa. Medvedev has stated that "in the [19]90s we did not pay so much attention to distant continents, such as Africa and Latin America, but now we are simply obliged to do it", he said. Furthermore, in response to a journalist's question Medvedev admitted that "frankly, we were almost

too late. We should have begun working with our African partners earlier, more so, because our ties with many of them have not been interrupted, they are based on decades of developing friendly relations".

Medvedev's remarks about uninterrupted ties between Russia and Africa are accurate. Indeed, the characterization of Russia as "returning" to Africa, which is often used by researchers and journalists, is inaccurate for a simple reason: Russia never left Africa. Even during the 1990s, when attention was diverted from Africa, Russia maintained nearly 40 embassies in African countries and thousands of African students continued to study in Russian universities.

### Neglect of the Yeltsin Years

In the early 1990s, Yeltsin's Russia, led by his notorious first Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, sacrificed Africa and the South as important vectors for Russian foreign policy, in favour of the West in a vain attempt to attract soft credits and technology transfer. During this period, a number of Russian Embassies and Consulates in African countries were closed, along with the majority of trade missions and cultural centers. In addition, most of the economic projects initiated in the Soviet era were also terminated.

This approach can be explained by two main factors. At the time, the IMF's proposed (or imposed?) "reforms" were causing great damage to the Russian economy, leading to what Michael Cossudovsky terms the "Thirdworldisation" of Russia. Yet, the economic collapse in the early 1990s does not entirely explain the lack of attention paid to Africa. A psychological factor also played an important role. The right-wing media and politicians in Russia used Africa as a scapegoat for the country's declining fortunes, claiming that Africa had been instrumental in the economic collapse by "eating Russia out of house and home". However, in reality, the USSR's economic co-operation with African countries was, by and large, mutually advantageous. Nonetheless, these false claims proved damaging and especially dangerous because they encouraged xenophobia and racism in "post-Soviet" Russia.

### The Return of Africa as a Priority

In current day Russia, the foreign policy of the "Yeltsin era" is often regarded as a lost decade, and since then Russia has developed a new foreign policy strategy. This new approach to foreign policy is often seen as the result of the change in leadership from Yeltsin to Putin. However, the process of change in foreign policy strategy actually



began with appointment of Yevgeny Primakov, an outstanding expert on the Third World, to the post of foreign minister in January 1996. By 1996, it was becoming clear that the one-sided reliance on the West in Russian foreign policy was not bearing fruit. In addition, Moscow became increasingly confident as the situation within Russia improved during the 2000s, with Russia able to pay off most of its state debts and accumulate big currency reserves, encouraging Moscow to pursue a more independent foreign policy.

Indeed, this greater confidence was reinforced with Russia's admission to the G8 (although not necessarily to the meetings of finance ministers), signaling its membership in a "group of the privileged". Russia must now conduct its relations with Africa with an awareness of this background. Although Russia's new status raises its international prestige, Moscow has to guard against hampering its traditionally friendly relations with African countries by joining the "club" of those who colonized and exploited African countries.

Unfortunately even with its improved economy, Russia is not in a position to act as an equal partner to the other members of the G8 in terms of the group's plans to provide "aid" to Africa, in order to lift it out of poverty. While, Russia has made a contribution to alleviating the debt of African countries (around 20 billion US dollars), and introduced a preferential system for traditional African export commodities (no import duties and no quota limitations), it has yet to develop a program of development assistance, or create a government body responsible for the delivery of aid.

Currently, the bulk of Russian aid is delivered through international organizations and funds, such as the Global Fund against AIDS, TB and Malaria, and these modest contributions are being "diluted" in the process. Russia's proclaimed objective is to provide a stable pattern of aid, via both multilateral and bilateral levels, amounting to 0.7% of GNP, as recommended by the UN. However, Russia has a long way to go before it fulfills this promise.

#### Russia's Interests in Africa

Russia has several broad interest areas in Africa, and seeks to develop bilateral relations with African countries and cooperate with Africa's continental and regional organizations.

In the political sphere, Russia and many African countries have common concerns about individual states and regions dominating the international system. Indeed, Russian-African relations can play an important role in opposing the tendency of one country or a limited group of countries to impose their will on the rest of the world and, from the Russian perspective, in particular to prevent Russia from being isolated. Most African countries and Russia are committed to the idea of a multi-polar world, and consider that the UN should play the central role in this multi-polar world. The states of the African continent constitute about a

quarter of the members of the UN, while Russia is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and the UN is an arena in which Russia and Africa collaborate fruitfully.

Russia is also interested in issues of peace and security, and collaborates with African countries and the African Union on such issues. Russia participates in all current UN peace-keeping missions in Africa, and is involved in training 400 peacekeepers from Africa in Russia per year.

Taking into account Russia's interests and existing cooperation, it is hard to understand why, so far, Moscow (as distinct from a growing number of countries, including Turkey and Vietnam) has not convened a top-level Russia-Africa Forum, and is not planning to. As the successful June 2010 "Russia-Africa" International Parliamentary Conference demonstrated, such a forum would be welcomed by African countries.

During Medvedev's recent trip to Africa and other bilateral communications, it has been noted that economic ties between Russia and Africa are lagging behind political interaction. Nonetheless, there has been some development in economic and trade relations. In 2008, trade turnover increased and reached a peak of 8.2 billion US dollars (however, half of this was with one country, Egypt), although trade dropped considerably in 2009 due to the world financial crisis. However, this level of trade is well short of the full potential of economic cooperation between Russia and Africa.

Many analysts consider Moscow's more active policy in Africa as representing a "competition" with China for influence in the continent. However, Russia and China have different niches in their relations with Africa. For example, Russia is not able to compete with China and other countries, in exporting cheap clothes or footwear, but, it is in a strong position to sell advanced technology. Soviet/Russian engineering and science has always been internationally acclaimed, and Russia continues to be strong in these fields and is able to find markets in Africa. For example, during Medvedev's recent visit, an agreement was signed under which Russian advanced technology and financial resources will be utilized to create an Angolan National System of Satellite Communications and Broadcasting (ANGOSAT).

Furthermore, there are many potential opportunities for Russian investments in Africa. At present, direct investments by Russian companies in Africa amount to approximately \$4 billion, which is about 4% of Russian direct investments abroad, while total Russian investments in Africa are approximately \$10 billion. Before the financial crisis, 17 large Russian companies were active in 13 African countries, with 44 existing and planned projects between them. The most active companies are Gazprom (8 projects), Lukoil (6), Alrosa, Rusal, Renkova, Rosatom, Norilsk-Nickel, Sintez (3 each). Of the host countries, South Africa hosts



ten projects, Libya 7, Angola 5, Algeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Namibia 4, Nigeria 3, and Egypt, Botswana, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo 1.

Also, Russia is very interested in developing collaboration with Africa in the sphere of natural resources. Although, as distinct from, say, China or India, the importance of minerals is not a "matter of life or death" for the Russian economy, but it is a matter of expediency. Most minerals are available in Russia. However, the conditions for their exploration and use are becoming increasingly difficult, because they are found mostly in remote areas of Siberia and the Far East, which have a severe climate. As a result, 35% of Russia's minerals deposits, including manganese, chrome, bauxite, zinc and tin, are losing their commercial profitability.

Collaboration is also of interest to both Russia and African countries, because 60% of all of world resources, including biogenetical resources, fresh water and minerals, are located in either Russia or Africa. Therefore, both sides stand to benefit from joining forces to safeguard their sovereign right to control this wealth, especially in the face of attempts to declare these resources "an international asset", under a false pretext of "reestablishing justice". Practical areas of cooperation that would be mutually beneficial include working out a joint approach to relations with transnational corporations, as well as coordinating efforts in the global markets to counter, among other things, speculative spasmodic leaps in prices.

A peculiar sphere of Russia's economic relations with Africa is the arms trade. The Soviet involvement in equipping and often advising the armed forces of various African countries is well known. However, the situation changed drastically in the early 1990s, when, with the deterioration of the economic situation in Russia, the method of payment for arms exports was switched from credit to cash. At the same time, the so called "democratic" mass media in Russia launched a campaign against arms sales, portraying them as immoral. This led to the loss of a number of traditional markets for Soviet/Russian arms to Western, primarily American and British, suppliers. However, in recent years the situation has been reversed, but it should be underlined that the Russian government has strengthened its control over arms deals and observes all sanctions and limitations imposed by the UN.

Finally, there are good opportunities for cooperation in the sphere of education. Over 50,000 Africans completed degrees in the Soviet Union and, currently, 4,500 African students are studying in Russia. Moreover, the Russian government has increased the number of scholarships available for African students to 700, although these scholarships remain very modest and in reality only cover tuition fees.

#### State-Led Cooperation

In considering the development of Russia's

relations with African countries, it is necessary to examine the role that the Russian state must play in strengthening ties. A consensus in Russia considers that, even in a free market economy, significant and sustained development in Africa will only be possible with the aid of strong support from the state. Up to the present time, by and large, only the biggest Russian companies have managed to find niche export markets in Africa, and therefore state support is needed for small and medium businesses to make an impression. Besides, the actions of individual companies, even successful ones, cannot alone ensure a significant improvement in Russo-African economic relations. Therefore, a considerable contribution through the bilateral inter-governmental commissions formed with a number of African countries is required, although, unfortunately, some of the commissions are not active enough or have become dormant.

At the same time, there is a recent trend for Russian businessmen interested in Africa taking steps towards self-organization. A particularly vibrant and effective group, or at least the Russian part of it, is the Russian-South African Business Council, formed after Vladimir Putin's visit to Cape Town in 2006. It promotes technologies that are ecologically friendly and directed towards the rational use of natural resources. A further example is a new body, formed last year under the auspices of the Russian Chamber of Trade and Industry, the Co-ordination Committee on Economic Co-operation with Sub-Saharan African countries, chaired by Vladimir Dmitriev, Chair of the Vnesheconom Bank.

#### Conclusion

Russia and Africa need each other. Russia is a vast market not only for African minerals, but for various other goods and products produced by African countries. At the same time, Russia has shown renewed interest and activity in Africa, which strengthens the position of African countries vis-à-vis both old and new external players. The signs for Russian-African relations appear good—declarations of intentions have been made, important bilateral agreements signed—now it remains to be seen how these intentions and agreements will be implemented in practice.

#### About the Author

Professor Vladimir Shubin is Deputy Director of the Institute for African Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences and a Professor at the Department of Contemporary Asian and African Studies at the Russian State University of Humanities. He is the author of numerous book and articles on Russia and Africa, including *The Hot "Cold War"*, the *USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2008) and *ANC: A View from Moscow* (2nd ed., Jacana media, Johannesburg, 2008).

*This article was first published in the Russian Analytical Digest, No. 83, 28 September 2010, pp 4-7. The publication can be accessed at the following link: <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>*

## LINKS, RESOURCES &amp; ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Call for Papers

## 4th European Conference on African Studies

15-18 June, 2011 in Uppsala, Sweden

<http://www.nai.uu.se/ecas-4/call-for-papers/>

WE HEREBY INVITE all interested scholars to submit paper proposals for presentation on one of the approved ECAS 4 panels.

Please submit your paper abstract (maximum 400 words or 2300 – 2400 characters, including spaces). To submit your abstract you will first be requested to register as an official conference website user. After registration you will receive an e-mail with access confirmation and further instructions on how to submit your abstract.

To be accepted paper proposals need to fit into one of the approved panels. The deadline for the submission of paper abstracts is **Wednesday 22 December 2010**. All paper proposals will be reviewed in January 2011, and those who have submitted abstracts will be notified no later than 28 February 2011 as to whether their paper has been accepted or not.

For questions relating to papers you wish to propose to panels, please contact the panel organiser directly. Contact details of panel organisers can be found in the list of panels and above each of the panel descriptions.

*For general questions concerning paper proposals, please contact the Organising Committee of ECAS 4 at: ECAS4@nai.uu.se*

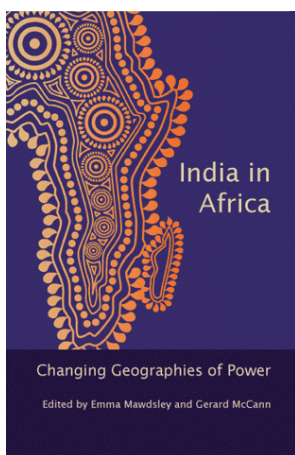
## Postdoctoral Fellowship

A POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP is available at the Centre for Chinese Studies for full-time research for a two-year contract period.

The Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS) is devoted to the study of China in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Africa's political economic interaction with China increases, the need for greater analysis of underlying economic dynamics in China and of the Chinese trade and investment in Africa grows. Chinese policies and activities in Africa require a methodologically sound empirical research in African states, a clear understanding of inner-Chinese dynamics, and a comparative perspective to other role-players' engagement. The CCS covers these three areas of research.

## India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley &amp; 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. In this original book, which enables readers to compare India to China and other 'rising powers' in Africa, expert African, Indian and western commentators draw on a collection of accessibly written case studies to explore inter-related areas including trade, investment, development aid, civil society relations, security and geopolitics.

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

99 Wallis Road London E9 5LN

Tel +44 (0)20 8986 4854

Fax +44 (0)20 8533 5821

orders@centralbooks.com

Agent

Global Book Marketing

99B Wallis Road London E9 5LN

Tel +44 (0)20 8533 5800

info@globalbookmarketing.co.uk

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



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice  
[www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org)

Order your copy from [www.pambazukapress.org](http://www.pambazukapress.org)

We are seeking to strengthen our team with a postdoctoral research fellow with expertise in Chinese economic relations with Africa, particularly in the areas of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) or trade policies. The research aims at identifying drivers in Chinese economic engagement in specific African economies and sectors, and will particularly look into the distribution of gains in interactions between Chinese and African role-players.

#### Requirements

A PhD in Economics or related Social Science discipline (such as Political Science, International Relations or Development Studies) obtained in the past five years, and with a clear focus on China and/or Chinese economic activities in Africa. Working knowledge of Mandarin will be a particularly strong asset for the position. The position is likely to involve empirical research in African countries; the willingness and ability to travel are therefore assumed.

#### Applications

Applications, comprising a cover letter and a full curriculum vitae including all research outputs, must be submitted to Dr Sven Grimm, Centre for Chinese Studies, P.O. Box 3538, Matieland 7602, South Africa, or via e-mail to sgrimm@sun.ac.za

For more information, please consult our website <<http://www.sun.ac.za/ccs>> under the Careers tab.

Applications close on **31 December 2010**

## Recent Publications and New Reports

#### China-Africa Trade and Economic Relationship: Annual Report 2010

A report by the Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation, in cooperation with the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, provides an overview of Sino-Africa trade and economic data for 2009 and provides an outlook for relations in 2010.

Report can be accessed at:  
[http://www.fahamu.org/downloads/China-Africa\\_Trade\\_and\\_Economic\\_Relationship\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2010.pdf](http://www.fahamu.org/downloads/China-Africa_Trade_and_Economic_Relationship_Annual_Report_2010.pdf)

#### Chinese Trade and Investment Activities in Africa

The African Development Bank Group, Policy Brief Brief can be accessed at:  
<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/8-Chinese%20Trade%20%20Investment%20Activities%20in%20Africa%2029July.pdf>

#### China-Africa Partnerships: Implications and Prospects for Africa

ISS-EIIPD Public Seminar Series, 3 November 2010, Summary Report  
Report can be accessed at: <http://www.iss.co.za/uploads/3NovReport.pdf>

#### Saudi Arabia as an Emerging Market: Commercial Opportunities and Challenges for South Africa

Written by Mzukisi Qobo and Mills Soko, October 2010  
Paper can be accessed at: [http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional\\_papers/saia\\_sop\\_69\\_qobo\\_soko\\_20101028.pdf](http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_69_qobo_soko_20101028.pdf)

#### Investigation into the Global Trade in Malagasy Precious Woods: Rosewood, Ebony and Paliander

By Global Witness and the Environmental Investigation Agency (US), October 2010  
Report can be accessed at: [http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/mada\\_report\\_261010.pdf](http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/mada_report_261010.pdf)

## Useful Websites

- **ChinAfrica Magazine:**  
<http://www.chinafrica.cn/english/index.htm>
- **Russian Analytical Digest:**  
<http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/details.cfm?lng=en&id=123189>
- **Africa Quarterly (Indian Journal of African Affairs):**  
<http://www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quarterly/AQ%20May-July2010.pdf>
- **Sudan Open Archive:**  
<http://www.sudanarchive.net/index.php?view=soahome>
- **China-Africa Network:**  
<http://www.china-africa.net/>



## PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES

## Call for Applications

## Journalist Study Tour to India 2011

The Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Programme is pleased to announce a call for applications for its Journalist Study Tour to India. Four successful applicants will be chosen to participate in a 6 day study tour. African media professionals in print, broadcast, radio and online fora throughout Africa are encouraged to apply for this study tour. African lecturers from journalism schools and media programmes on the continent may also apply.

## 1. Introduction

There is a growing need for independent inquiry and investigation into the engagement of India in Africa from African media sources- this as media coverage has been largely dominated and influenced by Western media reports. This becomes particularly important as Indian corporate interest, aid, bilateral trade and investment in Africa continues to grow. Furthermore, India will host the forthcoming India Economic Summit in November 2010, while the second India-Africa Forum Summit will take place in Africa in 2011 following the first Summit concluded in April 2008 in India. These events will provide important outcomes related to both India and Africa's development path, with consequences relevant to both Africans and Indians alike. Within this context the need for greater collaboration and interaction amongst African and Indian media will become ever more pertinent.

The Fahamu Emerging Powers in Programme is therefore pleased to announce a call for applications for its Journalist Study Tour to India. Four successful applicants will be chosen to participate in a study tour to India that aims to:

- Strengthen the capacity of African media commentators on India's engagement with Africa
- Facilitate greater understanding of perceptions of India in Africa, and vice versa
- Expand on knowledge amongst African media of India's political, economic, societal and media landscape
- Create an opportunity for African media organisations and journalism schools to develop long-term relationships, collaborations and exchanges with representatives from Indian media organisations and institutions
- Provide a platform to facilitate the implementation of capacity building projects and greater media coverage amongst African media on India's activities in Africa
- Include greater media participation in discussions and advocacy in India and in Africa about India's role in Africa
- Include visits to various Indian media organisations, associations, research institutes and journalism schools.

## 2. Call for Applications

Media professionals in print, broadcast, radio and online fora throughout Africa are encouraged to apply for this study tour. Lecturers from journalism schools and media programmes in Africa may also apply. Applicants must:

- Provide frequent reports to their national, regional, or local print media, radio, television channels or online fora on topics related to India's activities in Africa; or lecture at a journalism school or training programme at a higher education institution in Africa
- Have **8- 10 years experience** as a journalist or journalism lecturer
- Be fluent in **English**
- Have a valid passport and comply with their country's visa criteria for travel to India.

The following costs will be reimbursed:

- Return ticket, economy class to India
- Accommodation in India for the duration of study tour,
- Visa costs,
- Meals and transport for duration of study tour.

The study tour will take place in January 2011.

Applications close on **1 December 2010** and successful applicants will be notified in **second week of December 2010**.

## 3. Requirements

All applications are to be submitted electronically and must include:

- A current resume including professional work history
- A 500 word article on a topic that is currently relevant to the India-Africa engagement
- A brief proposal in English outlining a story you wish to cover in Africa related to Africa-India relations and that will be of interest to your target audience
- A letter of recommendation from your organisation head/faculty head . If journalist applicants are not employed directly through a media organisation, please provide a letter of support from the organisation to which you are affiliated, including your relationship to the organisation
- A letter, signed by your (affiliate) organisation or faculty head, motivating how participation in the study tour will benefit your professional work and the work of your organisation. This should include an action plan detailing how your experience in India will be incorporated into further capacity building and knowledge development within your organisation/ journalism school in the three months following completion of the study tour
- Provide samples of three or four professional



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

pieces of written work/manuscripts that have been printed or broadcast in the last 12 months; or an outline of courses taught if a lecturer in a journalism school/programme.

- Please ensure that all documents are compressed and/or zipped in compressed files to ensure all applications can be uploaded.
- All applications must be submitted in English

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

A contract will be signed by participants requiring the following obligations to be met following conclusion of the tour:

- Produce a commentary piece for the Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Newsletter based on their experience in India incorporating topical issues related to Africa-India relations
- Make regular contributions on civil society issues for publication in the Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Newsletter
- Provide a follow up report detailing the implementation and outcomes of a capacity building activity completed through the participants (affiliate) organisation or journalism school within three months of completing the study tour.

*Please direct all queries and applications to:*

Ms Hayley Herman - Programme Officer  
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme  
Email: hayley@fahamu.org

#### Meeting with Beijing NGO Association for International Exchanges

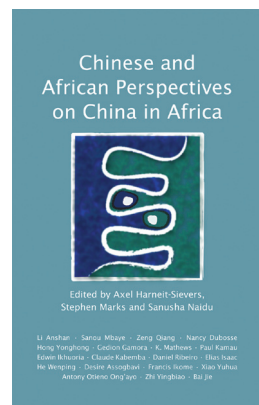
Ms Hayley Herman, Programme Officer, met with Mr Xu Qiang, Secretary General of the Beijing NGO Association for International Exchanges, in Cape Town on 19 October 2010. Mr Xu led a delegation of representatives from a variety of Chinese NGO's including Beijing Women's Federation, Beijing Family Planning Association, Beijing Disabled People's Rehabilitation Services Centre, Beijing Charity Association and Beijing Environmental Protection Foundation. This visit follows the NGO Dialogue co-hosted by the Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Programme and the China NGO Network for International Exchanges held in August in Cape Town.

#### Conference/Workshop Attendance

Ms Sanusha Naidu, Research Director, participated in and presented a paper entitled: **European Development Cooperation with Africa: success story or failure?** at the China-Africa Civil Society Dialogue: Development Challenges in Africa and the Chinese Development Experience. The Dialogue was hosted by the Heinrich Boll Foundation (HBF- Beijing and Nairobi offices), the Institute of West Asian and African Studies (IWAAS- Beijing) and the Institute of African Studies (Zhejiang Normal University) in Beijing and Zhejiang, China from 18-23 October 2010. A more detailed Dialogue Report will follow in subsequent issues.

## 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  
www.pambazukapress.org  
Distributed in Europe by  
Central Books Ltd  
99 Wallis Road London E9 5LN  
Tel +44 (0)20 8986 4854  
Fax +44 (0)20 8533 5821  
orders@centralbooks.com  
Agent  
Global Book Marketing  
99B Wallis Road London E9 5LN  
Tel +44 (0)20 8533 5800  
info@globalbookmarketing.co.uk  
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



Order your copy from [www.pambazukapress.org](http://www.pambazukapress.org)



**Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu**

**[www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org)**

UK office:

2nd floor, 51 Cornmarket Street, Oxford OX1 3HA

Tel: + 44 (0)1865 727006

Fax: + 44 (0)1865 727909 Email: [info@fahamu.org](mailto:info@fahamu.org)

Fahamu Ltd company limited by guarantee no. 4241054 Fahamu Trust registered charity no. 1100304

Fahamu Kenya:

PO Box 47158, 00100 GPO, Nairobi, Kenya

Tel: +254 (0)20 3749346 Email: [infokenya@fahamu.org](mailto:infokenya@fahamu.org)

Fahamu Ltd registered in Kenya no. F15/2006

Fahamu SA Trust:

c/o 27A Esher St,

Claremont, 7708, Cape Town, South Africa

Tel: +27 21 683 1613

Email: [info@fahamu.org.za](mailto:info@fahamu.org.za) Fahamu SA Trust registered in South Africa no. IT372/01

Fahamu Senegal:

9 Cité Sonatel 2, POB 25021, Dakar-Fann, Dakar, Senegal

Tel/fax: +221 867 50 65

Email: [infosenegal@fahamu.org](mailto:infosenegal@fahamu.org)



China/Emerging Powers  
in Africa programme is a  
project of  
Fahamu, Networks for  
Social Justice  
[www.fahamu.org](http://www.fahamu.org)