



EDITORIAL

FOLLOWING THE SUCCESSFUL implementation of the African journalist study tour to Beijing in 2010, the Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative embarked on a similar visit to India early in 2011. The visit took place in the run-up to the India-Africa Forum Summit, an event that provided further impetus towards greater coverage of India-Africa engagement from African media sources. Perhaps more importantly though, the visit sought to provide an opportunity for representatives of African media to establish their own connections to India media, as well as researchers, analysts and civil society to become exposed to various debates and analysis of India's relations with Africa. A number of articles and activities have subsequently been completed by the journalist participants in their home countries, focusing not only on local topics related to Indian trade, investment and culture amongst others, but also using the knowledge and experience from their visit to Delhi.

This edition of the newsletter includes articles written by some of the participants of the visit to India. The topics and perspectives were left open in order for the authors to incorporate local opinions and views on various aspects of relations between Indian government engagement with Africa, private India actors and Indian diaspora

amongst others, as applicable to their individual context. It can be noted that many of the comments provided, and views from the ground, also focused more broadly on emerging powers, especially comparisons between Indian and Chinese actors in some cases- perhaps they are testament to how various local opinions have been formed based on the many different faces of engagement with emerging power actors.

Our continued series of Mandarin translations provides articles on the recently concluded India-Africa Forum Summit and possibilities for collaboration between China and Africa in the area of health. This as the first BRICS Health Ministerial Meeting is convened in Beijing in early July to discuss prospects for broader collaboration between the BRICS countries on the provision of medical technology and medicine.

We hope you will enjoy this edition of the newsletter,

Hayley Herman
Programme Officer
Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative

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IN THIS ISSUE

COMMENTARY

Indian enterprise quietly reaching deep on the continent

By Wambui Wamunyu 2

Get ready, the Indians are coming

By Benon Herbert Oluka 4

India and Africa in the eyes of the media

By Benon Herbert Oluka 5

People's views on Zimbabwean goods coming from Asia

By Fazila Mahomed 7

印非合作新构架：第二届印度-非洲论坛会议，2011年5月

作者：Prof K. Mathews 9

REVIEW

中国非洲医疗合作的前景

作者：Peter Konijn 11

LINKS 14

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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

Indian enterprise quietly reaching deep on the continent

By Wambui Wamunyu

I WAS BROWSING through the shelves of a Nairobi bookshop one afternoon in mid-March and was struck by a display of 11 books focused on the relationship between Africa and the emerging powers of China and India. Here are two samples: *Riding the Indian Tiger* and *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*.

Among the 11 titles, 2 were on Indo-African interactions. The other nine focused on China. It seems that even in book sales, the dragon roars louder than the tiger. The contrast in approach between the two countries is one that various observers have noted, including Chan, proprietor of the bookshop who goes by the one name.

"India is very quiet," said Chan, who has noticed that some of the books on China have very high turnover. "It penetrates very discreetly. It's not doing open projects. They're not out to construct our roads and dams."

Chan, who is not of Chinese descent contrary to what his name may suggest, was referring to China's mega-infrastructure projects in Kenya, among other regions. That may be so, but India's approach is to hunt for customers, and they're finding them in cities and rural areas across the continent.

In July 2010, retired diplomat Rajiv Bhatia proposed on this site that India should cultivate a three-pronged relationship with the African continent: at the levels of government, business and civil society. In his article, he noted the need for India to "deepen [her] engagement with the specific goal of fulfilling Africa's needs and aspirations in accordance with our capabilities and interests." It was an argument that echoed Jawaharlal Nehru's call for the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement, where India – itself a former British colony – supported the push for independence among African countries. But it had a whiff of the past in it, a lingering sense that the relationship between a global power – emerging or otherwise – and the African continent is that of donor-recipient.

But it appears today, the most visible interaction between India and Africa is not about aid, activism, diplomacy, politics or philanthropy. It's primarily about cold, hard cash. And unlike China, the other emerging power with a big footprint on the African continent, India is not announcing its presence with large, easily noticed projects such as highway and bridge construction. Instead, she's taking a 'softly, softly' approach, but reaching deep in boardrooms and business settings.

Pricewaterhouse Coopers released a report last year indicating that India was expected to lead the charge among emerging economies in having the largest number of companies setting up shop abroad. The report projected that in the next one and a half decades, about 2,200 Indian companies will set up operations outside India. The social and mainstream media bear witness to this with stories that reflect acquisitions and mergers across various sectors in Kenya. Blogger Mark Kaigwa (www.mark.co.ke) noted that in 2009, Kenya's ScanGroup launched Squad Digital, a joint venture with Smile Interactive Technology Group, and Quasar, part of WPP Digital. In May 2010, Cemtech Sanghi Group – an Indian conglomerate that has cement plants with a production capacity of over 400 million bags, according to a local daily – broke ground at a cement company in a region in Western Kenya. Later in the year, Bloomberg News Service quoted Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga on India's presence in the country. "We see a new group of Indian multinationals taking interest not only in Kenya, but the rest of Africa," he said. In that same story, Mr. Odinga said that the government was negotiating with Reliance Industries and the Tata Group for possible investments in the country.

These investments seem to bear out a quiet prediction made in a survey of Indian multinational enterprises published in 2009. The report, titled 'The Growth Story of Indian Multinationals,' ranked the companies based on their foreign assets in 2006 and was jointly released by the Indian School of Business (ISB) and Columbia University. The survey indicated that India was the fifth largest outward investor after the other BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia and China) and Hong Kong. The survey was undertaken during the global financial crisis and stated in part: "It remains to be seen what impact the current crisis will have on Indian multinationals. Indian firms in a good financial position may take advantage of the low asset prices in world markets and make strategic acquisitions." (The Indian School of Business (ISB) and the Vale Columbia Center on Sustainable International Investment (VCC), 2009, Hyderabad and New York)

Strategic acquisition is one way of describing Bharti Airtel's buying blitz across the African continent last year. In Kenya, it turned the telecommunications sector upside down by purchasing the mobile phone company that is second in market share, and significantly bringing down calling tariffs. This in turn had the effect of causing the market leader to re-assess its dominance and many a mobile phone customer very happy.

What was the impact of this purchase? The Communications Commission of Kenya, government regulator of the telecommunications sector, released statistics that pre-dated the acquisition of the company. In a July-September 2010 quarterly report, published in January 2011, the CCK noted a 9.5% increase in mobile phone subscribers, from 20.1 million to 22 million. This was the highest number over the previous three quarters. The regulator attributed the rise to promotions and lowered tariffs. Between June to September of 2010, the leading telecommunications company lost market share from 80.7% to 75.9%. In the same period, the second company in market share gained from 9.1% to 13.5%. The latter company was bought by Bharti Airtel mid last year.

Jayant Khosla, Chief Executive Officer, Anglophone, Bharti Airtel Africa, indicated that the number of subscribers was even higher in the final quarter of 2010. He was speaking at a one-day conference convened by The Economist magazine in Nairobi this past February. It was of note that among the multinationals represented at that forum, only Airtel came from the East. The others – such as Visa, Pfizer, Alcatel-Lucent and GE – are all headquartered in the West.

Multinationals like Airtel have shown that among India's capabilities – referred to by Amb. Bhatia – is the spirit of entrepreneurship. That in turn is meeting certain significant needs on the African continent, whether it be easy, relatively inexpensive communication and Internet access, or cement for infrastructure projects.

There's a long tradition of Indian entrepreneurship in Kenya, seen across manufacturing, and wholesale and retail, among other sectors. Even Kenya's longest-running newspaper, The Standard, was founded by an Indian businessman, A.M. Jeevanjee in 1902. That entrepreneurship fits into the local market and responds to the need for products at the most competitive level.

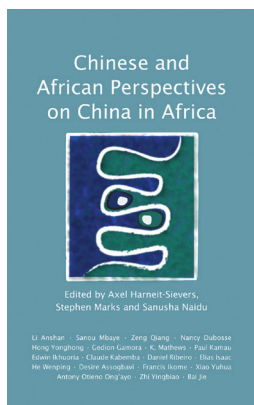
It therefore seems that the tiger's job in fulfilling Africa's needs and aspirations is not about coming as a donor or big brother, as has happened in the past with the West. It may be as simple as quietly providing good products at good prices.

Wambui Wamunyū is a lecturer at Daystar University in Kenya. She acknowledges the work of her editing class students in shaping this piece, in particular Sheila Okwaro, Prudence Zoe Glorious, and Philip Ngaruiya.

"The week-long trip to India was invaluable in exposing me to how a country can use its resources and its people to position itself as a significant global player. This is a large part of what I'm now telling my students to consider as they prepare to begin their careers."
— Wambui Wamunyū, Daystar University, Nairobi, Kenya.

Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa

Edited by Axel Harnett-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu



- Focuses on the dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations rather than states
- Provides new data and real insights into the burgeoning relationship between China and Africa
- Notable contributions from African and Chinese scholars and activists

The deepening engagement of China in Africa since the end of the cold war has led to debates about the evolving nature of this relationship. Yet the focus

of analysis has largely been confined to the interactions between states. Little attention has been paid to the growing dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations. This collection of essays, written by scholars and activists, explores the interaction between African and Chinese non-state actors and argues that the future of Africa-China relations rests on including such voices if a robust and vibrant engagement and a meaningful relationship are to be sustained. Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa assesses China's activities in Africa through patterns of investment, legal cooperation, effects on the environment, trade, aid and labour links, questions of peace, security and stability, the African Union response, possible regulatory interventions and the future strengthening of an Africa-China CSO dialogue.

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COMMENTARY

Get ready, the Indians are coming

By Benon Herbert Oluka

THE HEAD OF Uganda's Investment Authority, Dr Maggie Kigozi, has done business with India long enough to notice vital trends in the trade relations and business engagements between the South Asian country and their African counterparts.

Shortly after she returned from the 38th World Marketing Congress, where she made a presentation on the opportunities available for Indian businesses in Uganda, Dr Kigozi identified one of the changes that she thinks many governments in Africa have not reacted to quickly enough.

"The Indian we used to deal with is not the Indian of today. They are now coming in and investing in large projects. Traditionally, a person would come in, start small and grow their businesses often very successfully because of their work ethic. But nowadays we are able to attract multi-nationals," said Dr Kigozi, who has headed UIA for more than a decade.

According to Dr Kigozi, without measured policy reactions to the change she highlighted and numerous other similar developments, many African countries could easily lose trade opportunities with India that they would otherwise have profited from.

Debate on the readiness of African countries to trade with India and other emerging powers dominated discussions at the ninth annual Inter Region Economic Network (IREN) Eastern Africa Media Training forum in the Kenyan capital Nairobi.

In a presentation at the forum, Dr Opiyo Ododa, a researcher and lecturer at the International Centre for Security Studies in the National Defence College, Kenya, argued that Africa cannot claim to be ready to trade with the emerging powers if it does not have a game plan.

Prof. Mwesiga Baregu, a senior lecturer at the School of Graduate Studies in Tanzania's St. Augustine University, argued that the first challenge that Africa faces in its attempt to clearly define and structure its relationship with the emerging powers is its steady marginalisation and near exclusion from the world economy.

"With the notable exception of supplying raw materials to industrialised and industrialising countries, Africa's position and role in global production and consumption has been declining. Attempts to create an African Economic Community

and to stimulate the domestic market have, so far, failed. This is because this task has been approached based the false assumption that gradual economic integration can eventually lead to political unity," he said.

The second challenge, according to Prof. Baregu, is the long post-independence relationship between Africa and Europe, which he said has hitherto been premised on the assumption that it would help to bring about development on the continent and the other is that Africa has limited to no options in its choice of economic strategy.

Prof. Baregu however argued that experience has shown that the relationship has failed to bring about dynamic development. On the contrary, he noted, current developments are opening up new options and opportunities for Africa to forge new relationships.

"At this juncture, therefore, Africa has to decide on whether its long term interests can best be served by extending and deepening the present relationship with Europe through such arrangements as the evolving Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) under the Cotonou Agreement or if it should curtail and cut back its engagements with Europe to allow for a process of meaningful and focussed forging of new relationships with rapidly growing economies such as China," he said.

Dr Ododa believes Africa should be more proactive by, for instance, teaching the languages of emerging powers like China and Brazil in schools.

Depending on their unique challenges and opportunities, different African countries can take different steps to position themselves. In the case of Uganda, for instance, Dr Kigozi says the East African country has already carried out some reforms within its economy in an effort to ease the conditions for doing business with India.

"We have an investment protection and promotion agreement between the two countries, under the double taxation agreement already signed, which protects investors from either side," she said. If an investor pays a withholding tax of 15 per cent on dividends, then that would be deducted from the tax they would have to pay in India. So if tax dividends withholding tax in Uganda is 15 per cent and in India it is 30 per cent, then they would only have to pay the difference [in India]."

Dr Kigozi thinks African countries must adjust to the new dynamics and realities among the emerging powers. For instance, she said, there are still many African countries that are not yet prepared for the new wave of large scale Indian and Chinese investment potential.

Prof. Baregu also believes that African countries can benefit a lot more from trading with the emerging powers like China, India and Brazil if it rises above aid dependence and forge a reciprocal engagement relationship with them.

India and Africa in the eyes of the media

By Benon Herbert Oluka

LISTENING TO K. N. Gupta in his family's living room in the Indian capital New Delhi, it could have been easy to miss the significance of the innovative project that his family has set up on the first floor of their house.

Gupta, a retired business journalist who hanged up his pen in 1992, speaks passionately about "the need for India to interact with Africa."

Since his retirement, Gupta says as the Coordinator for the International Federation of Journalists in South Asia, he has helped many African journalists who go to India to study to train and get internship opportunities in India.

Gupta believes, however, that even that effort is not enough. He thinks that because journalists are the best link between the people in the two regions, there should be more consistent exchange of journalists between them. Yet, he observes, that interaction is shrinking at a time when the two regions are creating more business and other linkages.

"So far, unfortunately, India is not sending many journalists not just to Africa but elsewhere," he said. "There was a time in the past when the big newspapers in India like the Times of India had overseas correspondents and bureau but now they don't have. Even if they have some, they are only stringers. The unfortunate thing is that, we are not depending more on [international] news services but news services are not adequate."

The downside of depending on the international news agencies, according to Manish Chand, the editor of the Africa Quarterly, an Indian journal of African affairs, is that the two regions are getting third party narratives about developments on either side.

"We hear about each other through third party media organisations. We have two choices; we can keep bemoaning it and life goes on or we can try to do something about it," he said in a separate discussion that was part of the one-week visit by four African journalists to India.

Africa Quarterly is a lone Indian publication focusing on positive business stories from Africa. According to many Indian journalists, other publications – especially the main stream newspapers – mainly focus on Africa when there is bad news to report.

For the most part, according to Gupta, the mainstream print publications and broadcast media ignore Africa altogether. In the few instances when they focus on Africa, the stories are picked from western news agencies, which he says reduces proximity to the story.

"News from Africa is also not as much as is required in India because whatever news we get from Africa we get through western agencies, but that doesn't serve our purpose. That is why we are not as close as we ought to be," he said.

Despite the apparent limited knowledge by each group of people about the opportunities that abound in either region, Indians and Africans have made considerable strides in their dogged effort to improve relations and do business with either group.

Manish thinks the clichés and stereotypes that continue to thrive stubbornly between the Africans and Indians, clouding the understanding of their respective societies, cultures and ethos, can be torn down so that further gains are made.

"If one has to take the relationship to the next level," he noted, "there has to be serious introspection about the glaring gaps in knowledge and information that continue to exist despite centuries of unbroken interaction between the two sides."

Different analysts offer a variety of ideas that they believe can help solve some of the problems. Gupta, for instance, thinks that in order to have greater interaction between India and Africa, "naturally the exchange of journalists should increase."

"Journalists from African countries should come here in India to learn and practice and, similarly, Indian journalists must go there. Otherwise, we can't come closer," he said.



During our visit to Gupta's home cum office, we soon learnt that he is not all talk about connecting India and different parts of the world through the media.

Currently serving as the president of Indian Chapter of the Global People of Indian Origin, Gupta indeed practices what he preaches through a project that is close to his heart, and which he has painstakingly developed with his two sons and other associates.

Gupta has spearheaded the establishment of an online television network connecting people of Indian origin (PIOs) across the world.

"We are moving very, very fast," said Gupta of their initiative. "We have been able to connect with several countries and several projects."

The three-year-old PIO TV, which took 18 months to develop, currently receives more than 3,000 hits per day but up to 70,000 when they are covering major events, according to Kuldeep Yadav, one of Gupta's sons.

Yadav revealed that they have so far uploaded more than 2,500 minutes of video uploaded on the PIO TV website. Most of the videos, save for the Bollywood movies, can be watched from any part of the world free of charge.

"People send us information from various countries and we broadcast them across the world," he said. "We have our own portal where you can upload your own news or events related to the diaspora from your own, just like facebook and youtube."

PIO TV currently has bureau offices in Los Angeles in the US, the UK capital London and Uganda's capital Kampala. Besides feeds from those three regions, they receive recordings about activities by people of Indian origin in different parts of the world.

"Right now it is good. People are sending their stories from US, UK and Australia. From Africa, the responses are not yet so many," said Yadav, adding that they have their own crop of reporters who cover select events.

The efforts of Gupta and his family show two sides of a coin; what can be achieved when the media sets out to provide information on any subject, and what the two regions are missing from the apathy of the journalists working in the other media platforms.

Dr Satish Misra, a senior fellow with the Observer Research Foundation, thinks it is high time the media in the two regions begin to take the initiative to provide the kind of information that can enable people in the respective countries to benefit from knowing about each other.

"The perceptions of Africa in India are from the west," he said. "They have their own dynamics and their own understanding of Africa they want to project and that conditions, often enough, own approach to Africa. Africa is a fascinating continent and there is enough for all, in a cooperative model, where India can learn from Africa and African can learn from India."



"Visiting India was a vital eye-opener to the potential benefits that the world's most populous country and the world's second most populous continent can reap from trading with one another. But it also revealed the mutual challenges that stand in the way. One of those challenges is communication: India and Africa are still like two admirers that are too shy to open up to each other. Without the media communicating the messages from and to either side, it could take much longer for what promises to be a mutually beneficial relationship to blossom. This is a challenge that every journalist and writer about India and Africa needs to help the two regions overcome."

— Benon Herbert Oluka, Daily Monitor Newspaper, Kampala, Uganda

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People's views on Zimbabwean goods coming from Asia

By Fazila Mahomed

ZIMBABWEANS FROM VARIOUS sectors of the community are caught up in a maze of differing reactions to the imported goods from Asian countries, among them China and India. With ever dwindling foreign trade relations between Zimbabwe and other countries and the riling sanctions debate, Zimbabwean people have been subjected to a dictated "look east" policy through which the government seeks to make up for soured relations with the European member states.

With the Zimbabwean economy battling to find its knees after a plunge, before the advent of the coalition government, most ordinary Zimbabweans with no basic income, or foreign currency such as the American dollar, found themselves with no option but to conveniently consume low quality cheap Chinese products. An ever growing range of goods and products are finding their way to flood the Zimbabwean markets from these Asian countries and comprise of food groceries, clothing, sanitary wear, detergents, electrical goods and appliances, power generators, telecommunications equipment, motor vehicles and parts, industrial and agricultural equipment.

Regardless of the concerns raised country wide on the poor quality and lack of durability of Asian products, the regulating body that is supposed to safeguard the rights of people, Standards Association of Zimbabwe, has done nothing to stand in the gap for the people. The convenience brought about by the price feature of the Asian imported goods has become popularly known as Zhing Zhongs because of lack of durability and most consumers among the general populace agree on the value trade. India's exports to Zimbabwe between 2009/10 were valued at US \$ 49 million and China had five fold the number of India's exports over the same period. Whereas the increased influx of Chinese business in Zimbabwe has been characterised by individual settlers setting up in Zimbabwe, India's focus has been mainly government to government investment more than the latter. In February 2011 Zimbabwe and India partnered in an investment targeting the growth of small to medium enterprise amongst local Zimbabweans. Official government interaction documents between India and Zimbabwe reveal that unlike China, India is also concerned with capacity building as its focus in Africa coupled with other direct interests that benefit their economy. As part of the capacity building drive, on the positive side India has been sending experts to Zimbabwe to train Zimbabweans on the operation and maintenance of Indian technologies gifted to

Zimbabwe. Independent critics from Zimbabwe have expressed fears that the over reliance of Zimbabwe on telecommunications and security expertise and equipment leaves Zimbabwe's security system vulnerable to breach from the Indians.

During a visit by the Zimbabwean Finance minister to India early this year under the Indo-Zimbabwe Small and Medium Enterprise Project, Indian Union minister of Commerce and Industry, Shri Sharma noted India's continued interest in education and capacity building programmes in Africa and in Zimbabwe in particular, through the "India-Zimbabwe SME Project" and by sponsoring Zimbabweans for study programmes under the ITEC and other courses.

Like China, India has great interest in the mining sector in Zimbabwe and also has growing investments in power generation, railways, ICT and agricultural sectors.

Rugare Nhamo, a teacher in Muzarabani and a breadwinner of a family of five, says having the option to buy something that is inferior for a low price that does not last long is better than not having anything at all. He however blames the government for his plight of earning a salary of US \$ 150 that is way below the poverty datum line pegged above \$ 400 per month. Rugare chronicles his story that in the past he used to afford genuine products but things have changed for the worse. To the few remaining local manufacturers the import of Chinese goods has been an issue of life and death to remain in the industry. Whereas consumers have a choice of accepting sub-standard goods with their consent, to most small-scale business people it is an invasion of the market beyond their control.

Tapfumanei sells locally manufactured clothing to earn a living to support his parents, brothers and sisters and he says the only way to become competitive against the Asian goods is to join the race and sell the same low quality products, but the challenge remains the large amount of capital needed to go to China or India, for transportation and to pay for the consignment. He bemoans the painful reality that most of the Chinese and Indians who come for business in the country have ready income and they take up all the business space leaving the locals where they are without any noticeable or sustainable form of empowerment.

With unemployment standing above 90%, economic analysts have questioned the manner



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

in which Chinese and their Asian cousins from India have been allowed to take up business projects in Zimbabwe with little to show for their contribution to end unemployment. Mr. Jeffrey Kasirori, an economic commentator says there are growing concerns over China's aggressive investment in Africa. Among those concerns raised is that wherever they employ locals to do mostly manual physical jobs, there is evidence of poor remuneration and abusive working conditions. Mr. Muchapiwa Mazarura, secretary general for Zimbabwe Construction and Allied Trades Workers Union, said that, "Chinese employers should take people seriously as locals are fired at anytime with no labour law practiced in Chinese run projects. Speculation has been made suggesting on the surface that with the shifting relations between European states and Africa due to politics, Africans are warming up to Asian employers. Under the surface the speculations are true about the attitudes of locals in Zimbabwe towards Indian nationals but there has been widespread growing discontent against the Chinese for their disregard of human and labour rights.

There are also fears that most Chinese nationals who find themselves in the country are one way or the other linked to big wigs in the ZANU Pf political party and there are reports that they are becoming part of the elite with immunity from the law. Human rights groups have received complains in which nationals involved with Chinese foreigners

have walked scot free from guilt with the help of either security personnel or political heavy weights in return for business favours. However it is a different case on the part of Indian settlers who find their way to Zimbabwe on clear terms and singular agendas to invest. No reports have surfaced to capture abuse by Indian settlers. There are growing fears that the increased presence of the Asians has done little to improve the national coffers but instead propped up partisan agendas of the elite in ZANU Pf and Mugabe's cronies. One notable example that drew international condemnation and put the Chinese people as working in cahoots with Mugabe to stifle democracy was the shipment of arms to the Zimbabwean army at the height of outbreaks of political violence.

Zimbabwe's trade relations with the East has sparked mixed feelings not only amongst the Zimbabwean people but it has been a hugely contested issue among the disunited three political parties forming the coalition government. At government level, the issue of political survival has taken precedence over making good economic decisions that benefit the country in the long run. As it stands, Chinese companies command a significant presence in Zimbabwe's mining, retail, manufacturing, construction and other sectors of the economy and this trend is set to continue as the embattled country continues to be shunned by western and other international investors.

"A week spent in India's capital, New Delhi --home to the embassies, government offices, and some of the countries bustling markets. Throughout our stay we were given the chance to meet some of the most engaging and passionate people, who embrace their rich history and spirituality. From the lodge, tours, and corporate meetings, we were greeted with exceptional treatment and quality-driven service by the Indians everywhere we went. For me personally any nation proud of their history and achievements among being united stood out the most and with the global economy opening, it is only a matter of time when India will rise to the occasion as a major player in the world."

— Fazila Mahomed-Zimbabwe

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

印非合作新构架：第二届印度-非洲论坛会议，2011年5月

作者：Professor K. Mathews

背景

第二届印度-非洲论坛会议于2011年5月24日和25日在非盟总部所在地亚的斯亚贝巴(Addis Ababa)举行。此次会议由非盟举办，主要集中探讨印度和非洲在21世纪的合作发展框架。此次会议的主题为“加强合作—共同的愿景”，这也表现出印度对于进一步巩固印非关系的愿望。印度与非洲的历史渊源和其在文化产业的优势将给印非关系注入新的战略特色。会议还提出了印非在经济，政治，文化以及相关产业领域的新合作框架。另外，在大会期间还安排了一系列的商业活动（比如：贸易展览会，商业会议和工艺妇女的互动活动），学术讨论（比如：以“促进发展的合作关系”为主题的非洲印度论坛），以及文化活动（包括：丰富多样的展览，电影节和主题为“建设桥梁”的媒体论坛活动），等等。我自己也亲自参加了其中的一些活动。这篇文章只概括了此次论坛的一部分亮点。

印度目前已经在泛非，区域和双边三个层面上与非洲建立了合作关系。2008年4月在新德里举办的第一届印度-非洲论坛会议是印非长期合作关系的里程碑。第一届印非论坛标志着两国的首次大陆合作，这也进一步加强了印度和非洲的合作。除此之外，双方还签订了《新德里声明》和《非洲印度合作框架协议》，这标志着印非合作制度化的开始。从此之后，印非关系就有了大幅度的提高，特别是在补助金，外国直接投资和优惠贷款等方面，许多的资金从印度流入到了非洲。

15个非洲国家和非盟委员会参加了第二届印非论坛会议。印度的辛格总理代表印度出席了此会议。非洲国家则由非盟委员会主席Jean Ping和非盟大会现任主席，赤道几内亚主席Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasago代表出席。53个非盟成员国由非洲发展新合作计划（NEPAD）的五个创建成员国（阿尔及利亚，埃及，尼日利亚，塞内加尔和南非），现任NEPAD执行委员会主席国（埃塞俄比亚），以及现任8个区域经济共同体国家（肯亚，利比亚，纳米比亚，布隆迪，斯威士兰，乍得和刚果（金））所代表。此次会议还签订了两份新的文件-《亚的斯亚贝巴声明》和《印度和非洲加强合作框架协议》。《亚的斯亚贝巴声明》肯定了南南合作有效地促进了现有的国际合作，以及南南合作在为发展中国家带来实质性利益方面所起的重要作用。

《印度和非洲加强合作框架协议》列举出了以下合作领域：人才资源发展，研发，机构能力建设，教育，科技，农业生产力，产业增长，矿物提取，医疗发展，基础设施建设，信息和通讯技术，以及司法系统的建立和由非军队掌控的防御系统的建设。在总结加强印非两国的合作伙伴关系时，印度总理辛格概括了印度支持的4个广泛领域：基础设计的发展，区域整合，能力建设和人才发展。

贸易展览和对话

在与会期间，印度产业联盟在亚的斯亚贝巴的千年

馆举办了一场令人印象深刻的贸易展览。84家印度公司在此展示了他们的实力。近些年，印非两国的双边贸易额达到了每年450亿美元，并有望在2015年前达到700亿美元。有关数据显示，非洲出口印度的贸易额增加了22%，而印度对非洲的出口额也增长了52%。

这次会议期间，非洲的贸易部长们和印度贸易部长Anand Sharma先生在5月21日在亚的斯亚贝巴的千年馆进行了会见。双方都认清了市场机会，并同意两国应该加强贸易合作，增强与贸易相关的生产力，并签订区域经济共同体和印度之间有关贸易的协议。这次会见还谈到了为世界贸易组织多哈谈判所制定的目标，重申了两国对特殊和差别待遇条款（S&D）的承诺和对最不发达国家给予更多的优惠政策。双方还决定今后每年都举办一次印度和非洲贸易部长级别的对话机制。

会谈期间，两国的部长们还希望通过使印度和非洲区域经济共同体(RECs)合作制度化来发掘更多的在贸易投资领域的合作机会。两国部长们还同意有必要进行全球金融体制改革，通过强化市场规则来避免近期的危机再次重演。印度的企业家们已经对非洲的农业，制造业，通信业，基础设施和其它领域投资了250亿美元。比如，印度在埃塞俄比亚的投资从2005年5亿美元增长到了2010年的45亿美元。印度是埃塞俄比亚私营部门最大的投资者。

印度显然很关注非洲的原材料资源和9亿公顷未被充分开发的耕地。印度对非洲的农业，矿业和制造业尤为感兴趣。印度已经表示，如果非洲可以提供基本材料，印度曾可以通过对这些基本材料进行增值加工，比如通过制造和农业加工，为非洲的经济带来效益。印度和非洲市场一共拥有22亿人口，其合计国内生产总值（GDP）在2009年超过了3万亿美元。非洲-印度投资在2010年达到了900亿美元。在和非洲探讨后，印度政府表示会履行在第一次印非论坛会议上关于支持和促进区域整合方面所作的承诺。为此，印度宣布将出资3亿美元来支持埃塞俄比亚-吉布提新铁路的建设工作。

能力建设

印度一直都在坚持履行其在人力资源能力建设方面的承诺。辛格总理对此提议在泛非层面建立以下几个机构：

- 1: 印度-非洲食品加工机构。这将会帮助增值业务的开展，以及区域和出口市场的建立。
- 2: 印度-非洲纺织机构。这将会帮助棉花产业的发展，和与之相应的棉花加工业和棉花成品制造业的发展。
- 3: 印度-非洲中型天气预报中心。通过对卫星的利用来帮助农业和渔业的发展，并且这对灾难预警和自然资源管理方面有所帮助。



China/Emerging Powers
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Justice
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4: 印度-非洲远程大学。这会帮助在非洲希望接受高等教育的人们。印度政府会在此大学建成后, 给予非洲学生10,000个奖学金名额。

印度总理也表示, 希望可以建立一所致力于发展工作的印度-非洲志愿者机构。该机构可以在公共医疗, 非正规教育和妇女问题方面进行项目的开展工作。辛格总理同时表示要加强印度对非洲的援助, 比如扩大优惠贷款制度, 并在今后的5到6年里拨款5亿美元来用于有关人才培养和能力建设项目的开展工作。印度还会通过建立区域和泛非在纯科学, 信息技术和职业培训方面的高等教育机构, 来提高当地的能力建设。通过这些机构, 印度还会对新能源和农业发展的研发工作进行投资。在能力建设培养过程中, 印度政府还会在今后4年里设置300个奖学金名额, 用于开展农业教育和研究领域的培养工作。

为了证明印度政府在能力建设方面的承诺, 辛格总理在会议中宣布将建立4所泛非机构:

- 1: 印度-非洲国际贸易机构;
- 2: 印度-非洲钻石机构;
- 3: 印度-非洲教育规划和行政机构以及
- 4: 印度-非洲信息科学机构。

印度-非洲媒体合作

作为此次论坛会议的一部分, 以“建立桥梁”为主题的印度-非洲媒体合作研讨会于5月21日在亚的斯亚贝巴的希尔顿酒店举行。印度和非洲的许多优秀媒体参加了此次研讨会, 讨论了如何通过加强两国媒体交流和协同合作来建立一个非洲-印度多边媒体的合作关系。这也是两国在过去一年中不断进行媒体交流的目的所在。在此次研讨会上所讨论的问题包括: 媒体的角色和责任, 两国媒体的合作伙伴关系, 现代科技在媒体中的使用, 外国记者的角色等等。在研讨会中, 还宣布了印度的媒体学校会大力支持非洲学生来此学习。有人还提议应该建立一个亚非卫星电视频道。另外, 随着非洲电影业的发展, 应该鼓励宝莱坞电影来非洲进行拍摄。

政治和其它问题

在此次论坛会议中, 印度宣布会提供给非盟20亿美元的资金用于在索马里的维和行动。对于北约在利比亚持续的空袭活动, 印度政府表明了立场, 认为任何的解决危机的办法都应该避免人员的伤亡。印度政府还坚持应该对全球的政治和经济机构, 包括联合国安理会, 进行改革。辛格总理对非洲的领导们说, “现在的国际经济和政治体系远不够合理, 特别是对发展中国家来说。世界正在面临食品和能源安全方面的挑战”。他还说: “全球的治理机构已经过时, 并正在压力下运转。所以, 我们需要发展中国家团结一致”。印度政府还说, 在联合国安

理会席位问题上, 印度需要非盟的支持。

整体评估

印度在非洲有着无限的机会, 同时也面临着很多的挑战。在与非洲的国际合作问题上, 我们只有两个模式可以学习借鉴: 欧洲和中国模式。通过洛美协议和欧盟-非洲会议, 欧洲和非洲建立了特殊的合作关系, 承诺给予非洲大量的援助和优惠政策。但是, 这种合作关系仍存在着殖民地模式, 比如原材料的采购, 出售资助的食品和其它商品。这经常会破坏非洲本地产业。另一种模式是中国模式-一种基于确保中国得到资源和矿物供应的商业模式。由于大量的中国廉价商品涌入到了非洲市场, 这种模式已经引发了对抗性反应。

正是来自中国的挑战使得印度的政策决策者们感到担心。中国一直在对非合作方面表现得积极并已经进军非洲, 而印度在过去的20多年里却表现的比较消极。西方的跨国企业和中国的公司已经开始了在非洲的资源争夺战。印度应该认识到中国在非洲对印度来说是一个竞争者, 而非威胁。对于印度的外交政策来说, 中国的对非政策有许多方面值得被借鉴。效仿中国在非洲的一些经验对印度来说并不可耻。但是, 印度还是要制定属于自己的, 与非洲的特殊外交政策。欧洲和中国都没有像印度一样与非洲有着历史渊源或拥有非洲人民的友好态度和在软实力方面的优势。印度进入非洲应该既不是为了剥削, 也不为了获得石油, 或向腐败的政权买卖武器。

印度的对非政策缺乏连贯性。尽管非洲国家对印度高度重视并欣赏印度对非洲的不入侵政策, 但由于印度外交政策缺乏远见性, 印度并没有很好地利用这些优势。现在就是印度从战略角度审视非洲并做相关规划的时候, 不然, 印度就会与机会失之交臂。通过互赢的合作关系, 印度与非洲的战屡性关系会开发非洲的潜能。印度需要, 也可以与非洲建立和其它国家不一样的合作关系。可以肯定的是, 印度在非洲的野心和自身利益不会像中国一样引起怀疑。如果印度真的想与非洲建立独特的合作伙伴关系, 就应该谨记圣雄甘地在谈到关于印度-非洲关系时所讲的话: “印度和非洲之间的商业关系应该是观念和服务上的, 而不是同西方的剥削者一样, 从非洲买走原材料, 加工后再以更高的价格卖给非洲”。

Prof K. Mathews是埃塞俄比亚的斯亚贝巴大学的国际关系教授。曾担任过德里大学非洲研究学院的教授和院长。在过去的20年里, 他在许多非洲的大学里做过演讲。担任过《非洲季刊》(新德里)和《非洲评论》(达累斯萨拉姆)的编辑。他已经发表了90多篇文章和著作, 包括有名的《非洲, 印度和南南合作》一书(与N. N. Vohra共同编辑)。

此篇文章的观点仅代表作者个人观点, 并不代表

Fahamu非洲新兴力量项目的观点。

*此篇文章的英文原文已刊登在上期期刊中。

中国非洲医疗合作的前景

作者: Peter Konijn

在中国和非洲的合作中,两国在医疗领域的合作并不是很多。这也许是因为中国和非洲在医疗领域的贸易不多,以及中国在医疗领域投资的缺乏所造成的。中非的医疗合作总体来说是一种援助的关系。尽管两国通过医疗领域的合作所产生的经济效益有限,但这种现状将在不久的将来得到改善。中非两国领导人都希望两国可以加强在医疗领域的合作,包括私营部门的医疗合作。两国在医疗领域合作的前景成为了中国非洲第二届医疗合作国际圆桌会议所探讨的话题。这一届会议在2011年2月11日和12日由北京大学全球医疗协会和中国国际问题研究所在北京举办召开。

来自中国卫生部,外交部,商务部,国家人口和计划生育委员会,疾病控制和预防中心的领导出席了此次会议。非洲国家的代表阵容则相对较小,出席的有利比里亚卫生部副部长,还有来自埃塞俄比亚和坦桑尼亚的卫生官员们。而一直在非洲医疗领域活跃的国际组织曾派来了很多的代表出席活动,包括:世界卫生组织,联合国人口活动基金,世界银行,英国国际发展署,联合国艾滋病规划署和美国国际开发署。来自民间社会的代表包括:中国扶贫基金会和中国国际交流NGO组织。遗憾的是,没有来自非洲的民间组织出席此次会议,而民间组织在非洲的医疗领域扮演着非常重要的角色,在很多非

洲国家,一半以上的医疗服务是由这些民间组织来完成的。

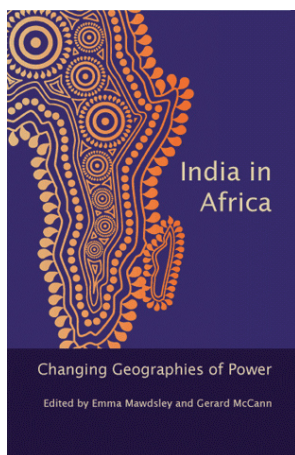
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这次的圆桌会议所涉及的问题很广泛,包括:医疗队伍之前所作出的成就,改善妇女儿童医疗服务将会遇到的挑战,私营部门在多边合作方面的参与以及人们对此的期望。与会的代表们一致同意两国会有很多合作的机会,而中国作为一个新兴大国则应该承担更多的国际责任。中国代表也承诺,中国将会在提高中非医疗服务方面做出更多的努力。这一点,中国早在2006年的中非合作论坛上和后来的部长级会议中提出。当时,温总理在埃及举办的第四届中非合作论坛上表示,中国将向30多家由中国建设的医院和痢疾预防和治疗中心提供价值5亿美元(7320万美元)的医疗设备和抗痢疾药物,并负责培训3000个医生和护士。

非洲对中国在建立初等卫生保健系统的经验很感兴趣。数据显示,在1950年期间,中国的平均卫生指标低于撒哈拉以南非洲地区。50年前,中国和非洲的总体人口健康情况也大致一样。但从那时起,中国开始并成功地建立了有效的医疗系统。今天,中国的医疗指标已接近了那些拥有最高医疗指标水平

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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的西方国家。中国对医疗系统的改革从经济改革之前就开始了，中国现在已经有了一套成功的疾病控制系统，这一系统也涵盖了偏远的贫困地区。有名的赤脚医生和社区医疗工作站的工作人员也会去小村庄为当地居民提供必要的医疗服务。

私营部门的参与

中国私营部门参与的不断增加也成为众人所盼。来自比尔和梅琳达基金会的代表说，中国在农业科技，热带疾病的预防工作和避孕技术方面有着独特的研发能力。在农业科技方面，盖茨基金会支持开发适合非洲环境的高产水稻和含有微量营养素的白薯品种。这些项目可以帮助提高农业产量并降低营养不良情况的发生。便捷的优质食品的获取渠道对于降低5岁以下儿童死亡率也非常重要。

在疫苗和药物方面，中国的制药公司拥有广阔并具有竞争力的国内市场。在中国有大约3500家药品制造公司，但这些公司的国际市场却非常有限。目前，只有6种由中国制药厂制造的药品得到了世界卫生组织的批准进入了国际市场。相比之下，印度有199种药品得到了世界卫生组织的批准，在国际市场出售。在这一领域，中国明显落在了印度后面。

中国的底研发制造成本也使中国公司有着潜在的国际市场竞争优势。中国还有着世界上最大的拥有12亿人口的国内市场。除此之外，更多的中国药品进入国际市场也可以向非洲提供价格便宜的药品。有人提出，世界卫生组织对药品的标准过高，这限制了药品进入国际市场，从而影响了非洲获得可支付的药品的渠道。世界卫生组织的代表则说，他们对药品的标准并不高，是按照药品“无伤害”的原则由来自世界各地的专家所制定的。所以，这并不是代表西方的标准，而是代表了全世界的标准。盖茨基金会一直都在努力使世界卫生组织的合格标准程序变得容易，帮助中国的药品制造公司进入国际市场，希望借此可以帮助更多的人能够以支付的价格获取必需的疫苗和药品。

公私伙伴关系

来自美国跨国公司通用电气医疗集团上海分公司的代表展示了一些在莱索托和加纳的公私伙伴关系范例（这些范例没有中国的参与）。这种公私伙伴关系被用在加纳的国家转诊医院和8家新建医院的建设中。这种合作关系是在一段特定的时间（特许时间）把部分工作外包给一些私营部门。比如在加纳，外包的工作是设计，建造，资助和维护8家医院的60到250个床位，外包时间是15年。在莱索托，则是把一家医院390个床位的设计，建造，资助和维护工作外包出去18年。在公私伙伴关系中，所有与建造，运营或维护（取决于外包的工作）的风险全部转交到私营部门。在外包特许时间期满后，医院就会把这些工作转交给公共部门管理。

在非洲，这种公私伙伴关系主要在政府，银行，多边机构和一些私营公司之间开展。由一个符合要求的公司来实施开展这种公私伙伴关系，当地政府制定合理的法制和管理框架，再由中介公司来管理这种合作关系。中国公司参与了由中国援助建

设的医院的设计和施工工作。而这种公私伙伴关系需要更多的非洲公司的参与，包括参与到工程结束后的维护工作中来。

多边合作

南南合作一直都被国际社会所欢迎。由于发展中国家面临着相同的挑战，这使得这些国家之间的交互学习更为容易，从而使得这种合作关系变得非常有效。建立全球多边合作的框架是千年发展目标的一部分，而千年发展目标也得到了中国政府的支持。另外，这次圆桌会谈也谈到了在妇女儿童医疗服务上的合作。

中国在非洲多边医疗合作的参与工作一直都比较有限，在圆桌会谈上，仅展示了2个范例。在2010年11月，开展了一项对中国和联合国艾滋病规划署在加纳和利比里亚所出资建立的医疗项目的评估。评估的目的是希望双方可以互相了解对方的项目。评估包括了参观中国痢疾预防和治疗中心和联合国艾滋病规划署出资开展的几个妇女儿童医疗项目。非洲政府官员，医疗人员和民间组织代表也进行了开会讨论。评估的结果是，中国和联合国艾滋病规划署在提供医疗服务时的方法和体制都有很大区别，但同时也可以相互辅助，相互促进。加纳和利比里亚的卫生部长们要求包括中国在内的所以国家都应该和不同国家所开展的医疗项目相互辅助，强调未来的合作取决于各国之间的沟通。

另一个例子是中国-埃塞俄比亚-世界银行医疗计划。这项计划在2008年举办的第一届圆桌会议上通过。这项计划希望通过运用中国和世界银行的经验和专业技能来帮助埃塞俄比亚在社区医疗保险和妇女儿童医疗方面的国家医疗体系的建设。这项计划的实施还在筹备阶段，技术性报道已经完成，讨论也正在进行。这些准备工作将会对开展这项计划的需求有一个更完善的理解。

过去的成就

圆桌会议还总结了中国和非洲在过去合作中所取得的成就。中国的医疗队伍也许是最有名的医疗合作的范例了。中国早在1963年就向阿尔及利亚派去了第一支医疗队伍。此后，中国已经向不同的国家派去20,000名医疗人员。中国负责培训和支付这些医疗人员的工资，而目的地国家则提供医疗设备，工具和住宿。

在2009年，共有50支医疗队，1200名医疗人员被派往48个国家（主要是在非洲）工作。中国也向刚果（金）（2003年），利比里亚（2004年）和苏丹（2006年）派去维和医疗部队，他们的主要工作不但是对维和部队士兵提供医疗服务，同时也对当地居民提供医疗服务。自从2006年举行的中非合作论坛后，中国已经建立了30所医院，痢疾预防和治疗中心。

非洲的政府官员对中国的这种帮助表示了感谢。中国主要是根据当地的具体需求来提供相应的帮助，而痢疾预防和治疗中心就是当地所急需的。对医疗设备和医疗人员的培训也加强了当地的医疗能力。但有官员指出，中国在非洲的大部分援助行为都不在非洲的医疗体系中，因为中国的医疗队伍和所开展的项目都是独立的，很少与非洲的医疗人员进行

合作。正因为如此，这种医疗合作的可持续性成为了一个问题。中国的医疗队伍离开后应该怎么办？谁会提供医疗服务？同样的问题也存在于中国所帮助建造的医院中。在医院建造完成后，谁应该负责医院的运营和维护费用？

据中国的学者所说，现在中国还没有一个完善的系统来开展这些援助工作。中国的卫生部负责派出医疗队伍，而中国的商务部则负责医院的建设和设施的供应。许多时候，中国建完医院后，在还没有找到有能力的管理人员来管理医院前，就把医院交给了当地政府。中国的学者还指出，中国的医疗队伍在今后还会继续扮演重要的角色，而他们也会不可避免的遇到挑战，比如语言问题。如果医疗人员不会讲当地的非洲语言，英语或法语的话，他们对当地居民提供的医疗服务必然会打折扣。另外的一个挑战是，随着中国医生在国内的生活水平不断提高，很多医生都不愿意参加医疗队伍。所以，相关政府应该出台更多的刺激政策来确保医疗人员的专业水平。

总结

这次的圆桌会议很成功，大家对未来合作的机会和挑战都有了更好地了解。这次的会议组织有序，讨论生动并具有建设性，与会气氛也很积极，大家都可以尊重不同的意见。当然，还有一些地方是可以改进的。比如，更多的来自非洲的民间组织应该参与到会议中来，应该有更多来自非洲的声音和意见。中国学者在非洲的实地考察，以及非洲学者在中国的实地考察都还比较有限。中国学者所作的关于医疗队伍的历史，奖学金计划和医院建设等方面的演讲资料主要来自北京的政府官方资料。更多的

研究和实地考察会在很大程度上加强两国对彼此的相互了解。

中国和非洲在医疗领域的合作总体来说还很少，但这种情况会在将来有所改变。加大合作的基本条件已经成形，双方也都表示出一致的政治意愿并作出了相应的承诺。国际社会也大力支持这种医疗领域的南南合作。中国也有兴趣将其对非洲的医疗援助与商业相结合，比如，援助与贸易和研发投资相结合。通过市场融资和建立公私伙伴合作关系来加强私营部门的参与，从而使中国的制药公司进入国际市场，并为更多的人提供可支付的疫苗和药物。

现在就是民间组织（特别是在非洲）相互交流的好时机。现在就是为下一个十年制定策略和政策的时候，中国会在不久的将来在非洲的医疗领域起到更加重要的作用。民间组织会有更多的机会参与到合作中来，但是前提是，政府要给予他们足够的相关信息，并把他们视为发展进程的一份子。对于中国来说，则要承认民间组织是重要的参与者之一，并加大与之合作的力度。

Peter Konijn是“了解非洲新兴大国”项目的协调人。

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