## PERSPECTIVES ON

## **EMERGING POWERS IN AFRICA**

ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY FROM FAHAMU'S EMERGING POWERS IN AFRICA PROGRAMME

**ISSUE 2 OCTOBER 2010** 



#### **EDITORIAL**

A NUMBER OF recent meetings between Chinese and African NGOs have taken important initial steps in strengthening communication between both sides. While many of these initiatives have taken place in China, the Emerging Powers in Africa Programme recently also co-hosted its first NGO Dialogue between Chinese and African organisations in Cape Town, South Africa. In light of this, an overview of these activities is provided in this edition's lead article and poses a set of questions for possible future engagements.

The two articles that follow look into Indian and Chinese engagement in Ethiopia. Alemayehu Geda and Atenafu Meskel have summarised the findings of research conducted into Chinese investments in Ethiopia. The findings are presented in the form of a policy brief concluding with a recommendation to create an informed government policy overseeing Chinese investment relations in the country. An article by Shantanu Guhu Ray and Vilasini Roy as it appeared in Tehelka Magazine then highlights the concerns of civil society organisations in Ethiopia including the Anywaa Survival Organisation over land being leased to Indian multinationals.

We have continued to receive positive comments and feedback following the launch of our newsletter in September and would like to thank our readers for their support in distributing our publication to their networks. We hope to continue to receive suggestions for future commentaries and articles that will be of interest to African CSOs. To this end, we continue to select articles that provide useful information on activities of emerging powers, to inform African perspectives and seek to analyse the implications of these activities in Africa. To ensure an expanding readership, and a view that is more representative of regions in Africa beyond Anglophone countries, we would also like to encourage commentaries in French and Portuguese.

We hope you will find the second edition of our newsletter to be a useful and interesting read.

Hayley Herman Programme Officer Emerging Powers in Africa Programme

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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/

# Cooperation between Chinese and African NGOs: Reaching new frontiers?

By Hayley Herman

THE 2009 FORUM on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) concluded with the Sharm El Sheikh Action Plan where African and Chinese government representatives agreed to eight new commitments to direct engagement for the following three years. The Action Plan included a notable emphasis on a people-centred approach. This in addition to the expected support for increased trade and investment as is reminiscent of previous FOCAC meetings. This people-centred approach was furthered through the traditional provision of Chinese government scholarships and volunteers as well as new areas of cooperation and exchange. An example of this was the creation of the China-Africa Research Exchange that was subsequently initiated in March this year.

Since the initiation of FOCAC political and economic relations have grown between China and Africa, however communication and relations between civil society organisations in Africa and China have remained weak. This has been underscored by the lack of understanding and awareness of the role of these organisations on both sides. Formal channels of communication and exchange have only recently been initiated including through FOCAC. The first FOCAC NGO Forum took place in 2009 with the second meeting concluded in June 2010 in Beijing. In addition, a programme organised by the Chinese NGO Network for International Exchanges (CNIE), a national non-profit social organisation that serves as an umbrella body for Chinese NGOs, brought together a number of NGO's from Africa and China in 2009 to understand and roles, challenges and objectives of the chosen organisations within their national and local contexts.

A number of programmes have however been witnessed over the past number of months to facilitate communication and relations between NGO's in Africa and China. Both financed by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, two separate programmes organised and hosted by the China Friendship Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) as well as CNIE brought together two groups of representatives from a variety of African countries to visit and meet with counterparts in China. The programmes signalled a boost in the establishment of relations between NGOs on both sides, underscored by the support from the Chinese government for Chinese NGOs to 'go out' and further expand on the activities of

Chinese NGOs. A third initiative saw the Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Programme co-host its first NGO Dialogue between South African and Chinese organisations in Cape Town in August 2010.

Those programmes that took place in China aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of what is termed "non-profit organisations" in China, the various types of such organisations that exist and the role these organisations play in Chinese society. In addtion these programmes provided an opportunity to see the various faces of the countrythe immense wealth and economic growth together with the prevalence of extreme poverty and inequality in Chinese society. Visits during the CPAFFC's "Professional Programme for Leadership of the Friendship-with-China Organisations in Africa" included seminars on the role and functions of Chinese local governments, trade and promotion agencies, special economic zones and the growing presence of foreign multinational companies in Yiwu, Jinan and Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province.

Visits to government poverty reduction projects during CNIE's "Seminar on Capacity Building for NGOs of Developing Countries" provided first hand accounts of Chinese government housing projects, poverty reduction projects, and an agricultural demonstration centre in tours of Jinan in Zhejiang Province as well as Baise in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region further west.

Discussions during both programmes noted the differing roles and contexts within which NGOs operate in China and African countries. Due to differing political, social, economic and development structures these differences were apparent, yet similar points of concern were highlighted during proceedings. In particular, access to social services, education, employment and women's rights were highlighted as points of common concern amongst Chinese and African representatives. Chinese representatives were identified from the three main types of China's non-profit sector, namely Associations, Foundations and Private non-enterprise units (PNUs) and emphasised the important role of these organisations including providing services in areas which government could not provide adequate capacity or resources, in addition to the increasingly vital role this sector plays in humanitarian assistance in the face of natural disasters in China.

African and Chinese participants were equally aware of the need for greater capacity building, financial assistance and organisational management skills within their respective organisations in order to improve the implementation of projects while creating sustainable structures within which to operate. The issue of operational sustainability thus became a recurring theme in discussions.

However, beyond the operational challenges and structural aspects of the organisations represented, the current state of political and economic relations between China and Africa became an important theme in programme proceedings. The burgeoning trade and investment activities between Chinese and African actors were consistantly brought to the fore, highlighting that these activities and their implications are a natural topical issue of common concern amongst African NGOs. Indeed some of the concerns raised during these proceedings are reflected in the Sharm El Sheikh Declaration and Action Plan, as African and Chinese governments seemingly attempted to respond to social concerns resulting from increasing Sino-Africa enagements, in the face of civil society voicing their concerns over these issues and the need to create sustainable benefits for those on both sides. The question raised as a result of this asks whose voice will be taken into account and how NGOs on both sides will respond to this potential role.

The issue of civil society input into commercial activities stimulated much debate and discussion amongst the African participants. The issue of corporatesocialresponsibilityinparticularregarding Chinese investment activities in Africa was brought to the fore especially during presentations and discussions with Chinese multinational companies who have operations in Africa. There seemed to be a realisation on the part of those Chinese State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) that a clear strategy to diversify and include participation of civil society in the implementation and planning of activities in Africa remained the challenge. In addition, while the concept of corporate social responsibility in China was presented largely through philanthropic activities, beyond this it was the accountability of Chinese SOE investment activities in terms of environmental and social implications as well as resource and skills training amongst local African communities that were emphasized by the African NGOs present.

With the programme taking place in the run-up to United Nations Millennium Review Summit, the acheivement and progress towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were highlighted as a common concern amongst Chinese and African representatives. NGOs were seen to play an important role in the achievement of the MDGs as mentioned by several speakers during the 2nd FOCAC Seminar on China-Africa NGOs held in Beijing and hosted by the CPAFFC on 22 June 2010. Furthermore, the MDGs formed the theme of the China Africa NGO Seminar organised by CNIE and hosted by the Institute of African

Studies at Zhejiang Normal Univeristy in Zhejiang Province from 14-15 July 2010. The seminar titled "The Role of China Africa NGOs in Implementing the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations" brought together African NGOs, Chinese academics and representatives from non-profit organisations to discuss efforts towards achieving the MDGs in China and Africa. Discussions and questions focused largely on the operations and activities of the organisations represented within their specific areas of interest, while the pursuit of the MDGs were noted as an area of mutual concern and interest between NGOs from China and Africa.

Following these programmes a Dialogue between South African and Chinese NGOs was subsequently initiated and co-hosted by the Fahamu Emerging Powers in Africa Programme and CNIE on 19 August 2010 in collaboration with the African People's Dialogue and the Africa and Global South Unit at the Human Sciences Research Council, in Cape Town. Several organisations based in Cape Town including the Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE), Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), Black Sash, World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) and Amandla were invited to attend the Dialogue where discussions were focused but not limited to poverty alleviation, public health, environment and land protection in the context of China and South Africa. Introductions to the historical and current socio-economic landscape in both China and Africa were however vital to understanding the role and context in which the organisations present operated in. Government policies, socio-economic rights and challenges were highlighted in order to put the objectives and goals of the organisations into perspective.

Questions regarding food security, land rights, employment, environmental protection and access to services created further opportunity to better understand the role of NGOs and their relationship to government in both China and South Africa. A visit by CNIE to community farming projects courtesy of TCOE also served to provide first hand accounts of NGOs projects in the greater Cape Town area.

The above mentioned initiatives have served to lay tentative foundations towards the greater goal of partnerships and collaborations between Chinese and African organisations. Initial steps have been taken and opportunities for dialogue between African and Chinese organisations are being created. The practical outcomes of such interactions will however be witnessed according to the nature and goals of these interactions and will only be seen once both sides become more aware and informed of the context in which the organisations in China and Africa operate as well as the roles and functions they play in society.

The FOCAC NGO Forums seemed to have created a formal structure for communication and



interaction between Chinese and African NGOs and to provide a voice for these NGOs in the government lead FOCAC process. Possibilities for strengthening and deepening this structure could exist in the establishment of more regular interaction between NGOs. This as FOCAC has served to create a formal policy space for engagment between China and Africa and has served as a catalyst for the increased investment, trade, political and people-to-people interactions.

Questions regarding the need for stengthened civil society voices within the FOCAC framework can thus be asked, especially as companies realise that their engagement with African stakeholders on the continent needs to move beyond formal government interaction. Thus space for potential engagment between civil society organisations in Africa and China can be created to form effective mechanisms to the mutual benefit of both sides. From the discussions in the above mentioned programmes, the implications of trade and investment between China and Africa seemed to

be highlighted as one such area of concern in these initial interactions.

Important questions are raised through these interactions and will need to be addressed in order for these initiatives to generate sustainable collaborations and relationships between NGOs in China and Africa. Questions regarding what kind of collaborations are possible and what the areas of common ground are will only be answered as opportunities for constructive discussion between organisations in China and Africa are created. Furthermore, which NGOs will be chosen to participate in these activities and how will they be selected? The first step towards creating such collaborations in the face of already established economic and political relations will develop only once both sides understand the differing contexts and roles that NGOs play in China and Africa. This is perhaps where these initial seminars and programmes have played an important role.

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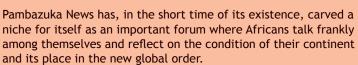
## Pambazuka News

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Dr Ike Okonta, Department of Politics, University of Oxford



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#### **COMMENTARY**

Policy Brief (AERC)

# Impact of China-Africa Investment Relations: Case Study of Ethiopia

Alemayehu Geda and Atenafu G.Meskel - Addis Ababa University

THIS STUDY INVESTIGATED the growing relation between Ethiopia and China in the last decade. It is possible for Chinese-Africa relations to be either complementary or competitive (or indeed both) and it has multifaceted features. Notwithstanding this multifaceted linkage, this study focused on one of the channels – the investment (FDI) channel. Other channels are explored depending on the degree at which they shed light on understanding the Chinese-Ethiopian investment relations, which is the subject of this study. With this broader objective this study includes:

- Identification and analysis of the key features, patterns and developments in the main channels through which the impacts in growth of China are transmitted to Ethiopia
- Qualitative and quantitative evaluation of the nature, dimensions and magnitudes of the sector -specific and overall incidence of the impacts transmitted to Ethiopia over the period 1997 to 2007 using both micro and macro data
- Identification and analysis of sector- specific opportunities and challenges faced by Ethiopia as a result of impacts generated through the growth of and economic relationship with China
- Articulation and analysis of appropriate policy responses and overall development strategies for maximizing the benefits and minimizing risks emanating from the economic relationships with China

The first part of the study describes the general background for the study. This is followed by a section that presents a review of the relevant literature and presents the theoretical framework and methodology. This in turn is followed by a section where an attempt to provide empirical analysis, forewarning conclusions and implications are offered. In terms of methodology, the study is based on an analysis of all available secondary data information on China-Ethiopian relations. In addition to this, we have conducted a survey to acquire key information from 32 Chinese firms, 50 domestic producers, 20 consumers of Chinese products, government offices (such as the Ministry of foreign affairs and Trade) and other stakeholders. Questionnaires are designed for each target group and face to face interview is administered.

We have attempted to look this issue through

theories of FDI related to its determinant and effects. We have also attempted to see the impact of trade, aid and related relations between the two countries in terms of its effect on Chinese investment in Ethiopia. We found that in the last five years the Ethio-Chinese relation has grown quite strongly both in terms of trade and investment. This is found to be, in particular, important in the areas of road construction, supply of manufacture goods from China, telecommunication and installation of big electric power stations by Chinese companies as well as engagement of Chinese firms in Ethiopian manufacturing sector. The success of Chinese firms in this areas is explained by the political ties their government created with the government of Ethiopia, low initial bidding price offered by Chinese firms in bidding for such projects, the self financing options (sometimes referred as 'vendor financing') that they give to the Ethiopian government owing to the support they get from the Chinese government, as well as the relatively lower level of skilled Ethiopian personnel (in terms of negotiation, technical and managerial skill).

The latter is accentuated by poor institutional capability of the Ethiopian experts in various ministries who are dealing with the Chinese firms. Chinese firms cost and technological advantages over Ethiopian counterparts the none-conditionality of their offer are also found to be important for Chinese investment success in Ethiopia.

Given the position of Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa as unofficial capital city of Africa with major continent wide institutions being located there, the Chinese also seem to make some of their investment and aid directed to Ethiopia as a show case for other African countries leaders to see what the Chinese did in Ethiopia when they come for one of their official work to Addis Ababa. This is usually done by publicly owned Chinese firms or big Chinese firms that get support from Chinese government. In general this study shows that the Chinese investment, in particular in the manufacturing sector, in Ethiopia could be characterized as market seeking (and to a limited degree resource seeking).

The study also noted that there are some groups that gain from this Ethio-China engagement as there are others that lose from it. The former category includes consumers, commercial traders



who bring manufactured consumer goods from China for sale in Ethiopia, entrepreneurs engaged in establishing small scale factories and service centers by buying machineries and equipments from China. The possible losers group includes small scale firms engaged in clothing and footwear sectors and their employees; traditional suppliers and contractors in the road, electric power and telecommunication sectors of the economy, which are invariably firms from industrialized countries. We have also noted that a number of Chinese firms seem to be insecure even to talk with researchers and some of them actually engaged in areas not related to their license. It is imperative to improve the working environment for them to address the root cause of such problems.

This study is relevant to the Ethiopian government, and perhaps also to the government of China, as well as the various stakeholders that would be affected by this engagement between China and Ethiopia. This underscores the importance of designing optimal investment, trade and industrial policies in the world of emerging China that will bring a win-win situation for both Ethiopia and China. The first important point relates to the fact that the government of Ethiopia doesn't seem to have any policy or strategy about its economic engagement with China that is based on studies of this kind. It is high time to come up with such strategy. Second, we have shown that there are both positive and negative impacts that emanate from Chinese investment in Ethiopia. This calls for an appropriate policy response and incentive schemes to benefit both countries from these economic relations. Third, the study noted that managerial skill transfer as well as technology transfer is very important for Ethiopian firms but found to be extremely limited. One vehicle to do that is to engage in joint-venture between Chinese and Ethiopian firms. Our study shows, however, that while the Ethiopian firms would like to see that, Chinese firms are not enthusiastic about it. This calls for an appropriate incentive schemes by the government that encourages such joint ventures. Fourth, the study also noted that the level of skill and expert difference between Ethiopia and Chinese counterparts in negotiation and investment engagement might be working against the interest of Ethiopia in the short run and both countries in the long run. To tackle this, Ethiopia needs to upgrade the skill of its work force, bureaucrats/experts in the long run. In the short run, however, it may need to use qualified consultants (say from its Diaspora or the private sector) with adequate knowledge to deal with Chinese negotiators in all areas of investment and new projects. Fifth, Chinese investment in Ethiopia seems to be constrained by lack of skilled labour, foreign exchange as well as policy credibility of the Ethiopian government. These are areas that require government immediate action to redress them. Finally, we hope that this study will provide a snap shot picture of Ethiopia's position in its engagement with Chinese investment and the implication of this for the future of the two countries relation. It is also hoped that academic and research institutions, professional associations, as well as the private sectors, such as chambers of commerce, may also benefit from this study and build on our first effort to come up with appropriate, wide and comprehensive engagement strategy with China that will based on rigorous study and benefit the two countries. That strategy needs to see China as a complement, not a replacement, of traditional trade and investment partners.

This Policy Brief is based on research funded by the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) Asian Drivers Research Programme. The full research paper will be made available on the AERC website in the near future.

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#### **COMMENTARY**

# Ethiopians say Indians grabbing land - Indian farmers claim it is official

#### By Shantanu Guhu Ray and Vilasini Roy

RAM KARUTURI, THE world's largest rose grower, calls it a situation that needs immediate intervention. Else, he is sure the rush of Indians to Africa will ebb to a trickle, which, in turn, could have serious implications as ethnic tensions with the locals are slowly, but steadily, rising in some parts of the continent.

The hub of the crisis is Gambela, one of Ethiopia's nine states, for long starved of investment. To reverse the situation, they invited Indian companies to boost its near-decaying agriculture. And now, the locals are up in arms, blaming the Indian companies for indulging in what they claim is heavy land grabbing.

"It is Ethiopia's biggest land grab," says Nyikaw Ochalla, Director, Anywaa Survival Organisation (ASO) that is spearheading the agitation. Historically, land in Gambela was owned by local chieftains. Though Gambela was included in the country's comprehensive land distribution scheme, it had little effect on the region. "Until recently the local chiefs virtually owned all village land rights. Now Indians and Saudis are taking over, destroying and clearing the best woodlands to grow farm products, not for local consumptions but for export," says Ochalla.

He cites a new World Bank report that acknowledges a lack of environmental and social impact assessment of large-scale foreign agri projects in this Horn of Africa nation, due to the rush to approve them by the country's investment authority. The report further indicates the limited employment benefits to local communities, with only 0.005 jobs per hectare created for local population on average.

Karuturi Global Ltd runs a pilot project on 10,000 hectares now, but plans to increase its capacity to 5,00,000 hectares in the coming years. "This vast fertile land, leased to the company, would deprive local people of their livelihood and increase destitution, leading to higher crime rates in both rural and urban areas," adds Ochalla.

Karuturi denies the charge, saying the land is leased from Ethiopia's Agriculture and Rural Development Ministry. "There has been a reaffirmation by the government, and we have an offer of over three million hectares of additional land," he told TEHELKA in an email interview, adding: "NGOs are missing the whole point. Fears of neo-colonialism have stoked this misguided psychosis." He is not alone. The likes of Shapoorii

Pallonji, Emami, Ruchi, KS Oil, all acquiring land for the same reason, are worried.

Officials at the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) say Indian firms have committed \$4.2 billion for farming in Africa. Anand Seth, director general of the Federation of Indian Export Organisations, calls Africa "the next big thing" in investment and markets for India. ASSOCHAM, India's apex industry body, is also upbeat about African farms and sent a proposal to the MEA to consider tapping such chances. "But I have not heard of any crisis," says ASSOCHAM Director Om Tyagi.

But tensions refuse to die. The ASO, egged on by locals, has got the support of some foreign observers who will visit the site to see if any land grab has taken place.

Karuturi, listed as one of the world's top 25 agri MNCS by UNCTAD, became the first Indian firm to lease 3,00,000 hectares in Gambela in 2008. It plans to invest \$100 million to set up a 7,000-tonnes per day sugarcane crushing plant. Similarly, BHO Agro Plc plans to start biofuel seeders by leasing 27,000 hectares — half the size of capital Addis Ababa.

In recent months, the impoverished and chronically food-insecure nation has become one of the world's leading agribusiness destinations after the government leased for 40-99 years one of its hottest commodities: farmland. As a result, a host of countries from South and Southeast Asia and Latin America rushed in to seize the opportunity. An estimated 50 million acres have been leased by them in the past two years, in a mad rush partly driven by last year's global food crisis.

## Green house Karuturi's rose plantation in Gambela is allegedly set up on grabbed land

Consider this. New Delhi, troubled by lack of farmland at home, is encouraging Indians to buy mega farms across Africa. Saudi Arabia has shifted its total wheat production to Africa. The pace of the scramble for land has alarmed policymakers. Unsurprisingly, locals aren't too happy about this. In fact, even the United Nations (UN) agrees, deals are being signed with little public input, and local ministers promising just about anything. But even the UN has little choice. Food is scarce in Africa, and Ethiopia recently asked for food aid for about six million people, as drought devastated East Africa.

of neo-colonialism have stoked this misguided psychosis." He is not alone. The likes of Shapoorji because many foreign companies have acquired



huge tracts of land and started plantations. And the locals are not liking it for a host of reasons," quips Dipo Dave Ifabaye, an African journalist.

Ministry of External Affairs officials say that Indian firms have committed \$4.2 billion for farming in Africa.

He should know. The Ethiopian government's open employment policy for foreign investors to bring qualified personnel is actually a dampener, because Indian firms brought in hordes of unskilled workers, besides trained hands. "It deprives the Ethiopians from getting both managerial and menial jobs. They can only hope for daily labourers' wages for back-breaking work," says Ochalla, saying Indians should offer better benefits to locals. But Indians are keen to get 40 percent of workers from India.

"Everyone is doing it," says Ashok Singh, a senior official at Ruchi, adding the fear is misplaced as only a quarter of Ethiopia's 175 million fertile acres is being farmed, while 80 percent of its 75 million people are farmers who still plough with oxen. Indian firms bring in mechanised farming.

But some are still not convinced.

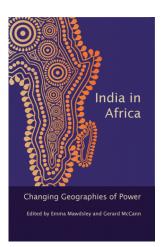
Tensions against Indian companies are mounting from the Opposition parties which say decades of industrial farming could leave Ethiopia barren. A few local NGOs have stepped up the pressure, using posters of poor Africans starving, as food is hauled off to rich countries.

"One of the biggest problems of this government is that it is opaque. It is using the land policy to cling to power," Merera Gudina, a leading Opposition figure at loggerheads with Premier Meles Zenawi, told TEHELKA in a telephonic interview. "I am sure our government (made of former Marxists) is buying diplomatic support by parcelling out land," he says. Gudina is also afraid that concentration of foreign firms in this region could affect indigenous farmers, as the Baro river is the region's only resource. No one wants it to dry up in this great global rush.

This article was first published in Tehelka Magazine, Vol 7, Issue 38, Dated September 25, 2010. This article is accessible at: http://www.tehelka.com/story\_main46.asp?filename=Bu250910Ethiopians.asp

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

until now been limited but,

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

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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@global book marketing.co.ukDistributed 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

REVIEW

#### REVIEWS

## Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa

Edited by Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu. Pambazuka Press. Oxford. 2010

By Amir Demeke

This article originally appeared as "China in Region - The Lies, the Half-Truths and Facts?" in **East Africa News**, 4 October 2010

NIAROBI - AT the global roundtable on African affairs and international diplomacy, the debate continues on China's role in Africa's development.

From the engaged, yet visibly antagonistic Western perspective, one frequently hears the outcry against Chinese neo-colonialism and indiscriminate foreign investment trends. While the global North and China vie for top trade partner position in Africa, many people question whether Africa has become a political pawn in an imperial war.

However, what are the Chinese and, more importantly, the African communities saying about the growing presence of China in Africa?

Mandated to act on human rights and social justice in African communities, Pambazuka Press recently put forth a contribution to this discussion with its latest publication, Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa. The book is this week's recommended read, aimed at giving macrocosmic perspective to the daily intercultural experience throughout Africa.

Li Anshan of Peking University traces a shifting focus in the history of African studies in China from the politically driven beginnings of translating major world references on Africa to the recent proliferation of university programmes and international academic exchanges. Specifically noted are the early commitment of the Chinese Communist Party to studying Africa and supporting national liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

There, too, was the founding of the Chinese Association of African Studies (1979), the Chinese Society of African Historical Studies (1980), and the broadened focus in academia and government beyond economics, law, international relations, socialism, and democratisation in Africa to an action-oriented Forum on China-Africa Co-operation in 2000.

Similarly, Zeng Qiang traces the history of international relations between China and Africa with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and China's subsequent policy toward independent African nations of non-interventionist, peaceful co-existence. He offers concrete examples of China's contributions to agriculture education, health, infrastructure and ICT sectors across the continent and the equally important debt write-offs

that have taken place in the past 10 years.

Sanusha Naidu offers a valuable analysis of the underlying economic factors in Sino-African relations and poses the essential question as to whether China's engagement in Africa ultimately aims at increasing stabilisation.

Highlighting the Chinese commodities crunch set against the global backdrop of the Americanled global economic implosion, Naidu makes it plain that the Chinese interest in Africa is resourcedriven, with nearly 80 per cent of Chinese imports classified as oil or petroleum-based since 2000. Nancy Dubosse offers a similar summary based upon the Chinese divergence from national development agendas in aid dependent nations like Angola and Zambia to focus on the extractive sector. Naidu also argues that the consolidated Chinese foreign investment in Africa shows no indication of decline. She reminds the reader to consider not only the prioritisation that China places on its relations with the global North, but also the class-based division that has increased via Chinese engagement with strongly entrenched political elites.

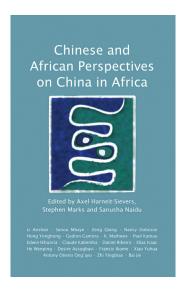
Predicting an increase in the general outcry for social justice in the years to come, one infers that China will continuously need to factor in political instability and restructure investment to the changing political landscape.

While covering China in relation to Darfur, Wien Ping aptly identifies US foreign policy, oil dependency and diplomatic bullying as principal factors in the elevation of this conflict over others in Africa, as well as the concern over Chinese-Sudanese diplomatic relations. However, he does not fail to detail the extensive investment made by China in Sudan since 1959, most notably in oil pipelines and infrastructural development, which enabled Sudan to shift from a net oil importer to a crude oil exporter, at over 80 per cent of total exports. While it still reads as defensive of Chinese foreign policy, the section brings facts to the table for consideration, such as China's promotion of diplomacy over sabotage through economic sanctions. Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa offers additional country case studies, noting China's support of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and its strengthened bilateral relations with Ethiopia since 1991, which have led to infrastructural development for Ethiopia and market diversification for China.



Relations in Kenya, Nigeria, Mozambique and Angola provide diverse examples of the duality of the African experience with China that are essential for those policy makers who wish to contextualise their present negotiations. Ultimately, what the book demands of us is to call into question, not only the motives, capacity, and record of the Chinese to impact the course of Africa's development or destabilisation, but prepare us to monitor the moral and political will of our leaders to efficiently utilise the capital that China eagerly infuses into the continent.

To strive to have a broadly balanced outlook is a critical challenge. Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa can take us a step further towards obtaining that outlook.



#### 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

#### **LINKS, RESOURCES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS**

#### **Call for Papers**

12th Conference of Africanists (Moscow, Russia. May 23-25, 2011)

ON MAY 23-25, 2011 in Moscow the Research Council for the Problems of Economic, Social, Political and Cultural Development of African Countries and the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences hold the 12th Conference of Africanists titled "Africa in the Changing World Development Paradigm." The Conference will take place on the premises of the Institute for African Studies and the Institute for Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The working languages of the Conference are Russian and English.

The Organizing Committee have considered all the panel proposals received by it. The list of accepted proposals can be found below. The deadline for paper proposals (in the form of abstracts within 300 words in English) is November 1, 2010. The proposals should be sent to the respective panel convener(s) (with a copy to the Organizing Committee) who is (are) to inform the applicant about his (her) application's fortune by December 1, 2010. The information to be submitted alongside with the paper abstract includes full name, title, institutional affiliation, full mail and e-mail addresses, telephone and fax numbers.

However, in the case you feel your paper does not fit any particular panel but corresponds to the Conference's general problematics, you may submit your proposal to the Organizing Committee by the same date (November 1, 2010) and it will be considered for scheduling for the Free Communication Panel. Besides, if the Organizing Committee finds it reasonable to unite an appropriate number of proposals submitted for the Free Communication Panel into a thematic panel, it may establish such a panel and propose one of its prospective participants to become the Convener. The proposals may be accepted or rejected only on the basis of the proposal's relevance to and importance for the Conference's problematics.

All the general inquiries on the academic matters of the Conference and proposals for the Free Communication Panel should be sent to the Organizing Committee Chairperson, Prof. Anatoliy D. Savateev (asavat@mail.ru)

Accommodation at the hotel of the Russian Academy of Sciences or at the hotel of the Russian State University for the Humanities, both in Downtown Moscow, currently is about 45 euros per night. It is also possible to make an independent reservation in one of many other Moscow hotels of different class through Internet at sites: http://www.moscow-hotels-russia.com/rus/, http://www.hotelmos.ru/index\_e.htm,http://www.hotelsrussia.com , http://www.selectrussia.com , and http://all-hotels.ru .

All the inquires with regards to the visa application process and/or accommodation should be directed to the International Relations

Department (Institute for African Studies) to the address inter.inafr@mail.ru . Estimated meal and other daily expenses are c. \$30 per person. However, please note that the figures above may be subjected to some changes due to processes in transnational and national economy which are obviously out of the Organizing Committee's control. If such changes happen, the Organizing Committee will try its best to inform the Conference participants as soon as possible. Deadline for Submission of Papers is: 1 November 2010.

#### Panels accepted for the Conference

1. Affective Work and the Medicalization of Distress in Africa: Changing Research and Treatment Paradigms

Convener: Dr. Nancy Rose Hunt (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), e-mail: nrhunt@umich.edu

2. Africa in the Situation of Global Climate Change

Conveners: Prof. Vladilen Gusarov (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: nataliya@sinco.ru; Dr. Olga Gromova (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: grom@inafr.ru; Dr. Andrey Alimov (St. Petersburg State University)

- 3. Africa in the System of International Relations. The Russian-African Bilateral Relations
  Convener: Dr. Evgeniy Korendyassov (Institute for African Studies, Moscow),
  e-mail: evgueni.korendiassov@inafr.ru
- 4. African Diasporas: Evolution through Time and Space

Convener: Prof. Tatiana Gavristova (Yaroslavl State University), e-mail: tanja1994@mail.ru

- African History in African Studies in Our Country Convener: Prof. Apollon Davidson (Institute for Global History, Moscow)
   e-mail: adavidson@yandex.ru
- 6. BRIC's South African Agenda Convener: Dr. Alexandra Arkhangelskaya (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: aarkhangelskaya@gmail.com; smuinaf@gmail.com
- 7. Challenges of Civil Military Relations in Emerging African Democracies
  Convener: Prof Martin Revayi Rupiya (The African Public Policy & Research Institute, Pretoria), e-mail: mrupya@gmail.com
- 8. Civilizational Paradigm of the World Order in Africa

Convener: Prof. Igor Sledzevski (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: ivs1940@rambler.ru



#### Conflicts in Africa from the Standpoint of the End of the "Cold war": Background, Major Types and Effects

Convener: Prof. Nikolay Kosukhin (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: skole60@mail.ru

#### 10. Cultural-Historical Context of Development from the Standpoint of Guidelines of Social Evolution

Conveners: Dr. Valentina Gribanova (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: vgribanova@mail.ru; Dr. Natalia Zherlitsina (Institute for African Studies, Moscow)

#### 11. Gender and State Policy in Africa in the 21st Century: New Tendencies and Perspectives Conveners: Prof. Natalia Krylova (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: krylova@inafr.ru; Dr. Natalia Ksenofontova (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: ksenofontova@inafr.ru

## 12. Information, Education and Linguistic Policy in Africa from the Standpoint of Globalization and Regionalization

Conveners: Prof. Vatanyar Yagya (St. Petersburg State University); Dr. Konstantin Pantserev (St. Petersburg State University), e-mail: ppsapmar@yandex.ru

#### 13.Interaction between Literature, Culture and African Diasporas: Stages, Tendencies and Perspectives

Conveners: Prof. Nikolay Dobronravin (St. Petersburg State University), e-mail: sokoto95@yandex.ru; Dr. Anna Siim (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg) e-mail: anna.siim@gmail.com

#### 14.Islamic Challenge to Contemporary World Order: from Civilizational Identity to Global Caliphate? Experience of Regions in the Muslim World

Conveners: Prof. Anatoliy Savateev (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: asavat@ mail.ru; Dr. Enver Kisriev (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: kisriev.dagestan@ mtu-net.ru

#### 15.Language in the Context of Changing Sociocultural Paradigms in Africa

Convener: Prof. Victor Vinogradov (Institute of Linguistics, Moscow), e-mail: vporkhom@yahoo.ru

#### 16. The Middle East and Maghreb: Modernization in the Framework of Globalization

Convener: Dr. Alexander Tkachenko (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: alexander.tkachenko@inafr.ru

## 17. Peace Agreements and Consolidation of Political Order in Africa

Convener: Dr. Aleksi Ylonen (Bayreuth International School of African Studies), e-mail: aleksi.yloen@uni-bayreuth.de, aeylonen@hotmail.com

#### 18. Religion in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa: Multilinear Evolution. The Fate of Traditional Beliefs in Present-day Conditions Convener: Dr. Oleg Kavykin (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: atrociter@mail.ru

## 19. Southern Africa: Modernization, Elections, Regional Cooperation

Convener: Dr. Andrey Tokarev (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: csas.inafr@gmail.com, csas@inafr.ru

## 20. State Economics Policy and Business: New Phenomena

Convener: Dr. Evgeniya Morozenskaya (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: evmorozen@mail.ru, evgenia.morozenskaya@inafr.ru

#### 21. Tendencies of Socio-economic, Political and Cultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa at of Multipolar World's Formation

Convener: Prof. Yuriy Vinokurov (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: tropic@inafr.ru

#### 22. Why don't We Understand Each Other? Categorization of African Communities in Russian and French Academic Traditions

Conveners: Dr. Vassiliy Filippov (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: fvrd@rambler.ru ); Dr. Elena Filippova (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow), elena\_filippova89@yahoo.fr

#### 23. Zimbabwe at the Crossroads

Convener: Prof. Vladimir Shubin (Institute for African Studies, Moscow), e-mail: vlgs@yandex.ru, vladimir.shubin@inafr.ru

The Conference registration fee is \$150 (\$75 for students) and can be paid not only in dollars, but also in Euros or Russian rubles according to the official exchange rate on the date of registration. The fee is to be paid in cash upon arrival. The registration fee includes the visa application support (Official Invitation), the Conference Book of Abstracts (as well as translation of the participants' abstracts into Russian), stationary items, coffee-breaks, and reception. The fee for an accompanying person, equivalent to \$50 in rubles, includes the visa application support (Official Invitation) and reception.

#### **Workshop Announcement**

## SOUTH AFRICA & EMERGING POWER ALLIANCES: IBSA, BRIC, BASIC

Hosted by Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) / Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) Burgers Park Hotel, Pretoria/Tshwane 5 November 2010

The purpose of this one-day workshop will be to contribute to an ongoing assessment of South Africa's engagement in the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Trilateral Dialogue Forum while relating to the emergence of the BRIC quartet of Brazil-Russia-India-China and its membership in BASIC – Brazil-South Africa-India-China – within the framework of ongoing climate change talks. While the focus of this exercise will be on sorting out South Africa's dilemmas and exploring its options relating to IBSA-BRIC-BASIC, it also aims to glean Indian and Brazilian perspectives relating to these formations as well and to solicit views on the future of IBSA, BRIC and BASIC, their comparative advantages and limitations.

For more information contact Francis Kornegay at: fkornegay.kornegay@gmail.com

#### **Recent Publications & New Reports**

#### The Chinese Stance on the Darfur Conflict

Written by Gaafar Karrar Ahmed, September 2010 Paper can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/the-chinese-stance-on-the-darfur-conflict.html

## BRIC and IBSA Forums: Neo-liberals in Disguise or Champions of the South?

Written by Joseph Senona, September 2010 Paper can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/policy-briefings/bric-and-ibsa-forums-neo-liberals-in-disguise-or-champions-of-the-south.html

#### New Foreign Policy Actors in China

Written by Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, September 2010

Policy paper can be accessed at: http://books.sipri.org/product\_info?c\_product\_id=410

#### China Analysis: Geopolitics on Chinese Terms

By the European Council of Foreign Relations and Asia Centre

Publication can be accessed at: http://ecfr.eu/page/m/3 560dd58/513468f8/32e3c884/34af2da7/3031717909/VEsH/

## The brave new world of "Emerging", "Non-DAC" Donors and their difference from traditional donors

http://www.norrag.org/news/21/nn44-new-donors-now-online .html

## Trade and Globalization After the Crisis: Policy Outlook and the Shift to the East

Presentation by Dr Razeen Sally, Director, European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE), Brussels.

Presentation summary at: http://www.iseas.edu.sg/rs30aug2010.pdf

#### **G20** and Global Development

This is a new e-publication from the German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut fuer Entwicklungspolitik. Edited by Thomas Fues and Peter Wolff, it features 27 critical analyses by leading scholars from the Global Governance Research Network of the G20's potential for global development in concentrating on the framework conditions for the global economy. A special focus of this e-publication is directed towards the rising powers of the South. Their newly-found leadership position is hotly debated within these countries themselves but also in industrialized and developing countries.

Presentation summary at: http://www.die-gdi.de/ CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3\_e.nsf/(ynDK\_ FileContainerByKey)/MRUR-82CFDB/\$FILE/ German-Development-Institute\_E-Publication\_G20and-Global-Development.pdf?Open

#### **Recent Events**

### China in Africa: Sino-Mozambique Relations at a Crossroads

IN COLLABORATION WITH the Southern African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), the Institute of Social and Economic Studies (IESE) held a conference on China and Africa relations in Maputo on the 9th of September. The main aim of the conference was to discuss the opportunities and challenges faced by Africa in the context of its relations with China.

There were nine researchers from different institutions (such as the London School of Economics and Political Science, SAIIA, Austin University, IESE). The conference was divided in two panels: the first panel discussed the relations between China-Africa in general, whereas the second took the Mozambican case in order to illustrate the dynamics of China-Africa relations. The conference contributed to understanding the different ways China is engaging with African partners and the challenges in the process towards consolidating these relations.

In the case of Mozambique-China relations, two points were stressed in the conference: first, it was argued that, if the Mozambican political elite is rather enthusiastic of the cooperation with China, civil society organizations are cautious. The second point relates to Chinese investment in the agriculture sector, which, despite the commitment



of China to help African governments, especially the Mozambican government, to boost this sector, is insignificant in comparison to other sectors (extractive industry, especially timber). In fact, timber is the main Mozambican product exported to China and the timber trade has created many controversies: Chinese companies, in collusion with Mozambican elites, are accused of exploiting timber without due respect to existing legal arrangements and to contribute to deforestation. It is hoped that the papers presented at this seminar will be published as a book in Portuguese and in English.

#### **Useful Websites**

- China in Africa: The Real Story: http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/
- SAIIA China in Africa Project Publications: http://www.saiia.org.za/china-in-africa-project/ china-in-africa-project-publications.html
- Trademark Southern Africa: http://www.trademarksa.net/

#### **PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES**

## Call for Applications: Journalist Study Tour to India 2010

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 for a 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 November 2010.

Applications close on 5 November 2010 and successful applicants will be notified by end November 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 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

### **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



#### Research Reports available on Fahamu Website

Strengthening the civil society perspective: China's **African impact** 

THE FAHAMU EMERGING Powers in Africa Programme held a two-day workshop in Nairobi, Kenya, in November 2009 that brought together over 30 Chinese and African academics, researchers and activists to debate and discuss the outcomes of the fourth Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) that took place in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt,

from 8-9 November 2009. During the workshop discussions focused on the six commissioned research reports that the programme made available to nurture the CSO perspective on the Africa-China engagement. Using the FOCAC Summit outcomes as an anchor, participants deliberated on an appropriate framework within which the CSO perspective needs to address the varied impact of China's footprint in Africa.

The research reports and workshop summary can be accessed at: http://www.fahamu.org/downloads/ strengthening\_the\_civil\_society\_perspective.pdf

#### **Conference/Workshop Attendance**

SANUSHA NAIDU ATTENDED and participated in Workshop: China in Africa: Sino-Mozambique Relations at a Crossroads. The workshop was hosted by IESE (Maputo) and the China in Africa Programme at the South African Institute of International Relations, 9 September 2010, Maputo. A short summary of proceedings have been provided above.

Sanusha Naidu was a discussant on the topic: India and Africa: Emerging Powers and the South: Social Relations to Social Development and Good Governance Implementation. The Workshop entitled: India and Africa: A Reinforced Relationship, was hosted by Casa Africa, Casa Asia and IECAH, 22nd September 2010, Madrid. A short summary of the workshop proceedings will be provided in the forthcoming edition of the newsletter.



#### Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu www.fahamu.org

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