



EDITORIAL

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA HAS been abuzz with analysis and commentary on the occasion of the recent BRICS Summit in Sanya, China. The third meeting of this grouping received great attention not only due to speculation around future activities and areas of engagement, but also because it saw the official inclusion of its newest member, South Africa.

Debates have argued both for and against South Africa's inclusion into the BRIC grouping based on economic and political grounds. Questions were asked as to whether the country's inclusion was justified based on its recorded GDP and economic might in relation to Brazil, Russia, India and China. South Africa's economic might is however revealed when compared to the rest of Africa, and has claimed there is a role for itself as a strong voice for Africa, if not representing Africa through this voice in various existing global multilateral forums and international groupings. The question has now perhaps turned from asking whether South Africa deserves a place at the BRICS table, to what its role will be, what effect it will have on the future activities and goals of BRICS, and what benefits this inclusion will bring to South Africa (and Africa). This edition of the newsletter provides an overview of the unfolding developments at the BRICS event.

China's aid policy has received growing attention over the past number of years as the country's engagement with Africa has deepened and expanded. Authoritative figures for China's aid to Africa have however proved illusive, therefore the release of the Chinese government's white paper on China's foreign aid has been particularly important and groundbreaking in that it has provided an

official overview of the structure, form, distribution and management of its aid. Although lacking in comprehensive data regarding distribution of its aid, the document does provide a telling indication of Africa's share of this aid, with the continent receiving the majority share in 2009.

The report highlights two important aspects of China's aid to Africa. First, that Chinese aid to Africa is not new- it is not a recent phenomena and it did not commence with the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. Second, that its aid policy has developed over time incorporating various types of aid activities from grants, to technical assistance, emergency aid to debt relief. Assistance in provision of health care has been one such activity the Chinese government has included in its aid policy. Chinese medical teams have been sent to Africa since the 1960's and more recently the country has also provided anti-malaria medication and assistance. Two notable inclusions on this topic are provided in this month's newsletter including a discussion paper released by the Nordic Africa Institute, written by Prof Li Anshan on Chinese medical cooperation in Africa- the link to the paper being listed below, and a review of the second international roundtable on health collaboration between China and Africa.

We hope you enjoy this edition of the newsletter!

Hayley Herman
Programme Officer
Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative

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

COMMENTARY

“Many BRICS, now for the cement”

By John Bailey

THE 3RD BRICS Summit of influential emerging economies took place on April 14th on the tropical Chinese island Hainan. Newcomer South Africa teamed up with the original group of Brazil, Russia, India and China. Together they represent 40 percent of the world's population, are all regional powerhouses and are set to work more closely together in the future. It's predicted that by 2050, the combined gross domestic product of Brazil, Russia, India and China will exceed that of the G7 group of developed countries - of course South Africa is much smaller than that.

But South African business says it is the right time to join the group as it will enhance business opportunities for both South Africa and the African continent. Even before the leaders summit took place it was clear that the event would herald yet another step forward in the global strategic rebalancing taking place in an increasingly multipolar world.

But the criticism has always been that BRIC has not been formalised and was a talk-shop with no real

benefit to its member countries. The focus of this summit was to strengthen co-ordination and mutual cooperation on the reform of the international currency system, commodity price fluctuations, climate change and sustainable development.

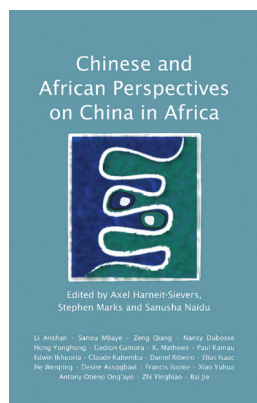
Host and current revolving chair of the group China, wanted to make sure that unlike the previous two summits this time round there would be real, tangible results. Months before the event Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Wu Hailong - referred to as China's Sherpa for the event - jetted to all four countries to canvass their opinions and gather information.

In organizing yet another mega international event, China put on a skillful performance-something that one has almost become accustomed to.

The Chinese security apparatus was out in full force, to guard participants and seal off the event from any prying eyes. It was no surprise that even several warships were stationed off the coast of Sanya, divers were in the water and nets placed

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.

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in the sea to prevent any potential intruders. I was told a People's Liberation Army Navy nuclear submarine base was situated close to the BRICS Summit venue. No costs were spared.

At one of the hotels a fully functioning media centre was set-up, complete with conference rooms, books about all kinds of China related information and even free food. The Indian delegation decided to have their own, separate media centre a few metres away.

Back at the summit functionaries were frantically arranging bilateral meetings between all the presidents of the five countries. They all met before or after the group summit.

On the other side of town high powered business people and banking technocrats from the five countries got to know each other better at the Business Forum and Banking Mechanism Forum. The two forums ran parallel with the BRICS summit. The Business Forum was designed to forge multilateral business opportunities and create jobs, while the bankers sat down to discuss a roadmap that will likely change the way global business is conducted in the future. A major announcement focused on the support received from the BRICS countries for the South Atlantic Express Cable System and support from the Bank of China and the Industrial Development Cooperation (IDC) to finance the R3 billion project. Companies from Brazil, Russia, India and China were also encouraged to become involved in South Africa's proposed R800 billion infrastructure spending plan to be implemented over the next three years. With mainly state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) companies attending from South Africa, future engagement from South African corporates are likely in ITC, construction, management and service industry projects in the other four countries.

Over at the BRICS leaders-summit there was much congratulatory hand shaking and smiles as the five

presidents signed the Sanya Declaration. It was decided in the future the five countries would trade with each other using their local currencies instead of the US dollar. They are also set to collaborate in capital markets, have called for an overhaul of the global monetary system and want a reform of international financial bodies such as the World Bank and IMF.

While the BRICS summit was keenly followed by the West – some European commentators expressed their surprise by the 'ambitious' Sanya declaration - fellow developing countries also kept a close eye on the proceedings. It's unclear if the ranks of BRICS will expand further. Some of the group's leaders have indicated a willingness to expand, but it does seem as if they are taking a cautious approach. They are obviously aware that they have important relations with other countries not part of this club.

It's not a foregone conclusion that all the members of BRICS view it with the same importance. A member from one of the delegations suggested to me that his government sees it as just another global forum, in which it can express its opinion and garner more influence. A representative from another country warned not to expect too much from the group in the short term and said 'BRICS will show its influence gradually in the future, however, one shouldn't overestimate BRICS' influence, because BRICS is still a newly founded group.'

Now comes the hard part of translating an action plan from talk into real action. The BRICS countries have shown their intentions, now they have to prove their capability of bringing about change, or as one official at the summit said 'we have many BRICS, now for the cement to keep it together and make it happen'.

Mr John Bailey is Bureau Chief: China for South African broadcaster Eto News Channel and covered the BRICS Summit held in Sanya, China recently.

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REVIEWS

The future of China - Africa health collaboration

By Peter Konijn

HEALTH HAS RECEIVED relatively little attention in the debate on engagement between China in Africa. Maybe this is because, in health, the trade between China and Africa and Chinese investment in Africa is modest. The China - Africa health collaboration is above all an aid relation and although the economic significance of health in the overall relationship is limited, this situation may change in the near future. There is an interest from the Chinese and African governments to expand collaboration in health and include the private sector and the future outlook on this collaborative effort was the subject of the second international roundtable on health collaboration between China and Africa, held in Beijing from February 11-12 2011. The roundtable was organised by the Institute of Global Health at Peking University and the China Institute of International Studies.

From the Chinese side there were officials from the ministries of Health, Foreign Affairs and Commerce, the National Population and Family Planning Commission and the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention. From the African side the delegation was significantly smaller with the vice minister of health of Liberia and health officials from Ethiopia and Tanzania participating. The traditional donors who are active in health care in Africa had a large presence including officials from WHO, UNFPA, World Bank, DFID, UNAIDS and USAID. Civil society participation was limited to the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation and the China NGO Network for International Exchanges (CNIE) and there were no African NGOs present. This was unfortunate because civil society and faith-based organisations in particular play an important role in health care provision in Africa. In several African countries up to halve of all health services are delivered by faith-based organisations.

High expectations

The roundtable touched upon a wide range of subjects: from the past achievements of medical teams, the future challenges of improving maternal and child health, the increasing engagement of the private sector to multilateral cooperation and took place in an atmosphere of high expectations. The participants agreed that there were great opportunities to expand health collaboration and as an emerging power China was willing to shoulder more international responsibility. To this end there is a firm commitment from the Chinese government to contribute to better health-care in

Africa. This was expressed at the 2006 FOCAC meeting and subsequent ministerial meetings. In the fourth FOCAC meeting held in Egypt premier Wen Jiabao announced that China will provide medical equipment and anti-malaria materials worth of 500 million Yuan (US\$ 73.2 million) to the 30 hospitals and malaria centres built by China and train 3.000 doctors and nurses.

The experience of China in building their primary health care system is very interesting for Africa. Statistics show that during the 1950s health indicators for China were on average below the health indicators in sub Saharan Africa. Thus, around 50 years ago the health of the general population in China and Africa was roughly the same. Since that time however, China has succeeded in building an effective health care system and today health care in China approaches levels of the Western countries with the highest levels of health care indicators. The improvements in health started before the economic reforms and rapid growth took place with China developing a successful disease control model with strong outreach to the poor rural areas. The well-known barefoot doctor and community health workers also went to the small villages and provided the necessary health care.

Engagement of the private sector

Much is expected from the increased engagement of China's private sector. According to the representative of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, China has a unique R&D capacity in the fields of agricultural technology, neglected tropical diseases and contraceptive technologies. In agricultural technology the Gates Foundation supports the development of high yielding rice varieties suitable for Africa and a sweet potato variety with a high level of micronutrients. These projects may contribute to higher agricultural production and reduce levels of malnourishment and malnutrition. This as better access to quality food also plays a very important role in lowering the under-five child mortality rate.

With regard to vaccines and drugs Chinese pharmaceutical companies operate on a large and competitive domestic market. There are approximately 3500 drug producers in China but their entry into the global market is very limited. To date only 6 products by Chinese pharmaceutical companies have been approved by the WHO and are sold internationally. By comparison, Indian pharmaceutical companies sell 199 WHO-approved

medicines on the international market. In this field the Chinese companies clearly lag behind their Indian colleagues.

The Chinese companies have a potential international comparative advantage because of the low cost R&D and production. Furthermore, the industry supplies products to the largest domestic market in the world with 1.2 billion people and increased entry of Chinese companies on the global market could supply Africa with the low cost medicines it needs. An interesting debate took place around the international WHO standards for the production and distribution of medicine. It was argued that the international standards were too high for Chinese pharmaceutical companies and prohibited their products from being sold in the international market, thus denying African countries access to affordable medicine. However, the WHO-representative claimed that the standards were not too high as they have been based on the medical principle of 'do no harm' and were designed by international experts from all over the world. It was argued that these were therefore not western standards but represent a broad worldwide consensus of medical experts. The Gates Foundation has been working through towards the global entry of Chinese pharmaceutical companies by facilitating the WHO qualification process, and is expected to have a positive effect on the availability and price of essential vaccines and drugs on the world market.

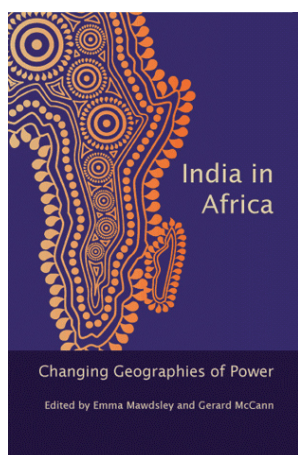
Public – private partnerships

A representative of the US multinational GE Health, based in Shanghai, presented examples of public-private partnerships (PPP's) in Lesotho and Ghana (these examples did not have any Chinese involvement). The PPP's were used for the construction and operation of the National Referral Hospital in Lesotho and 8 new Greenfield hospitals in Ghana. In a PPP tasks are outsourced to the private sector (the concession) for a certain length of time (the concession period). In the case of Ghana the concession was to design, build, finance and maintain the 8 hospitals ranging from 60 to 250 beds for a period of 15 years. In the case of Lesotho the concession was to design, build, finance and operate a hospital with 390 beds for a period of 18 years. In a PPP the risks related to construction, operation or maintenance, depending on the concession, are transferred to the private sector. After the concession period the hospitals are handed back to the public sector.

PPP's in health in Africa are typically negotiated between the host government, banks, multilateral organizations and a consortium of private sector companies. A special project company is set up to implement the PPP and the host government develops an appropriate legal and regulatory framework while creating a dedicated agency to manage the PPP. It was mentioned that currently

India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley & Gerard McCann



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

Major changes are taking place in the global economy and polity.

While China's relationship to Africa is much examined, knowledge and analysis of India's role in Africa

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

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.

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Chinese companies are involved in the design and construction of hospitals as turn-key projects financed by Chinese aid whereas the PPP-model will require more involvement of key African stakeholders in the whole process, including maintenance responsibilities after construction.

Multilateral cooperation

The international community favours South–South cooperation as it is believed to be effective as both sides include developing countries sharing many of the same challenges, thus making it easier to potentially learn from each other’s approaches. All the traditional donors expressed their willingness to support South-South cooperation within a multilateral framework, with the global framework for multilateral cooperation being the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Noting the Chinese government support of the MDGs, the roundtable discussed collaboration with regard to the goals concerning maternal and child health.

The Chinese engagement in multilateral health initiatives in Africa has been limited so far, with two examples presented at the Roundtable. In November 2010 a joint assessment of Chinese and USAID funded health programs took place in Ghana and Liberia. The objective was mutual familiarization with the respective health programs. The assessment included visits to the Chinese malaria centres and USAID funded maternal and child health projects and meetings were held with key stakeholders including African government officials, medical staff and civil society organizations. The conclusion of the joint assessment was that USAID and China have very different approaches and systems to provide health assistance and these approaches could be complementary and mutually reinforcing. The health ministries of Ghana and Liberia also requested that all partners, including China, align their efforts with respective national health plans, highlighting the fact that future collaboration would also depend on communication between and within countries as to what future engagement should entail.

The other example provided was the China–Ethiopia – World Bank health initiative. This initiative was agreed upon during the first roundtable in 2008. It aims to assist Ethiopia’s national health care system in the areas of community based health insurance and maternal and child health, drawing on both China’s and the World Bank’s experience and expertise. The implementation is in the preparatory stages as technical papers have been drafted and discussions are under way. The preparations intend to create a better understanding of what is needed and what can be offered.

Past achievements

The roundtable documented the past achievements of China-Africa health collaborations. The Chinese medical teams are perhaps the best-known examples of health collaboration as they have a long history with the first medical team being sent to Algeria in 1963. Since then it is estimated that more than 20.000 medical workers have been sent abroad with China funding the training and salaries of the doctors and nurses, while the host countries provide the medical facilities, instruments and residence.

In 2009 there were 50 medical teams with 1.200 workers working in 48 countries, mostly in Africa. China has also sent its peacekeeping medical forces to D.R. Congo (2003), Liberia (2004) and Sudan (2006) where their task was to provide medical services to the peacekeeping forces, but also serve the local population. Furthermore after the 2006 FOCAC summit China has built 30 hospitals and malaria prevention and treatment centres .

The African government officials expressed their appreciation for the medical assistance from China. The assistance generally responded to the needs and priorities of the host countries as the hospitals and malaria centres have been built in areas with high unmet needs. The supply of medical equipment and training has also strengthened local medical capacities. The officials further pointed out that most of China’s assistance has stayed largely outside of the African health system as in most cases the medical teams and projects are stand-alone activities. They do their work with little coordination or collaboration with African health care providers and partly because of this weak integration between the Chinese health efforts and the national health care systems sustainability has become an issue. What happens after the medical teams leave? Who will provide the health care? The same question applies to the hospitals that have been built with Chinese assistance. Who takes care of the operational and maintenance costs after the hospital has been handed over?

To strengthen the sustainability of health care the African officials suggested that China would support national plans and join the policy dialogues on health in the host countries. In this way there is a better chance that for example a budget for operations and maintenance of the hospital is included in the national health budget.

According to Chinese scholars there is no comprehensive system in place to implement these aid programs. The Chinese Ministry of Health is in charge of dispatching medical teams while the Ministry

of Commerce is responsible for the construction of hospitals and supply of facilities. In some cases Chinese built hospitals are handed over without capable management and staff to run the hospital. The medical teams will continue to play a substantial role in the future but this will not be without challenges, as was pointed out by Chinese scholars. Language is a problem when medical workers do not speak African languages, English or French and this of course limits their ability to provide adequate health services to their patients. It was noted that the selection of a medical team has also become difficult as a result of increasing living standards amongst Chinese doctors who are on average less inclined to serve in a medical team. More incentives are therefore needed to ensure that the medical teams are well qualified.

Conclusion

The roundtable was a success as it contributed to a better mutual understanding of the opportunities and challenges of future collaboration. It was well organized, the discussions were lively and constructive and the atmosphere was positive and respectful of differences of opinion, however there is also room for improvement. A larger African representation including civil society would have been more in balance with the Chinese, multilateral and bilateral presence and would have increased the African voice and perspective. Empirical field research by Chinese scholars in Africa and likewise African scholars in China has also been very limited. The presentations by Chinese scholars focused on health collaborations from the Chinese side: the history of the medical teams, the scholarship program and building of hospitals and their research is mostly based on data from government sources in Beijing. More empirical research and case studies would greatly enhance the mutual understanding of the realities on the ground.

The relevance of health in the overall China – Africa relationship is still modest, however this may change rapidly. The basic ingredients seem to be in place for an expansion and there is political will from both sides with commitments having been made. The international community has also voiced support in facilitating this South-South cooperation in health. China is interested in turning its support towards health related projects from being aid based to become commercial in nature, where aid is linked to trade and R&D investment in health. Eyes are therefore on the private sector through market financing and efficient service delivery through public private partnerships, and greater supply of affordable vaccines and drugs through the global entry of Chinese pharmaceutical companies.

The time for engagement between civil society actors, particularly in Africa, is now. This is the time when the strategies and policies for the next decade are being made and within this context China may become an even more important player in the provision of health care in Africa in the near future. Many opportunities may be presented for civil society actors to collaborate, but this will only be possible if they are informed and are included in developments moving forward. From the Chinese side recognition of civil society as a key stakeholder in health care and willingness to engage with civil society actors is also needed.

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All data from article by Prof. Li Anshan: 'China-African Medical Cooperation: Achievement, Challenge and Future' in Conference Reader, 2011.

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



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COMMENTARY

推动公民社会合作：中非合作论坛框架下的民间交流

肖玉华

一、当代中非关系缺乏足够的公民社会参与

当前有关中非关系的文献，过多关注中国与非洲国家的外交关系，包括国家领导人的访问及随之而来的大型商贸协定，以及具有变革意义的非洲、中国和传统及新兴国家（美国、欧盟、印度、巴西和南非等）之间的多边关系及多边竞争。国有企业新签的合同、各种各样的贷款以及接受中国国有银行融资的大型基础设施项目不断占据媒体报道的头条。一些评论家将此种关系称作中国对非洲的“殖民”或是“公司化中国”(China Inc.)^①冒险进入非洲。

然而，中非关系的现实比媒体描述的情况范围更广、层次更多。除了看起来单一的政府间访问外，中小企业、非政府组织、学者和其它公民社会成员正扮演越来越重要的角色。^②事实上，对引人瞩目的外交和大型经贸关系的过度重视，将阻碍成长中的新型中非关系的健康发展。换句话说，忽视公民社会行为体在不断提升的中非关系中的作用和重要性将造成各种文化误解、信息不对称和利益冲突。当代中非关系中频繁出现的争议、指责、丑闻和时有发生谣言（如最近发生在赞比亚的枪击事件），常常与此有关。^③

二、在中非合作论坛框架下努力推进民间交流和公民社会合作

2000年10月启动的中非合作论坛（简称“论坛”）的初衷是促进中国和非洲国家的经贸合作。因此，论坛第一届部长级会议的两个议题被确定为“面向21世纪应如何推动建立国际政治经济新秩序”和“如何在新形势下进一步加强中非在

^① 此处“公司化中国”是对“中国公司”一词的衍生。近年来，中国公司在非洲的经营和发展引起了世人的关注，有些人开始把中国公司和中国人民在非洲的一切商贸活动看作中国政府主导下的总体对非战略的一部分，这种总体战略就被称作“公司化中国”(China Inc.)。See Ian Taylor & Xiao Yuhua, “A case of mistaken identity: ‘China Inc.’s’ and its ‘imperialism’ in Sub-Saharan Africa”, *Asian Politics and Policy*, Volume 1, Number 4, 2009, pp. 709-725.

^② Yazini April, “Civil society participation and China-Africa cooperation”, *Pambazuka News*, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/60701>.

^③ Michelle Chen, “Zambia mine shooting blights Chinese ‘development’ in Africa”, *In These Times*, October, 2010.

经贸领域的合作”。论坛第一届部长级会议上很少提到民间交流。^①截至 2003 年年底，中国减免了 31 个最不发达非洲国家的 105 亿元债务。中国与非洲在贸易、投资、基础设施、农业和人力资源开发方面的合作开始起步。然而，在论坛前两届部长级会议之间，即 2000 年年底到 2003 年年底，民间交流微不足道，最重要的交流形式便是政府出资的表演团体在非洲国家进行的表演活动。这种情况直到论坛第二届部长级会议后续行动收尾时的 2006 年仍然没有多少改变。中国和非洲政府组织的展演活动依旧是民间交流的主要形式。^②

2006 年论坛北京峰会后，实质性的公民社会和民间的交流与合作逐步展开。当年早些时候，中国发布对非政策文件，承诺“鼓励并积极引导中非民间团体交往，特别是加强青年、妇女的交流，增进双方人民之间的理解、信任与合作。鼓励并引导志愿者赴非洲国家服务。”^③在传统的展演活动之外，2007-2009 年间共有 60 余位非洲文化官员和文化人士来华交流。2009 年，《非洲》杂志创刊。截至 2009 年 9 月，共有 281 位志愿者被分别派往埃塞俄比亚、塞舌尔、津巴布韦、突尼斯、毛里求斯、厄立特里亚、利比里亚和加纳。2007 年上半年，胡锦涛主席宣布中国将邀请 500 名非洲青年代表访华，这一目标在 2009 年已经完成。中华全国妇联在莱索托、吉布提、苏丹、津巴布韦、毛里求斯 5 个国家建立了妇女培训与交流中心，并在 2009 年与埃及国家妇女委员会联合举办“中非合作论坛-妇女论坛 2009”，共同发表了《中非合作论坛-妇女论坛 2009 宣言》。2008 年第 29 届奥运会和第 13 届残奥会期间，不仅有非洲运动员在赛场上的飒爽英姿，更有运动员和非洲各阶层的人为了旅游、商务和交流目的而深入中国内地。与此同时，新闻媒体交流也不断增加。非洲政府新闻官员和媒体工作者都受邀到中国交流，中非媒体机构资讯交流的工作也得到开展。^④

三、论坛第四届部长级会议：中非公民社会合作的里程碑

中非合作论坛第四届部长级会议于 2009 年 11 月在埃及召开，会后发布的《中非合作论坛沙姆沙伊赫宣言》称：“（中国和非洲国家将）扩大交流，深化中非人文领域合作。加强文化、教育、科技、卫生、体育、旅游等领域的交流，密切

^① 中非合作论坛：《中非合作论坛北京宣言》《中非经济和社会发展合作纲领》，2000 年 10 月。

^② 中非合作论坛：《第二届部长级会议后续行动总结》，2006 年 9 月。

^③ 中国政府：《中国对非洲政策文件》，2006 年 1 月。

^④ 中非合作论坛：《中非合作论坛北京峰会后续行动落实情况》，2009 年 11 月。



青年、妇女、民间团体、新闻媒体、学术机构的联系，增进中非人民之间的了解与友谊。”除此之外，中国推进中非合作的八项新举措又提出扩大人文交流，倡议实施“中非联合研究交流计划”，促进学者、智库交往合作，交流发展经验，并为双方出台更好合作政策提供智力支持。^①

第四届部长级会议后，中国教育部和留学基金委员会启动项目，支持中国著名高校的学者和外语教师前往非洲国家开展研究工作和接受语言培训。中国政府主管涉非事务的各部门开始派出越来越多的检查组和调研团，前往与非洲有紧密经贸关系的省份、对外援助部门、学术机构和远在非洲的项目现场检查涉非项目的效果和影响，公民社会的作用开始在传统的中非政治关系中得到越来越多的重视。政府已经意识到公民社会在拓展和深化当代中非关系方面的作用，而另一方面，具有世界视野的中国公民社会行为体也希望与非洲交往。

四、论坛第四届部长级会议之后：更好的未来？

中非合作论坛为中非公民社会合作和交流开辟了更多的空间，不过直到现在，并没有多少中国公民社会行为体有能力与非洲同仁交往，以取得良好成果。中国和非洲双方面信息的缺失，是中非公民社会开展有意义的交往与合作的最大挑战。由海因里希·伯尔基金会(Heinrich Boell Foundation)和法哈姆(Fahamu)联合主办的第一届“中非公民社会对话”于2008年4月在内罗毕举行，10位中国学者和非政府组织代表与非洲同仁一起，讨论共同关心的五大问题：中国和非洲对彼此的认识；中国对非贸易和投资及其经济与环境的影响；中国的援助及金融政策；贸易、劳工和移民问题；以及公民社会在非洲和中国的角色。^②

2010年10月，第二届“中非公民社会对话”在北京和金华两地召开。参会者在讨论“分享发展经验”和“评估地方政府和中小企业在中国对非交往中的作用”等议题时，已经更加理解对方的观点和视角。此种对话的意义在于，非洲公民社会已经主动与中国同仁交往（反之亦然），交流观点，探索合作的可能性，这与中非合作论坛的发展趋势是一致的。

论坛第四届部长级会议后，为了兑现承诺，中国政府势必采取措施推动中非

^① 温家宝：《全面推进中非新型战略伙伴关系——在中非合作论坛第四届部长级会议开幕式上的讲话》，沙姆沙伊赫，2009年11月8日。

^② Axel Harneit-Sievers, Sanusha Naidu & Stephen Marks, “Introduction”, in Axel Harneit-Sievers et al. (eds.), *Chinese and African perspectives on China in Africa*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2010.

民间交流，公民社会行为体也会利用这种机会，加强交流。中国和非洲在文化、新闻、体育、青年、妇女、学者和智库方面的交流将得到拓展。公民社会的交流与合作不仅是中非关系需要努力开拓的领域，而且也将成为中非关系进一步发展的重要推手。

五、中非关系的三个层次：民间交流的地位

虽然政府间关系是国际关系最为核心和重要的方面，它却处于三层关系体系的中间位置。在此双边关系之上，一些或多数国家聚合成跨国（如联合国）、区域（如非盟、欧盟和东盟）和次区域组织（如南部非洲发展共同体、东非政府间发展组织和东南非共同市场），以维护自身利益；而在此种关系之下，公民社会行为体则呼吁和争取更多民间交流和投入，以保护和促进普通公民和团体的利益和关切。在不断提升的中非关系中，突出的是政府间关系和引人注目的经贸关系，普通公民和团体则经常被忽视。

虽然较不显眼，相关各方却有很多机会推进民间交流，包括文化、体育、媒体、学术界、智囊机构、青年和妇女组织的交流，这将最终深化和拓展现有的中非关系。

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南非加入“金砖国家”俱乐部

智雅 (Sanusha Naidu)

2011年初，对于南非在其外交政策方面的政治抱负来说，是一个好的开端。南非不但坐上了联合国安理会两年的非常任理事国的轮换席位，还成为了加入“金砖国家”俱乐部（BRIC）的第五个国家，这也使祖玛总统在2010年为南非加入BRIC俱乐部所做的外交努力得到了回报。

当然也有一些分析学家认为，从加入“金砖国家”的资格方面来说，南非并不是一个很合适的获选国家，比如发明BRIC一词的吉姆·奥尼尔 (Jim O'Neill)。奥尼尔说：“对于我来说，BRIC俱乐部的成员同意让南非加入的理由并不是很明显。南非怎么会被视为是一个经济大国？BRIC国家的领导人们对此问题也有所争论。”

又比如渣打银行伦敦分公司非洲研究部的主任瑞兹亚·韩 (Razia Khan)，她也对南非的加入感到吃惊。她说：“我不知道为什么南非这么容易就被允许加入BRIC俱乐部。除了考虑到南非的经济实力和增长速度外，南非在全球GDP中的份额，与其它BRIC国家相比较，也倍受争议。”

非常明显，对于奥尼尔和瑞兹亚·韩，还有其他抱有怀疑态度的学者们来说，他们的主要顾虑是南非的经济优势是否和其它的BRIC国家在同一水平。BRIC国家的领导人们希望在2050年前建立BRIC俱乐部在全球经济的霸主地位，南非是否可以对此做出贡献？

让我们先来看一些数据分析。

第一，南非的经济，人口和增长速度比其它任何一个BRIC成员国都要小很多。第二，南非去年的国内生产总值（GDP）是2860亿美元，相比印度和巴西的2万亿美元，中国的5.5万亿美元，甚至相比俄罗斯的1.6万亿美元来说，都是微不足道的。

第三，比勒陀利亚 (Pretoria) 的经济增长速度一直比较缓慢。比起俄罗斯的4%，巴西的7.5%，印度的9.7%和中国的10.5%的经济增长速度，比勒陀利亚的经济增长速度只有3%。

最后，在人口方面，相比中国的13.6亿人口和印度的12亿人口，比勒陀利亚只有大约5000万的人口数量。

所以，当一些经济学家担心南非加入BRIC俱乐部的资格会被其它有着更好表现的新兴市场国家，比如韩国，土耳其，墨西哥和印度尼西亚所取代时，原因也就显而易见了。以上这些国家的GDP水平都很优秀，比起南非来说，要高出很多。南非的GDP还不到韩国GDP的8325亿美元，土耳其GDP的6171亿美元和墨西哥

GDP 的 8749 亿美元的一半。印度尼西亚的 GDP 是 5403 亿美元，而南非的 GDP 也只达到其 2/3 的水平。

那么，我们应该怎么对南非的加入进行分析和评断呢？

大部分分析师认为中国做出邀请比勒陀利亚加入 BRIC 俱乐部的决定是纯粹的地缘政治。

另外各种经济数据也证明，中国邀请南非加入 BRIC 俱乐部更多的是着眼于地缘政治的考量，而不是出于经济关系的需要。

地缘政治可以帮助一个国家在进行政治游说和影响重大决策时获得更大的发言权。在谈到南非的全球角色时，南非国际事务研究所新兴国家和全球挑战计划主任木祖比斯·库博(Mzubisi Qobo) 说：“南非对全球治理方面做出了很大的贡献，并且在冲突后的非洲国家需要进行重建时，也扮演了重要的角色。在处理国际关系方面，南非一直都具有发言权，被视为诚实的中间调解员。所有这些都起到一定的影响作用。”

但是，同意让南非加入 BRIC 俱乐部全是因为南非的政治影响力吗？

一些分析师（包括我自己在内）认为中国邀请南非加入 BRIC 俱乐部的时机是战略性的。就北京而言，这是完美的外交决策。

首先，在做出影响非洲国内和国际事务的战术决策时，北京希望可以尽快地确保自己拥有相当的政治资本。

其中之一就是苏丹南部的公投。无论公投的结果如何，即便情形在苏丹恶化，北京已经在安理会获得了一个盟友国来支持自己的想法和决定。

所以，作为安理会五个常任理事国之一的中国用其自身的影响力支持了比勒陀利亚加入 BRIC 俱乐部的申请，而不是俄罗斯或巴西，这也清楚地证明了北京作为 BRIC 俱乐部轮流主席的地位。

当然，支持比勒陀利亚加入 BRIC 俱乐部也使得比勒陀利亚更容易接受北京。这一决定也有可能在中国和印度处理意见分歧时，特别是当印度支持华盛顿，而中国持另一种相反态度时，引起紧张的局势。

有一点值得提出的是，对于南非加入 BRIC 俱乐部的消息，新德里只作出了冷淡的回应。



第二，南非可以提供给中国进入南部非洲发展共同体市场（SADC）的机会，这也符合北京加强国内企业战略所设定的目标。持有“走出去”战略的中国企业会通过和南非企业的合作和开发，共同发掘非洲市场的机会，从而得到进一步的发展。

第三，这一决策使北京可以证明其自身具有的全球领导资格，特别是在发展中国家中。事实上，这举措也反映了中国四个优先外交政策目标之一，即中国与第三世界国家的接触。

但是，比勒陀利亚可能会在其外交征程的光耀中衰退，下面有几点值得注意和评估。

第一，中国报纸《中国日报》写道“通过加入‘金砖国家’俱乐部（BRIC），南非也希望可以成为 BRIC 国家进入非洲的入口...南非有能力在国际舞台上促进与非洲有关的议程...这也是南非作为“金砖国家”的价值所在”。

以上评论反映了非洲以外的国家认为南非是可以在多边问题上代表整个非洲的。但是问题是，是否非洲国家的人民也认为南非可以代表他们呢？这就不一定了。

可以很清楚地是，南非在种族隔离结束后，表现出了对非洲移民的歧视和排外主义。这种希望比勒陀利亚可以代表整个非洲国家日程安排的尝试在现实中可能会起到反作用。而且，南非企业以及他们和南方跨国企业的关联很容易被理解成派崔柯·邦德(Patrick Bond)所说的南非在非洲南部和整个非洲的“亚帝国议程”。

所以，这种认为南非和其它非洲国家有着统一想法的假设是不成熟的。

第二，在考虑自身角色和职责时，南非也应该评估自己作为 BRIC 俱乐部的一员，该怎么把自己同时作为 IBSA 和 20 国领导会议(G20)一员的利益所结合。南非作为多个组织的成员，会出现会员国身份重叠的情况，也会碰到由此产生的在行为和结果方面的矛盾情况。比勒陀利亚会怎样摆放各组织的优先位置？哪个决定应该被放在首位？同一时间加入多个不同组织，要如何合理安排，协调各种关系呢？

所以，以上的问题都需要引起注意，因为这些问题将会影响 BRIC 国家希望重建全球治理体系和世界多中心秩序的计划。

最后要提到的是，BRIC 俱乐部是否会成为像八国集团首脑会议（G8）一样的组织？BRIC 俱乐部是否会在邀请南非加入后，继续邀请更多的国家加入？可以肯定的是，很多国家都在翘首企盼着加入 BRIC 俱乐部，比如我们上面所提到的一些新兴市场国家。如果有更多的国家加入 BRIC 俱乐部，我们是否会看到一个南南合作新时代的出现？如果 BRIC 俱乐部的规模进一步扩大，它是否会遵循 G8 的历史发展轨迹？是否还会有别的国家来挑战 BRIC 俱乐部的统治地位呢？就像 G8 邀请了新兴五强(Outreach 5)加入他们的会谈一样？

无论南非在 BRIC 俱乐部中的地位如何被诠释，有一点是值得肯定的，那就是南非肯定会表现的有些力不能及。南非必先要向其它 BRIC 国家证明自己的信心和实力，同时也要向自己本国人民证明加入 BRIC 俱乐部给南非带来的利益。国家结盟并不只意味着多边关系的建立，或建立“火枪手”似的意识形态。国家结盟更多的是要通过加入 BRIC 俱乐部来解决本国国内的问题，特别有关失业方面的问题和如何建立可行的工业政策和社会发展方面的问题。

总而言之，南非最大的挑战是如何通过加入 BRIC 俱乐部来帮助本国的发展，同时又可以不辜负其它 BRIC 成员国对南非的期待，比如祖玛总统在去年游说 BRIC 成员国时所作出的承诺和交换条件。

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Dr Ike Okonta, Department of Politics, University of Oxford

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巩固发展中国家人民之间的对话

智雅 (Sanusha Naidu)

最近在塞内加尔的达喀尔举办的 2011 世界社会论坛 (WSF) 期间, Fahamu 非洲国家新兴力量项目举行了一次圆桌小组会谈。在致力建设发展中国家人民对话机制方面, 世界社会论坛为我们相互激发创意和分享信息提供了一个良好的平台。会谈期间, 很多可能影响发展中国家人民日常生活的有关社会公正方面的问题都被提及和讨论。世界社会论坛已经发展成为帮助全球弱势群体发出心声的舞台。

这是我第一次参加世界社会论坛, 我看到人民为了同一信念和斗争目标从世界各地聚集于此。人们在这里重逢老朋友, 结识新朋友, 人类就是这样被紧密的相互连接在一起的。

与世界经济论坛的高高在上相比, 世界社会论坛更显平易近人。没有了达沃斯的白雪皑皑, 充满沙漠般热力的达喀尔所创造的与会气氛, 没有了资本主义和工业主义的势力骄横和阶级傲慢, 而更多的是要发扬人人参与的精神。

世界社会论坛的主题为“另一个世界的可能”。许多发展中国家正在崛起, 比如中国, 印度, 巴西和南非。发展中国家所进行的社会运动应该如何应对这些国家的崛起, 并与之合作是我们所探讨的问题, 而世界社会论坛为此提供了寻找这些答案的舞台。

当这些国家正在通过加入不同的组织, 比如 G20, BRIC, IBSA 和联合国理事会来组建新的盟友国时, 我们也越来越明显地注意到, 这些国家不仅仅代表新的地缘经济和地缘政治的走向, 他们也在为如何逐步重组和影响其它发展中国家而制定着利益策略。

随着世界权利新的中心在发展中国家的建立, 南南合作的片断性和异质性也慢慢突显出来。大家以前普遍认为所有的发展中国家的水平相同, 利益一致, 而当上述提及的国家开始提升他们在国际上的地位时, 这种想法就需要被修改了。这种错误的观念掩盖了存在在这些发展中国家之间的阶级社会矛盾。

宾汉姆顿大学社会学教授瑞威·帕莱特 (Ravi Palat) 在他的文章《发展中国家的崛起和世界新秩序》中写道: “无论是中国的企业还是政府, 他们所做的一些都没有给非洲的工会或社会的正义运动带来任何好处”。其实这不仅仅只是中国, 其它正在崛起的发展中国家也只是把非洲当做他们做生意的新地盘而已。

许多人都认为, 随着这些发展中国家的崛起, 每个发展中国家的人民都会获得相同的利益。帕莱特通过对这种看法的质疑, 正确区分和判断了国内外支持者的行为表现。这也使我们想到了一个令人不安的问题, 近来对南南合作的诠释主要是使那些发展中国家组建了精英人际网络的政治经济精英们获利。

正因上述问题, Fahamu 非洲国家新兴力量项目组织了此次的圆桌小组会谈。此次会谈意在找寻和了解这些新兴发展中国家为非洲带来了怎样的变化。更重要的是, 此次小组会谈的主要目标是要找到各国家可以互惠互利的领域。这些领域可以帮助团结正在进行着相同社会正义斗争的发展中国家的社会运动团体和社区组织的人们。这些社会正义斗争不仅会影响非洲人民, 还有影响到其他和他们情况一样的发展中国家的人们。

通过这次小组会谈，我们看到创建一个知识平台的必要性。通过这个平台，人们可以介绍和分享他们各自的在本国所进行的社会斗争方面的情况和经验。

随着小组会议讨论的逐步深化，我们需要了解使这些发展中国家（比如中国和印度）崛起的重要因素有哪些，这对社会运动试图制定应对崛起的发展中国家的干预策略非常重要。

第二，我们需要思考的是，我们是否对这些新兴发展中国家的国内发展情况有着充分的了解，特别是这些国家经济的腾飞对其国内居民生活水平的影响是什么。有人争论道，这些了解对加强合作和共同斗争至关重要。

第三，在加强发展中国家人民之间的对话的同时，决定该如何将这种对话形式和给予赞助的各民间社会组织的利益相调和。有人认为，这种现存的赞助关系可能会破坏人民对话的公正性，甚至会把人民对话引向完全不同的方向。正如一位小组成员所建议的，也许人民对话机制应该避免接收任何形式的民间社会组织的赞助。

总之，经过讨论后，小组成员所得出的结果是，发展中国家人民对话机制应该基于探讨如何应对正在崛起的发展中国家给我们带来的变化而建立。这一点是不容被忽视的。

大多数小组成员都认为，随着中国，印度，巴西和南非这些发展中国家不断提高其国际地位的同时，我们不能保证这些国家不会效仿西方国家的所作所为。我们不敢肯定这些国家会为了造福发展中国家贫穷的人们而向现在的国际体制提出挑战。

事实上，在小组讨论期间反复被提及的问题是，经济发展的加速和贫富差距的扩大使得很多发展中国家的人民被边缘化了。这是一个迫在眉睫的问题，急需我们来解决。比如，北非的情况就非常值得我们注意。北非的现状向我们展示了悬而未决的“资源诅咒”的影响力和挫败感方面的问题。

北非的抗议游行使我们看到，这些新兴国家的领导人对于“人民”起义是如何准备应对的。这些发展中国家的超级明星们意识到非洲政治格局的脆弱性吗？他们还可以继续认为当权政府可以在不尊重人民的意愿和权力，并缺少人民支持的情况下确保社会的安全和稳定吗？

最后，经过反复讨论，我们认为了解当地现状，清楚知道如何制定干预政策对发展中国家进行社会正义运动的人们非常重要。几乎所有参与讨论的小组成员都同意，要建立发展中国家人民之间的对话机制，我们必须要先建立一个知识的平台。人们可以在这种平台上分享信息。这个平台的座右铭就是：发展中国家居民的民治，民享，民有。

智雅 (Sanusha Naidu) 是 Fahamu 非洲国家新兴力量项目的前任负责人。她现在是南非人类科学研究委员会的高级研究员。您可以通过发电子邮件和她取得联系。她的邮箱地址是：sanusha.naidu@gmail.com。

*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。



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LINKS AND RESOURCES

CODESRIA: Conference Communique - Towards a New Africa-China Partnership

International Conference organized by African Research Institutions and Think Tanks

Nairobi, Kenya, on 28-29 March 2011

Background

Representatives of over fifty African researchers, research institutions, think tanks and policy makers and their Chinese counter parts held an international conference facilitated by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

The Conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya, on 28-29 March 2011.

Attended also by African and Chinese policy makers, including a high level official delegation from China, it was opened by the Honorable Professor Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Kenya's Minister for Medical Services.

The Conference is a contribution to the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) of African researchers, research institutions, universities, Think tanks and it comes as a follow up to the Beijing Conference of March 29-30, 2010, organized by the Institute of West-Asian and African Studies (IWAAS) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), and a response to the launching of the Joint China-Africa Research Cooperation and Academic Exchange Programme.

African researchers, research institutions, universities, think tanks, policy makers and participants affirmed their commitment to nurturing and supporting research cooperation and academic exchange on China-Africa relations, and on other regions. The Participants also discussed how to create strong foundations for an effective African participation in FOCAC's inspired Joint Africa-China Research Cooperation and Academic Exchange Programme and discuss future directions, institutional frameworks and instruments for engaging the Joint Africa-China Research Cooperation and Academic Exchange Programme.

In order to develop a better understanding of the opportunities and challenges and strengthen China-Africa cooperation, the participants debated the current state of affairs. They also discussed the constraints which may stand on the way of leveraging the Joint Africa-China Research

Cooperation and Academic Exchange Programme. African Forum for Study and Research on China and Africa-China Relations

The conference agreed to create an African Forum for Study and Research on China and Africa-China Relations. The Chinese participants in the conference welcome the opportunity to engage such a forum. Elements of a research agenda have been identified by the African participants who resolved to create a forum (a knowledge platform) on the study and research on China and Africa-China relations.

African research institutions and think leaders, researchers, experts on China-Africa Relations have resolved to establish an African Forum for Study and Research on China and China-Africa Relations. The Forum aims at fostering pan-African collaborative research and long-term investment in research capacities on the topic.

The Forum is predominantly academic and research oriented. This includes also intellectuals and think tanks. The forum is feeding into the political process leading to provide policy advice to and engage with Africa policy-makers, the AU, other regional institutions, sub-regional organizations, and people-to-people organizations. Knowledge creation and subsequent policy dialogue on issues related to Africa - China relations will be given high priority.

The Forum's priorities include: an inventory of a) publications, b) researchers, institutions and think tanks working on China-Africa relations and c) research programmes.

The Forum will coordinate the responses of African researchers, research institutions, universities, and think tanks to the Joint China-Africa Research Cooperation and Academic Research Programme. It will attempt to bundle these and strive to participate in the 2012 FOCAC meeting in China. The Forum will engage with African Governments, regional and sub-regional organizations to invest in research and academic exchange in China-Africa relations and cooperation programmes.

The Provisional Steering Committee (PSC), established during the Beijing Conference in March 2010, is transformed into a Steering Committee (SC). It is mandated to develop the structures and institutional mechanisms of the forum and it may co-opt up to 4 additional members whose selection should be based on the following criteria:

- . Gender
- . Geographic balance
- . Language

CODESRIA is mandated to lead this effort, in conjunction with the SC, and in consultation with the African research institutions, universities, and think tanks leaders, researchers and experts present at the Nairobi Conference.

The Conference expressed its gratitude to:

- . Hon. Prof. Peter Anyang' Nyong'o and the Kenyan Government
- . H.E. the Chinese Ambassador in Kenya and the Chinese Government
- . The Open Society Institute
- . The World Wildlife Fund
- . The Inter Region Economic Network (IREN)
- . The members of the provisional steering committee, and
- . CODESRIA

For more information about the African Forum for Study and Research on China and China-Africa Relations, please contact:

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Recent Publications and New Reports

BRICS Summit, 14 April 2011: Sanya Declaration

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-04/14/c_13829453.htm

White Paper: China's Foreign Aid

Issued by China's Information Office of the State Council on 21 April 2011

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-04/21/c_13839683.htm or <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zxbd/wz/201104/t896900.htm>

Chinese Medical Cooperation in Africa

Written by Prof Li Anshan, Nordic Africa Institute Discussion Paper 52

Discussion Paper can be accessed at: <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:399727/FULLTEXT02>

India and South Africa as Partners for Development in Africa?

Written by Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chatham House Briefing Paper, March 2011

Briefing Paper can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/research/extn/india_sa_chatham_house_paper_march_2011.pdf

Commercial Biofuel Land Deals & Environment and Social Impact Assessments in Africa: Three case studies in Mozambique and Sierra Leone

Written by Maura Andrew and Hilde Van Vlaenderen, Land Deal Politics Initiative Working Paper 1, April 2011

<http://www.plaas.org.za/pubs/wp/LDPI01Andrew-vanVlaenderen.pdf>

Perspectives from the BRICs: Lessons for South Africa

Seminar Report, South African Institute of International Affairs, March 2011

Seminar Report can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/research/safp/brics_seminar_report_march_2011.pdf

South-South Cooperation: India, Africa and Food Security: Between the Summits

Conference Report: Summary Points, 10-11 January 2011

Seminar Report can be accessed at: http://mu.ac.in/arts/social_science/african_studies/Conference%20Report,%20SSC-%20India,%20Africa%20and%20Food%20Security%20January%202011.pdf

African Shenzhen: China's special economic zones in Africa

Written by Deborah Brautigam and Tang Xiaoyang Journal of Modern African Studies, 49, 1 (2011) pp 27-54

Journal Article can be accessed at: http://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/Brautigam_Tang_JMAS-2011.pdf

The New Frontier: A baseline survey of large-scale land-based investment in Southern Sudan

Written by David K. Deng, Norwegian People's Aid, March 2011

Report can be accessed at: http://www.npaid.org/filestore/NPA_New_Frontier.pdf

Japan's crisis has implications for Africa

Written by Simon Freemantle and Jeremy Stevens, Standard Bank, 18 March 2011

Report can be accessed at: <http://ws9.standardbank.co.za/sbrp/DocumentDownloader?docId=3462>

The New Imperialism: China in Angola

Written by Rafael Marques de Morais, World Affairs Journal, March/April 2011



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www.fahamu.org

Article can be accessed at:
<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/articles/2011-MarApr/full-Morais-MA-2011.html>

Interaction of Chinese institutions with host governments in dam construction: the Bui dam in Ghana

Written by Oliver Hensengerth, German Development Institute Discussion Paper 3, 2011

Discussion Paper can be accessed at: [http://www.diegdi.de/CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3_e.nsf/\(ynDK_contentByKey\)/ANES-8E5DH6/\\$FILE/DP_3.2011.pdf](http://www.diegdi.de/CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3_e.nsf/(ynDK_contentByKey)/ANES-8E5DH6/$FILE/DP_3.2011.pdf)

Emerging economies in Africa and the development effectiveness debate

Written by Francesco Rampa and Sanoussi Bilal, European Centre for Development Policy Management, Discussion Paper No 107, March 2011

Discussion Paper can be accessed here:
[http://www.ecdpm.org/Web_ECDPM/Web/Content/Download.nsf/0/1806201EBEF1B3E9C125785C00316E14/\\$FILE/11-107%20final.pdf](http://www.ecdpm.org/Web_ECDPM/Web/Content/Download.nsf/0/1806201EBEF1B3E9C125785C00316E14/$FILE/11-107%20final.pdf)

Feedback from the China-DAC Study Group event in Addis Ababa, 16-17 February 2011

The China-DAC Study Group: Finding to Date and Future Plans

Report can be accessed at: [http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DCD/DAC/POVNET\(2010\)9/REV1&docLanguage=En_](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DCD/DAC/POVNET(2010)9/REV1&docLanguage=En_)

Useful Website

- International Land Coalition:
<http://www.landcoalition.org/>

Programme Activities

Ms Hayley Herman, Programme Officer, Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative, attended the "Conference of African Research Institutions and Think-Tanks Working on China-Africa Relations" held in Nairobi, Kenya from March 28-29 2011. Ms Hakima Abbas, Executive Director of FAHAMU participated in a panel at the event, titled "Current State of Relations between Chinese and African Research Institutions". The conference was organised by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) on behalf of the Provisional Steering Group established at the launch of the China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme in 2010.



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