

**XIII КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ АФРИКАНИСТОВ  
ОБЩЕСТВО И ПОЛИТИКА В АФРИКЕ:**

Москва, 27–30 мая 2014 г.

ТЕЗИСЫ



**13<sup>th</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AFRICANISTS  
SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN AFRICA:**

MOSCOW, RUSSIA, MAY 27–30, 2014

ABSTRACTS

ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ БЮДЖЕТНОЕ  
УЧРЕЖДЕНИЕ НАУКИ ИНСТИТУТ АФРИКИ РОССИЙСКОЙ  
АКАДЕМИИ НАУК

НАУЧНЫЙ СОВЕТ РАН ПО ПРОБЛЕМАМ СТРАН АФРИКИ

**XIII конференция африканистов**

**ОБЩЕСТВО И ПОЛИТИКА В АФРИКЕ:  
НЕИЗМЕННОЕ, МЕНЯЮЩЕЕСЯ, НОВОЕ**

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**13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Africanists**

**SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN AFRICA:  
TRADITIONAL, TRANSITIONAL AND NEW**

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ABSTRACTS

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On the cover page: Drummers at the *adae* festival commemorating ancestors  
of the *Asantehene*, the supreme ruler of the Asanti people, in Kumasi, Ghana  
(photo by Prof. Dmitri M. Bondarenko, November 2012)

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## **БЛОК / BLOCK I**

### **ЭКОНОМИКА, ПОЛИТИКА И ОБЩЕСТВО ECONOMICS, POLITICS, AND SOCIETY**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-1**

#### **Народонаселение Африки в новой экономической модели мира African Population in a New Global Model of Economic Development**

**Руководитель: д.э.н. Ирина Олеговна Абрамова  
(ИАФр РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Prof. Irina O. Abramova  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции планируется обсудить вопросы, связанные с воздействием демографических изменений в мире в целом и на Африканском континенте в частности на трансформацию модели мирового экономического развития (ММЭР). Особое внимание предполагается уделить анализу меняющейся роли Африки в мировых демографических процессах, проблемам африканской урбанизации и трансграничной миграции, динамике и структуре занятости африканского населения, а также количественным и качественным характеристикам человеческого капитала Африки в условиях глобализации.

The panel looks into demographic challenges facing the world as a whole and Africa, in particular, against the background of the transformation of the Global Model of Economic Development (GMED). Special attention will be paid to the analysis of Africa's new role in the global demographic processes, problems of African urbanization and trans-border migration, dynamics and qualitative changes of African labor resources and human capital in the era of globalization.

**Абрамова И.О.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Irina O. Abramova  
Institute for African Studies,  
Moscow, Russia

### **Роль «демографического дивиденда» в мировом развитии** **The Role of «Demographic Dividend» in World Development**

Современные прогнозы относительно экономического возвышения ряда развивающихся стран строятся на положительной корреляции между быстрым демографическим и экономическим ростом. В лидеры XXI века пророчат страны с особо крупным населением – Китай и Индию.

Почему же именно демографический фактор стал играть существенную роль в мировом развитии?

На стадии демографического перехода трудоспособное население увеличивается быстрее, чем все население в целом, а, значит, снижается такой показатель, как коэффициент демографической нагрузки (КДН). Анализ эволюции данного индикатора подтверждает, что экономический рывок те или иные страны совершали в тот период, когда КДН приближался у них к отметке в 0,5. Сегодня у развитых стран вследствие старения населения он быстро растет, аналогичные процессы наблюдаются и в ряде развивающихся государств, в том числе, в Китае. И лишь у африканских стран «демографический дивиденд» вступит в максимальную силу примерно через 30–40 лет, когда более 90% прироста мирового населения и 65 % прироста трудовых ресурсов мира будет приходиться на Африку. Быстрый демографический рост на Черном континенте должен в условиях глобализации послужить толчком, как минимум, к ускорению экономического развития, а как максимум к экономическому возвышению континента в целом. Ускоренный рост населения в Азии и Африке уже сместил вектор международной торговли в сторону Востока и Юга. Рост экономически активного населения в развивающихся странах и его сокращение в странах ОЭСР с течением времени вызовет увеличение доли первых в производстве мировой промышленной продукции и будет способствовать росту экспорта товаров из стран Азии и Африки в западные государства, сократив объемы торговли между последними. При этом мы являемся свидетелями интереснейшего экономического парадокса. В ближайшие десятилетия крупнейшие экономики мира не будут одновременно и самыми богатыми (с точки зрения душевых показателей). Отсюда проистекают два ключевых императива времени: мировому бизнесу придется во многом менять господствующие деловые стратегии и адаптироваться к потребностям менее зажиточных, но более многочисленных потребителей; социальная и политическая нестабильность в мире будет постоянно возрастать.

**Тетерин И.Н.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Ivan N. Teterin  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Научно-технический потенциал Африки:  
особенности, проблемы и тенденции**  
**The Scientific and Technical Potential of Africa:  
Specific Features, Problems, and Trends**

Структурные перестройки в мировой экономике и переход к новому постиндустриальному укладу развитых стран в 80-90 годы 20 века сформировали новый мировой порядок. Ресурсоемкая экономика, основанная на возрастающем потреблении различных первичных природных ресурсов начала активно уступать место наукоемкой экономике, основанной на знаниях. Результатом новых веяний стало разделение мира на страны, которые перестроили свою экономику на новый манер и теми, кто в силу различных обстоятельств не смог встроиться в новые мирохозяйственные связи.

Особо остро указанные выше глобальные вызовы встали перед неконкурентоспособными и ресурсоориентированными экономиками стран субсахарского региона Африки. Стоит отметить, что проблемы развития науки и технологий в указанном регионе усугубляются еще и тем, что большинство стран региона – это мини государства с относительно небольшим населением и ресурсным потенциалом, что не позволяет им достичь создания полноценной национальной сферы НИОКР.

В сложившейся ситуации представляется возможным и наиболее эффективным развивать международное взаимодействие в сфере развития науки и технологий на базе уже существующих интегрированных региональных организаций таких как:

- 1) Экономическое сообщество государств Западной Африки (ЭКОВАС) во главе с Нигерией;
- 2) Сообщество развития Юга Африки (САДК) во главе с ЮАР;
- 3) Экономическое сообщество государств центральной Африки (ЭККАС) во главе с Анголой;
- 4) Восточноафриканское сообщество (ВАС) во главе с Кенией.

Объединение научно-технических потенциалов на основе региональных организаций имеет как ряд преимуществ, так и ряд недостатков. К основным преимуществам можно отнести: общность интересов и проблем стран входящих в региональные союзы; наличие среди государств ярко выраженных лидеров в области развития науки, технологий и инноваций; наличие опыта и институтов экономической интеграции в

указанных региональных сообществах. К основным недостаткам относятся: существенная разница между научно-техническими потенциалами стран, нестабильность экономик большинства государств; отсутствие в подавляющем большинстве указанных странах науки как отрасли национальной экономики.

Безусловно, для того чтобы указанный механизм интеграции заработал, и был достигнут синергетический эффект от объединения научно-технических потенциалов стран Африки южнее Сахары необходимо время, а также четкая стратегия совместного развития науки.

**Фитуни Л.Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Leonid L. Fituni  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Демографический фактор как предпосылка «арабской весны»** **The Demographic Factor as a Prerequisite for «the Arab Spring»**

Большинство арабских стран вступают в так называемый третий этап **демографического перехода**. Огромные массы молодых людей в возрасте 15–30 лет вступили в активную жизнь и количественно доминируют в обществе. Более 60% населения арабских стран моложе 30 лет. Среди молодежи крайне высока безработица, социальные перспективы у многих ограничены или в лучшем случае неопределенны, что ведет к политическому недовольству и протестным настроениям. Специфические конфигурации демографических трендов привели к социальной отчужденности и радикализации части молодежи, желанию изменить существующие социальные парадигмы.

Выбор молодежи в качестве инструмента и одновременно объекта управления социальными процессами объясняется следующим. Это единственная легко выделяемая не классовая, но возрастная социальная группа, способная превратиться в действенную движущую силу трансформации политических парадигм арабского общества. В первое десятилетие XXI в. устойчивый экономический рост в арабских странах потенциально создавал условия для долгожданного прорыва в социально-экономическом положении старших групп молодежи. Однако этого не произошло. Возрастные парадигмы распределения доходов, социальных благ и влияния в обществе остались прежними. Более того, «возрастная планка» общественного признания постепенно повышалась по мере старения властей предрержащих. Из-за неподвижности социальных и политических парадигм получив образование, средняя (20–24 лет) и старшая (25–30 лет) группы молодых возрастов неизбежно ока-



зывалась в состоянии вынужденной жизненной паузы почти по всем пяти ключевым для индивидуума сегментах общественной жизни: образовании, работе/карьерном росте, доходах, возможности приобрести собственное жилье и создать семью.

Между тем в обществах, где все еще сильны традиционалистские оценки жизненного преуспевания, неуспех в перечисленных областях считается куда более страшной жизненной неудачей, чем, например, на Западе. Так, по нашему мнению, в рассматриваемых странах сформировалась критическая масса «взрывоопасного демографического материала» – движущей силы арабских революций.

**Fesseha Berhe**  
**Mekelle University, Ethiopia**

Ф. Берхе  
Университет Мэкэлле  
Мэкэле, Эфиопия

**The Issue of Trans-border Migration in Africa in the Age of  
Globalization: Irregular Migration of Ethiopian Youth to the  
Gulf Region**

**Трансграничная миграция в Африке в эпоху глобализации:  
нерегулярная миграция эфиопской молодежи в страны  
Персидского залива**

African migration has entered a “new phase” in which youngsters are becoming increasingly ready to make long and perilous journeys and take any risk that may face in the course of their voyages. Ethiopia does not seem an exception in this regard. In the last few years it is becoming common to listen or read stories of Ethiopians dying while trying to illegally cross mainly to the Middle East, Europe and South Africa.

The paper deals with Ethiopian irregular migrants to the Gulf region. Irregular migration in Ethiopia is an interesting topic for research because: 1) it is not only the disfranchised but even those with secure jobs and regular income that have been involving in it; 2) it is associated with all sorts of risks and yet its magnitude has been increasing enormously; 3) it is happening when the legal means of migrating is there, and 4) there are indications that lately it is changing its nature i.e. from human smuggling to human trafficking (though there are indications that in some cases there is overlap between them).

It is timely and critical issue that deserves urgent intervention. But despite this fact it is less researched and thus less understood. Thus it high time for down to the earth and thorough empirical research like this that will lead to the full understanding of the problem. Based on the empirical data collected from field research done in the last two years, the paper discusses

the drivers of migration, the processes of the irregular migration and those involved in it and the reasons why persons are resorting to irregular migration when the legal means of migrating to the Gulf is there. In a form of recommendation, the paper shows some possible areas of intervention that could help in addressing the issue.

**Tafadzwa Mafemba**  
**University of Johannesburg**  
**South Africa**  
Т. Мафемба  
Университет Йоханнесбурга, ЮАР

**African Population in a New Global Model of Economic Development**  
**Африканское население в новой глобальной модели**  
**экономического развития**

Various African leaders, pledged New Global Model of Economic Development based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.

The poverty and backwardness of Africa stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world. The continued marginalisation of Africa from the globalisation process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its peoples constitute a serious threat to global stability. Historically accession to the institutions of the international community, the credit and aid binomial has underlined the logic of African development. Credit has led to the debt deadlock, which, from instalments to rescheduling, still exists and hinders the growth of African countries. The limits of this option have been reached. Concerning the other element of the binomial aid we can also note the reduction of private aid and the upper limit of public aid, which is below the target set in the 1970s.

Finally, Africa also has a major role to play in maintaining the strong link between human beings and the natural world. Technological developments tend to emphasise the role of human beings as a factor of production, competing for their place in the production process with their contemporary or future tools. The open uninhabited spaces, the flora and fauna, and the diverse animal species that are unique to Africa offer an opportunity for humanity to maintain its link with nature.

**Akachi Odoemene**  
**Oxford- Princeton University**  
**College UK**

А. Одоемене  
Университетский колледж  
Оксфорд, Великобритания

**Nurses' International Migration and the Crystallizing  
"Culture of Exile" in Nigeria**

**Международная миграция медсестер и кристаллизация  
«культуры изгнания» в Нигерии**

As one of the most sought after “highly skilled professionals” from sub-Saharan Africa, nurses often migrated in reasonable numbers to the developed world. Indeed, this development has gained considerable scholarly attention focusing on its different dynamics. However, research has tended to neglect a fundamental feature: social changes, disruptions and/or dislocations of their normal ways of living in source societies in response to the exigencies of these migrations. This paper, which is an exploratory Nigerian case study, takes the hypothetical perspective that the socio-economic effects of nurses’ international migration have engineered and engendered the development of a novel social culture – a “culture of exile” – among many young people in Nigeria. The paper establishes that since the late 1970s a new motivation – the urge to migrate to developed economies – has been the dominant drive behind many young people’s interest in joining the nursing profession. In highlighting the varied reasons for this development and the everyday preparations of these young people as *life in transit*, it is argued that the newly emergent sociological development has produced and is reinforcing this crystalizing culture of exile, especially among the females. Furthermore, the paper argues that society’s belief in the high probability of young women who trained (or are training) as nurses to have overseas suitors/husbands (the “*Di Obodo Oyibo*” [Igbo] or ‘*Oko Ilu Oyinbo*’ [Yoruba] phenomenon) also feeds into this ‘culture of exile’ narrative, as it ultimately led to the hoped migrations, thus, further encouraged the taking up of the nursing profession among young people. Six southern Nigerian cities were purposely selected for this study, while its data were got from both primary and secondary sources within a multidisciplinary framework.

**Bilyaminu Suleiman Muhammed**  
**Nasarawa State University, Nigeria**

Б.С. Мухаммед  
Университет штата Насарава  
Кеффи, Нигерия

**Nigeria's Exponential Population Growth: Implications and  
Challenges for Urban Development in Nasarawa State**  
**Экспонентный рост населения в Нигерии: последствия и  
вызовы для городского развития в штате Насарава**

This paper examines the exponential population growth in Nigeria, its implications and challenges for urban development in Nasarawa state. Nigeria's population has been growing rapidly and it is described as one of the fastest growing population in the world. This high growth rate coupled with concentration of youth in the population, the urban areas experience high concentration of people. Nasarawa state because of its closeness to Abuja accommodates the teeming population of workers the unemployed youth who migrate to Abuja in search of better life. Thus, the urban areas such as Mararaba, Ado, Nyanya Gwandara and Masaka have absorbed the population without recording serious infrastructural development. This has implication for urban environment and challenge to urban planning and development. The paper basically relies on observation and data from journal, books, conference papers, government reports and reports from international organizations. The findings show that the Nasarawa state government is facing challenges in developing the urban areas above due to high population and rapid urbanization. The rapid urbanization and concentration of population in the areas mentioned has made planning difficult and constitutes a challenge to the environment. Some of the recommendations include collaboration between the federal capital territory administration to aggressively provide infrastructures and enforcement of environmental laws. Urban planning and urban renewal should be pursued by Nasarawa state government in these areas.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-2**

**Африканский Союз, верховенство закона, права человека,  
демократическое правление и экономическая интеграция:**

**достижения, вызовы и перспективы**

**African Union, Rule of Law, Human Rights, Democratic Governance,  
and Economic Integration: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects**

**Руководитель / Convener: Prof. André Mbata B. Mangu  
(University of South Africa, Pretoria/Tshwane)**

Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) met in 1999 and resolved to replace it with the African Union (AU) in order to accelerate the achievement of the continental objectives based on the pan-African ideal. The rule of law and democratic governance were identified by the AU as a requirement for an African renaissance decades after “dictatorships of development”, which were sponsored by Western countries and financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank had failed to put Africa on the road to development. Accordingly, they feature predominantly in the AU Constitutive Act and many other AU instruments. This failure of “dictatorships” of development contributed to the wind of change that blew across the continent in the 1990s and to the “Spring of Africa” which transformed two decades later in the “Arab Spring”. In May 2013, 50 years will have elapsed since the creation of the OAU and African leaders have resolved to celebrate this historic event till May 2014. This is expected to be an opportunity for Africans take stock and reflect on the road that Africa has travelled thus far, the challenges and the prospects for an African renaissance, which cannot be achieved without development, peace, democracy, good governance, economic integration, and respect for the rule of law and human rights on the continent. It is worth stressing that the AU Constitutive came into force in May 2001 Act. Accordingly, the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Africanists in May 2014 will also coincide with the 13<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the AU. Africanists meeting during this conference to reflect on “Society and Politics in Africa: Traditional, Transitional, and New” cannot afford to ignore the legal, political, economic and social developments that have occurred in Africa since independence, especially since the creation of the AU. Papers to be read in this panel will need to address the following issues:

- Pan-Africanism, African renaissance, Democracy and the rule of law: Past, Present, and Future Prospects;
- OAU and the promotion of Constitutionalism and Democracy;

- Rule of Law, Democracy, Elections and Human Rights in Africa;
- Separation of powers, decentralisation, federalism and the judiciary;
- The judiciary and the promotion of the rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights in Africa;
- AU and the promotion of the rule of law, democratic governance, free and fair elections;
- AU and Conflicts Settlement in Africa;
- New Partnership for Africa’s Development, African Peer-Review Mechanism, and Good Governance in Africa;
- Rule of Law and Fight against Corruption in Africa: a Comparative Perspective;
- The past, present and the future of constitutionalism and democracy in Africa;
- Russian, American, European Union, and Chinese African Policies and the Promotion of the Rule of Law and Democratic Governance in Africa;
- AU, Globalisation, BRICS, Development, and Economic Integration in Africa;
- The international community and the promotion of the rule of law and democratic governance in Africa.

**Miraji Masudi Kitigwa**  
**The Open University of Tanzania**  
**Dar es Salaam**  
 М.М. Китигва  
 Открытый университет Танзании,  
 Дар-эс-Салам

**Dream for the “United States of Africa”:  
 Genesis, Challenges, and Prospects**  
**Мечта о «Соединенных Штатах Африки»:  
 возникновение, угрозы и перспективы**

More than 50 years have gone by now since the founding of the continent’s first Pan-African organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/African Union (AU). I think it is ripe time to take stock of its progress. My paper, therefore, intends to assess the integration attempts in the African context for meaningful continental cooperation. The paper is going to be divided into five parts. The introduction part will give the meanings as well as relevant theoretical perspectives on integration. The second part will set in motion by tracing the genesis of integration in Africa from the 300 B.C. Pan-African nationalism through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Pan-African movements to 1963 when the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded under divided views. The 1991 Abuja Treaty which

culminated to the establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC) and the 2002 official re-branding of the OAU into the African Union (AU) will also be discussed in this part. The third part will examine the challenges and problems the AU has been encountering in its attempt to realizing the envisioned “United States of Africa”. Opportunities and suggestions on how to confront the identified problems and challenges will be the focus of the fourth part. The last and concluding part will sum up the entire discussion of the paper, and bring to light the benefits that will accrue to African states and peoples if total integration is successfully accomplished in the Continent.

**Andre Mbata B. Mangu**  
**University of South Africa**

А.М.Б. Мангу  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**The African Union and the Promotion of Peace and Democratic Governance in Africa with focus on the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic and Mali**

**Африканский Союз и содействие установлению мира и демократического правления в Африке (на примерах ДРК, ЦАР и Мали)**

Peace and democratic governance feature prominently among the objectives and principles of the African Union (AU), which was established by its Constitutive Act adopted in Lome, Togo, in July 2000 and entered into force in July 2002.

Africa remains today the continent with the highest number of conflicts, both domestic and international ones. On the other hand, democracy has not been established in most AU member States. However, is there any relationship between peace and democratic governance in Africa? What are the main causes of conflicts and authoritarian democratic governance in Africa? What has the AU done to promote peace and democratic governance in its member states in general and in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic (CAR) and Mali in particular? What have been the challenges and prospects for peace and democratic governance in these countries?

As the Institute for African Studies of the Russian academy of Science holds the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Africanists on 27–30 May 2013 and the OAU/AU enters the 51<sup>st</sup>/11th year of its existence, this paper aims to assess the contribution that the AU has made to peace and democratic governance. It will also reflect on the challenges and prospects for peace and democracy in Africa in general and in the DRC, CAR, and Mali in particular.

**Keith Gottschalk**  
**University of the Western Cape**  
**South Africa**  
К. Готтшалк  
Университет Западного Кейпа,  
Белльвилль, ЮАР

**50 Years of the OAU – AU & their Sub-Regional Affiliates:  
Achievements & Challenges**

**50-летие ОАЕ-ЕС и их субрегиональных организаций:  
достижения и вызовы**

2013 was the 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coining of the concept Pan-Africanism, and the golden anniversary of Pan-Africanism's permanent institutionalization in 1963 as the OAU, today qualitatively upgraded into the AU.

The OAU-AU spectacularly out-performed its twentieth-century analogues such as the ASEAN, League of Arab States, Mercosur, NAFTA, OAS, and SAARC. Only the EU, with 200 times its establishment of posts and 400 times its budget, has achieved more.

This paper analyses the OAU-AU and over fifty of its affiliate structures, entities, and sub-regional communities. Their unexpected achievements range from sustained peace-making operations, supra-national judicial activism, to international power grids, and contestation of the system of global governance. This paper poses the question: is Africa starting to evolve a poly-centric shared sovereignty over certain issues?

The current problems of the OAU-AU also have a half-century longevity. The lack of political will to implement paper decisions, failure to pay annual membership fees, lack of capacity of the secretariats at both continental and sub-regional levels remained unchanged between the Adu Report of 1972 and the 2007 Audit. Another long-standing challenge is that the most important economic decisions affecting Africa are still taken outside Africa by the global economic powers and the global governance structures that they dominate.



**Babatunde Fagbayibo**  
**University of South Africa**  
Б. Фагбайибо  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**Flexibility Arrangements in the African Union:  
A Way out of the Integration Conundrum?  
Гибкие меры в Африканском Союзе:  
решение головоломки интеграции?**

The transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) in 2002 was seen as a positive development in the process of continental integration in Africa. With an institutional architecture largely inspired by the European Union (EU) model, the AU was positioned to infuse new and vibrant energy into the stagnated process of achieving deeper unity. After a decade of existence, little has been achieved in terms of deepening continental integration.

Against this background, it is essential to start thinking of innovative, legal measures of fast-tracking many of the commitments and agenda for continental integration. The flexibility approach is one such measure. This implies the establishment of legal arrangements that enables member states with similar interests pursue integrative objectives at a determinable and attainable pace and speed. This position has become relevant in the AU context, especially against the backdrop of the inability of the 54 member states to collectively move beyond the mere signing of agreements to proper implementation of key integration measures. Also, the delayed ratification and non-ratification of key normative instruments remain a major problem.

This research will consider the feasibility of adopting legal frameworks for flexibility arrangements in the AU. It will critically discuss the possibility of placing key integrative objectives such as democracy and good governance, trade, and immigration within the context of a flexibility approach. A key objective of this research is to show how flexibility arrangements can contribute to the effectiveness of continental integration rather than detract from the broader goal of unity. Lessons will be drawn from the operation of flexibility arrangements in the EU and other Regional Economic Communities (RECs) across the African continent.

**Makama Porsche**  
**University of South Africa**  
М. Порше  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**The African Union and the Resolution of Conflicts in Africa**  
**Африканский Союз и разрешение конфликтов в Африке**

Conflict in most African states has become the order of the day. Among other things the causes of such conflict includes greedy and self-centred leaders who hold on to power for too long, elections which are not free and fair and the continued influence and/or interference of the Western powers in African affairs. Mangu points out that “Africa is widely acclaimed in the Western media and literature as a continent of virtually unrelieved tyranny, dictatorship, economic bankruptcy, administrative incompetence and violence”<sup>1</sup>.

The common political turmoil, corruption, and poor economic conditions in most of these countries, have continued to create an enormous challenge as well as to threaten the aspirations of peace and the ensuing development of the African continent. Most leaders have turned being in power into a circus or a competition of some sort between a few elites. People are forced to engage in conflict in order to protect or promote the interests of individuals.

For example it has become a habit that every time elections are held and a person is announced as the victor in most African countries, one or more of the other candidates refuse to accept the outcome of the elections. In most cases this results in the outbreak of a civil war or some civilians losing their lives. This tendency has, in recent times, been seen most notably in Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Ivory Coast, to mention but a few.

This paper seeks to examine the causes of conflicts as well as the role that the AU should play in the prevention and management of conflict within the African continent.

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<sup>1</sup> Mangu André Mbata B “Challenges to constitutionalism and democratic consolidation in Africa” (2005) 24/3 *Politeia* at 316.

**Philip C. Aka**  
**Chicago State University, USA**

П.С. Ака

Чикагский университет штата, США

**Advancing Human Rights in a Post-Authoritarian System:  
Nigeria under the Fourth Republic**

**Утверждение прав человека в поставторитарной системе:  
Нигерия в период Четвертой республики**

Human rights are broad-ranging guarantees right-holders (individuals and groups) need for a life of self-dignity, that modern governments, including Africa leaders, are specially obligated to safeguard, rather than alienate, for their citizens. They are back-up claims or demands against the government and society right-holders hope that they do not use, but which claims assume particular urgency in Nigeria and other African countries precisely because of the widespread abuses of these rights that occur in these lands.

Such was the case during the long night of military authoritarianism in Nigeria that ended in 1999. Although the installation of civilian rule since 1999 has resulted in discernible decrease in repression under the environment of free speech that, for its imperfect conduct, democratic practice makes possible, human rights abuses have intriguingly continued—now against the dismaying backdrop of little economic dividends from democratic rule. In the cold observation of one resident, Nigeria’s longsuffering citizenry appeared to be in the worst of two worlds. “When we were in the military regime, we didn’t get anything from the government but we had peace. Now we are in a democracy, we don’t get anything from the government and we do not get peace”<sup>2</sup>.

This article outlines and discusses practical measures, well beyond constitutional protections, for advancing human rights while, at the same time, maintaining the practice of democracy that, more than authoritarianism, represents a better canvass for growing these rights.

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<sup>2</sup> Martin Meredith, *The Fate of Africa: A History of the Continent since Independence* (Public Affairs, 2011): 582 (quoting the Human Development Report of the U.N. Development Program for 2002).

**Gloria A. Adu-Kankam,  
Felix Danso**  
**Sunyani Polytechnic, Ghana**  
Г.А. Аду-Канкам, Ф. Дансо  
Политехнический университет Суньяни  
Гана

**The Impact of “The Wasted Vote Myth” on the Electoral  
System in Ghana**

**Влияние «мифа о неиспользованных голосах» на  
электоральную систему в Гане**

There is a growing perception in Ghana that one must cast his or her vote for candidates most likely to win in an election. Consequently, candidates who are deemed unlikely to win an election do not get the desired votes no matter how articulate or focused their programmes are. Fortunately, people are beginning to understand and assert their right in democracy as was reflected in the 2012 parliamentary elections where candidates who did not live up to their manifesto promises were voted out in their various constituencies. On the contrary, with regards to the Presidential elections, it is interesting to note that the outcome of the IEA Presidential debate did very little to influence the peoples’ voting patterns and preferences as Dr. Abu Sakara, the CPP’s Presidential candidate who was widely considered as the most articulate and with the best programmes failed to secure 2% of the total votes cast. The general perception was that votes cast for him will be wasted because there was no way he could win the elections. This study therefore takes a look at the effect of the wasted vote myth on the electoral system and its impact on Ghana’s democracy. It concludes that the wasted vote myth has significantly affected the voting patterns of Presidential elections in Ghana and has led to voter apathy. This study is based on the concurrent use of qualitative and quantitative research methodology and suggests the need for both intensive and extensive citizenship education through media, Regional Coordinating Councils, MoE in order to assuage the apathy and increase public confidence in the electoral system in Ghana.

**Jama Abdillahi Hassan**  
**University of Hargeisa (UoH)**  
**Somalia**

A.X. Джама  
Университет Харгейсы, Сомали

**The Constitution-Making Processes in Africa: The Case of Somalia**  
**Конституционный процесс в Африке: пример Сомали**

The year 1991 was a fateful year – in January 1991, the military regime of Siad Barre of Somalia has collapsed, leading within months to the Declaration of Independence by Somaliland – Former British Somaliland – May 18, 1991), and former Italian Somalia descending into chaos; in May 1991, the military regime of Ethiopia of Mengistu Haile Mariam has also collapsed, and two distinct but interrelated authorities emerged – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) ruling the emerging new Ethiopia, and Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) ruling Eritrea. In December of that year, the Soviet Union has officially ceased to exist.

In the Somali case, Somaliland although, *de facto*, is an existing state, but *de jure*, has not yet gained international recognition.

In accordance with the Transitional Federal Charter of Somalia adopted at the Somali Peace and National Reconciliation Conference in Nairobi, Kenya in 2004, an ‘Independent Federal Constitution Commission (IFCC)’ has to be established within 90 days of the formation of the new government of Somalia. The Commission was established in June 2006. Owing to the volatile political and military situations in Somalia (the emergence of the Union of Courts, the invasion of Ethiopia, etc) the Commission was unable to function properly, but in July 2010 in Djibouti, the IFCC has finalized the Consultation Draft Constitution (CDC) as a blueprint for a wide public consultation. That document lies at the heart of the current Provisional Constitution of Somalia (adopted in August, 2011 in Mogadishu).

This paper narrates the experience of that constitution-making process: the positive and negative roles of the Transitional Federal Government(s) (2004-2011), UN agencies, EU, AU, the strengths and weaknesses of the IFCC itself and the role of international experts and advisers.

**Toyin Oluwaremilekun Oluwaniyi**  
**Redeemer's University, Nigeria**

T.O. Олуванийи

Университет Спасителя, Мове, Нигерия

**Political Succession and Political Conflicts in Africa: African  
Union's Challenges in Promoting Democratic Agenda**  
**Политическая преемственность и политические конфликты  
в Африке: вызовы усилиям Африканского Союза утвердить  
демократию**

Should political successions generate political conflicts and violence in democratic Africa? What has been the AU's role in resolving these crises of governance? How can genuine democracy be entrenched in Africa's Political Setting? This paper explores the nature of political successions and how they have degenerated into serious violent conflicts in Africa. It evaluates the impact of AU's agenda on Africa's democracy and political conflicts in Africa. The 1960s were generally regarded as Africa's Age of Glamour because it was the decade in which many African countries gained political independence and it was hoped that independence would improve not only the living conditions of the masses, but result in genuine participatory democracy and subsequently, economic development. Today, four decades after, rather than development, conditions on the continent seem a desperate struggle for political power and its attendant political conflicts (Saine, 1995: 183–184). To this extent, while many factors are perceived as responsible for the trends of conflicts, the impact of political succession on conflicts has been excruciating with the cases of Cote d'Ivoire, Malawi, Uganda and Nigeria to mention but a few. To this extent, Africa has been termed a 'continent warring against itself.' This phenomenon brings up the question of whether an entrenched, narrow-based structure of rule permits power to be relinquished democratically and the polity still remains stable or turbulent. This paper therefore, examines the character, causes and consequences of political succession in Africa's political conflicts as well as the role of the AU's combating the common threads of political succession and conflicts in Africa.

**Obi Emeka Anthony**  
**Anambra State University**  
**Nigeria**  
О.Э. Энтони  
Университет штата Анамбра  
Игбариама, Нигерия

**NEPAD, APRM and Good Governance in Africa Новое  
партнерство для развития Африки (НЕПАД),  
Африканский механизм коллегиального обзора (АПРМ)  
и надлежащее управление в Африке**

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is the economic development program of the African Union (AU), which was adopted to eradicate poverty, promote sustainable growth and development, integrate Africa in the world economy and accelerate the empowerment of women. In pursuit of the above objectives, the AU later supplemented NEPAD with a Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance, and committed participating states to establish an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in order to promote adherence to its commitments. Now a decade after, there is no consensus on the benefits of these initiatives. This paper aims at a review of the performance of both NEPAD and APRM vis-à-vis their set objectives. The essence of this is to interrogate the relationship of both with the issue of good governance, which has remained a major challenge in Africa. Though, the efforts of both NEPAD and APRM over the years cannot be said to be in vain, a lot of challenges ranging from paucity of funds, lack of civil society involvement, lack of accurate data, low public perception especially of APRM, to lack of appropriate mechanism for implementing APRM's programmes of action have been affecting their performance. The paper concludes that unless these challenges are fully addressed both NEPAD and APRM may not contribute much towards addressing the challenges of good governance in Africa.

**Anne Marie Nsaka Kabunda**  
**China University, China**

А.М.Н. Кабунда

Китайский университет политологии и права  
Пекин

**The protection of Human Rights and Peace Building in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Can the International Criminal Court help?**

**Защита прав человека и миротворчество в ДРК:  
может ли помочь международный трибунал?**

Since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Democratic Republic of Congo has been plagued with many armed conflicts. The country was at war when the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established almost a decade ago and is still confronted to many armed conflicts. As a result, massive and regular human rights violations were committed. Women and children have been the main victims of those human rights violations. The DRC even came to be considered the world capital of rape and violence against women.

The DRC was one of the first African countries to access to the Rome Statute and to become a party to the ICC. Most people who have been prosecuted and even sentenced or are still awaiting trials are Congolese citizens.

The ICC having been mandated to combat and prosecute international crimes such as crimes against humanity, genocide, wars crimes and crime of aggression, Congolese leaders and people expected the ICC to contribute to promoting respect for human rights and peace-building in the DRC.

The aim of this paper prepared for the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Africanists organised by the Institute for African Studies of the Russian academy of Science on 27–30 May 2013 is to assess what the ICC has actually done for the DRC and deal with the questions whether and to what extent it can help protect human rights and promote peace in this country.

**Arinze Ngwube,**

**Maureen Emenike**

**Federal University Oye-Ekiti**  
**Nigeria**

А. Нгвубе, М. Эменике

Федеральный университет Ойе-Экити  
Нигерия

**African Union and its Peace Keeping Mission in Burundi**

**Африканский Союз и его миротворческая миссия в Бурунди**

The African Continent has been enraged with war and civil strife since Independence. It has led to the destruction of properties and loss of human



lives. The breakdown of law and order has resulted to mass migration of the population to other countries. This has raised serious debates among policy makers, theoreticians and International relations expert, whether the African continent is capable of keeping the peace in her domain.

Despite several interventions of the United Nations to keep the peace, still it has not yielded much result. Some people were of the opinion that the African Union is capable of managing the conflict in their region. This became a food for thought on the leadership of the African Union. The establishment of the African union peace keeping operations was in accordance with its peace and Security Council, and backed by Article 52 of the United Nations that regional organisation can manage conflicts in their region. This led to the creation of the African Mission in Burundi being the first peacekeeping operation performed by the African Union. This was seen as a welcoming development among the international community that the burden of the United Nations is being reduced and viewed by many as African Solutions to African problems. This paper will examine the conflict in Burundi and the role of AU mission, also the participants in the conflict and attempted Resolution and challenges the mission faced.

**Nazreen Shaik-Peremanov**  
**University of South Africa,**  
**South Africa**

Н. Шаик-Переманов  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

### **The Plight of Child Soldiers: Was the RUF a Miss?**

#### **Положение детей-солдат:**

#### **был ли Объединенный революционный фронт ошибкой?**

The trial of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) began in 2004. Foday Sankoh, known as “Pa” to the drunken and drugged child soldiers was the founder and leader of the RUF. He died whilst in custody of the United Nations. His matter never went to trial. Sam Bockarie’s, a battlefield commander, indictment was withdrawn because he was killed in Liberia.

The RUF was notorious for using child soldiers, the so called Small Boys Units. Boys under the age of 15 were forcibly recruited by the RUF and issued them with AK 47 assault rifles. These child soldiers had a reputation for cruelty inflicted upon civilians. Machetes, pangas and other weapons were used to maim thousands of victims indiscriminately. In 2001 when the war was drawing to an end approximately 120 000 people had been killed and thousands were left mutilated.

The accused were indicted for conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities constitute “other serious violations of international humanitarian law”. The SCSL found some of the accused guilty of planning the use of children to actively participate in hostilities, pursuant to the provisions of the SCSL Statute.

This article explores the role of the African Union towards the protection of children against being recruited as child soldiers. The article commences with a brief historical background and moves into the regional organization itself; investigating its role in protecting children on the continent. The RUF decision is a case in point. The duty to protect children against conscription does not lie primarily with ad hoc courts and tribunals sanctioned by the United Nations. Primarily, the duty rests with the African Union providing guidance and accountability.

Wars on the continent, whether they be intra state or inter state wars should protect the rights of children. More especially, states or groups which violate the rights of children whilst enabling the conscription of child soldiers must be held accountable. The African Union is at the helm of proscribing protection.

**Mmatsie Mooki,  
Boitumelo Mmusinyane  
University of South Africa  
М. Мооки, Б. Ммусиньяне  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория**

**Exploring Novel Ways of Protecting the Rights of People living with  
Disabilities in Africa using Existing Mechanisms:  
A Legal and Institutional Analysis**

**Исследование новых путей защиты прав людей с ограниченными  
физическими возможностями в Африке, используя существующие  
механизмы: правовой и институциональный анализ**

We live in societies where disability is prevalent in almost every family and country settings. So far, people living with disability are not on an equal footing with the rest of able persons on every level and this creates an assumption that the protection and promotion of their human rights is unnecessary and does not warrant stronger protection mechanisms. However, the world we live in today demands that every person including disabled persons should be treated with dignity and be accorded equal opportunities aimed at developing them to become meaningful members of the society irrespective of their disability. In 2002 it was estimated that 600 million per-

sons live with disability worldwide, about 400 million of those are found in developing countries and most importantly 80 million of them live in ca<sup>3</sup>. However, the World Health Organisation report indicate that Africa, alone has 300 million people living with disabilities, of which 10–15% of them are school going children<sup>4</sup>. Due to various factors like violence; HIV/AIDs, birth defects and others, the number of people living with disability is increasing<sup>5</sup>. According to the 2013 World Report on Disability, currently the world has over a billion people living with some form of disability and this account for 15% of the world’s population<sup>6</sup>. This report however, does not break the statistics in terms of regions.

**Okoli Rowland Chukwuma**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
Р.Ч. Околи  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**Financial Globalisation & the Travails of Africa’s Monetary Union**  
**Agenda: The Experience of West Africa**  
**Финансовая глобализация и тяготы повестки дня африканского**  
**Валютного союза: опыт Западной Африки**

Globlisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon with risks and opportunities for States of the world that have been inextricably linked in a complex and interdependent relationship. Meanwhile, Africa remains a mosaic despite the quest for economic integration among African states which predates their colonization. The study interrogated the neoliberal proselytisation of globalisation as an inevitable phenomenon that benefits all states or even fosters regional integration, it equally evaluated the impact of financial globalization on the strategies and mechanisms of monetary cooperation in West Africa. Data for the study was collected largely from documentary sources. Using the Complex Interdependence theory and qualitative descriptive method of data analysis, the paper argues that the pursuit of regional integration remains ubiquitous in Africa. However, financial globalisation undermines the autonomy of West African States in

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<sup>3</sup> United Nations Factsheet on Persons with Disabilities  
<<http://www.un.org/disabilities/default.asp?id=18>> (accessed October 2013).

<sup>4</sup> African Studies Center “Disability in Africa”  
<<http://www.ascleiden.nl/?q=content/webdossiers/disability-africa> > (accessed October 2013).

<sup>5</sup> See “Health and Disability News and Statistics for Africa” at <http://www.disabled-world.com/news/africa/> (accessed October 2013).

<sup>6</sup> World Health Organization 2013 “Disability and Health” Fact Sheet No Reviewed September 2013 <[http://www.who.int/disabilities/world\\_report/2011/accessible\\_en.pdf](http://www.who.int/disabilities/world_report/2011/accessible_en.pdf) > (accessed October 2013).

domestic monetary policy making and vitiates the efficacy of the mechanisms and strategies initiated for monetary cooperation in West Africa. We noted inter alia, that achieving Monetary Union in the sub-region remains one of the cardinal objectives of ECOWAS and African Union(AU) but despite various arrangements aimed at evolving a common currency in West Africa, the quest for Monetary Union remains a mirage. Although regional integration is not an elixir, the paper appreciates regional integration as a veritable strategy required to mitigate the risks posed by globalisation and therefore advocates adoption of evidence-based Afro-centric economic reforms, intra regional trade, strong institutional framework and good governance all of which will engender economic stability/convergence and the political will required to achieve a common currency in West Africa.

**Phazha Jimmy Ngandwe**  
**University of South Africa**  
Ф.Дж. Нгандве  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

### **The Practical Challenges and Repercussions of the SADC Foreign Investment Policy and Law**

#### **Практические угрозы и последствия политики привлечения и правовой базы зарубежных инвестиций САДК**

It is trite that in order for Africa in general and the Southern African Development Community sub-region in particular to develop to its full potential, foreign investment is indispensable, given the fact that the continent and the sub-region generally suffer from financial quorshiokor. In order to particularise it, the research is only concerned with foreign direct investment and not portfolio investment<sup>7</sup>. Whereas the foregoing is the case, the region has not made decisive practical advances both through policy and law to encourage and protect foreign investors and their investments. The case in point is the Campbell's case which in many quarters is argued to be the *sine qua non* of the demise of the SADC Tribunal<sup>8</sup>. This research therefore interrogates the SADC's oxymoron of professing eagerness for economic integration through, *inter alia*, foreign direct investment and the inertia in

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<sup>7</sup> Sonarajah M., "International Law on Foreign Investment"; Cambridge (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) 2010. Foreign Direct Investment involves the transfer of property such as equipment, or physical property that is bought or constructed such as plantations and manufacturing plants. Portfolio Foreign Investment on the other hand involves the movement of money for the purpose of buying shares in a company formed or functioning in another country.

<sup>8</sup> Athol Trollip is Democratic Alliance parliamentary leader. The interview was covered by the Pretoria News of August 2010 and it appears at p 11.

so far as creating a suitable environment for foreign direct investment. For instance the region is failing to adequately guarantee investor safety and protection. Albeit the fact that the research is limited to the SADC region for practical reasons, the findings and conclusions are relevant to the continent as a whole. This is due to the similarities of the regions which are the building blocks of the African Union.

The methodology adopted in interrogating this discourse is an interdisciplinary one encompassing the qualitative and the empirical research methods. The research is not only confined to the legal discipline, as it also covers political policies which are intertwined with the law. This choice is informed by the fact that the research is intended to depict and interrogate the pragmatic challenges and repercussions of the SADC foreign investment policy and law and at the same time maintaining academic pedigree.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-3**  
**Вызовы демократизации и новые отношения между**  
**гражданскими и военными в Африке**  
**Challenges of Democratisation and the New African**  
**Civil-Military Relations**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Martin R. Rupiya**  
**(The African Public Policy & Research Institute, Pretoria/Tshwane,**  
**South Africa)**

The importance of the panel becomes clear if one takes into account recent events of rapid power changes in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo and Madagascar – confronting the African Union with unique characteristics of political and socio-economic crises that have both sub-regional and international dimensions? These events – reflecting the fragility of the African state in the post-colonial/One-Party-State era – have thrown up interesting dynamics for the new political elite to deconstruct and reconstruct new civil military relations, complete with reformed institutions. The question of the discovery and abundance of natural resources, minerals and hydrocarbons that has become prevalent on the African continent, this has become a game changer – creating the potential for domestic capacity and yet the source/curse of possible instability? Given the specificities of the challenge: from Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Mali, the new Somalia, South Sudan and Madagascar – the constitutional and institutional establishment of new civil-military relations has emerged as the single most important dimension for long-term stability and development. Civil Military Relations include the defined and constitutional role of the Executive; Legislature – complete with Oversight powers; constitutionally mandated civilian bureaucracy and institutions – ranging from Intelligence; Border Guards/Immigration; Police; Army, National Parks and VIP Points such as oil wells and diamond mines as well as Prison officials. An example of the common response has been the time limits of all political and civil service officials responsible for defense and security matters, finding their terms of conditions of service and periods limited in the series of draft constitutions produced in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Egypt. What future does this hold for stable and balanced civil military relations in these and other African states?

**Henrik Laugesen**  
**Royal Danish Defence College**  
**Copenhagen, Denmark**

Х. Лаугесен  
Королевский датский военный колледж,  
Копенгаген

**Democratization in Kenya:**  
**The Ambiguity of Foreign Military Assistance**  
**Демократизация в Кении:**

**неоднозначная роль иностранной военной помощи**

This paper will investigate into the alleged connection between the role of Foreign Military Assistance and democratization in Kenya. In Africa, the end of the cold war had a decisive impact on the regional security. Old supporting structures in Africa collapsed and since the super powers no longer had strong strategic interest in the continent, the first step to a new security architecture in Africa was taken. The military engagement in Africa has since the 1950 rapidly increased by focusing more and more on providing” military capacities” as components embedded into a slowly emerging but ever so fragile force structure (ASF), hoping that the Africans at some point in time would be able handle their own security. A frequently used argument is that without this “building of military capacities” the chances that a peaceful transition towards democracy can take place are decreasing. African solutions to African problems we say.

In that perspective an interesting question arises, can foreign military training of national and regional capacities actually contribute positively to the process of democratization in Africa? A very brief investigation into the progress of democratization in Kenya on the basis of “EIU Democracy Index<sup>9</sup>”, suggests no positive effect on democratic transition even though Kenya has received a considerable amount of military assistance<sup>10</sup> since year 2000. If we add figures from Freedom House regarding development in political rights and civil liberties between 2002 and 2011, we find no significant connection<sup>11</sup>. Judging from this preliminary and superficial comparison off available statistic, the democratizing effect of Military Capacity Building (MBC) is either very slow or it completely fails to materialize. In this paper I will investigate further into this alleged connection between the role of the military and democratization in Kenya.

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<sup>9</sup> EIU Index on Democracy in Kenya. <http://www.eiu.com>.

<sup>10</sup> US ACOTA program involves Kenya as a partner.  
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/acota.htm>

<sup>11</sup> Freedom House rate Kenya as “Partly free”.  
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/country/kenya>

**Gorden Moyo**  
**National University of Science and Technology**  
**Zimbabwe**

Г. Мойо  
Национальный университет науки и технологии  
Булавайо, Зимбабве

**Prospects for a Democratic Developmental State (DDS) in the  
Context of Civil Military Relations (CMR) in Zimbabwe:  
A Decolonial Epistemic Perspective**

**Перспективы демократического развивающего государства  
в контексте гражданско-военных отношений в Зимбабве:  
деколониальный эпистемный подход**

This monograph sets out to interrogate the phenomenon of a democratic developmental state (DDS) and how its institutionalisation can be facilitated and/or frustrated by civil military relations (CMR) in Africa with specific reference to Zimbabwe. A small but growing body of literature indicates that the notion of a DDS is in vogue. Countries such as South Africa, Ethiopia, Uganda and Ghana have expressed in their various policy statements and development blueprints that they are DDSs in the making. Botswana and Mauritius are extensively cited in literature as shining examples of successful DDSs in Africa. On the other hand, Zimbabwe has expressed in its medium term plan of government (MTP) that it is an aspiring DDS. The country has also canonised a new framework for CMR in its recently adopted National Constitution. The question therefore posed by this enquiry is whether or not the civil-military relations mediating the political and economic public spheres are catalytic to the incubation of a successful DDS in Zimbabwe. Evidence on civil-military relations in Zimbabwe points to the pervasiveness, ubiquity and predominance of the retired and serving military officers in public leadership *inter alia* as state managers, state bureaucrats and public enterprises chief executives. Yet the DDS model opines that these institutions are critical in the construction of a DDS project. This paper argues that the CMR in Zimbabwe as in other post-colonial African states is subsumed and soaked in its socio-historical context. Therefore the bane of the nationalist-military oligarchy pervading the public space in Zimbabwe and the prospects for the construction of a DDS are both explainable and analysable from a “decolonial epistemic perspective”. From this view, the paper concludes that a successful DDS is possible, plausible, desirable and feasible in Zimbabwe provided state managers commit themselves to the process of dismantling the matrices of the coloniality of power including depoliticisation of the military; demilitarization of the state; genuine civilian authority over military; and authentic citizen participation in the affairs of the state. Otherwise the context is set to erect an authoritarian developmental state in Zimbabwe instead of a DDS.



**Challenges to Security Sector Governance in West Africa's  
Growing Democracies**

**Вызовы управлению сектором безопасности в растущих  
западноафриканских демократиях**

The African Union (AU) Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform (SSR) that was adopted in January 2013 is aimed at assisting countries to formulate or re-orient their national security policies and structures in ways that will enable the emergence of a security sector that is more effective, efficient and responsive to democratic control, and to the security and justice needs of its people. This agenda is further strengthened in the emerging Security Sector Governance (SSG) Concept that is being finalized by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), under the auspices of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). The emerging concept emphasizes the significance of legislative, executive, judicial and civil society oversight as critical cornerstones for democratic control and governance of the security sector. Despite this however, past and on-going security reform processes and programmes in Africa have largely tended and continue to prioritize the technical dimension of security reforms over the governance element. To this end, past SSR programmes in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and current SSR processes in Cote d'Ivoire and Mali were focused, and are still being largely designed to focus more, on the professionalization of security institutions, especially with respect to training and equipping. Lack of democratic and/or oversight and control of the security sector can actually undermine the professionalism of security institutions, the rule of law and respect for human rights. It can also result in politicization and lack of transparency and accountability; and thus undermine the nascent democratization process in many parts of the continent. As illustrated in the cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia, this lack of oversight of the security sector and SSR is due to a number of factors, including but not limited to the lack of expertise and capacity on the parts of civilians or civil society organizations, executive interference and presidential oversight. What is the impact of this on the new and/or emerging nature of civil-military relations in Africa in general and West Africa in particular? What lessons can be drawn from the SSR experiences in Sierra Leone and Liberia for Mali and other West African countries currently undertaking SSR?

**Amir Bahram Arab Ahmadi**  
**Teheran University, Iran**  
А.Б.А. Ахмади  
Тегеранский университет, Иран

**Democratization in Africa since early 1990s**  
**Демократизация в Африке с начала 1990-х гг.**

Almost two decades have passed since the “third wave” of democratization began to roll across Sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s. While the holding of regular elections has become relatively well-established in many countries, perhaps most successfully in Ghana and Niger, electoral processes have also been deeply flawed in recent instances such as in Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe. It is unclear how many African states are moving closer to “democratic consolidation”, or instead inhabits the “grey zone” between democracy and autocracy as “defective democracies” or “electoral authoritarianism”.

It is thus timely to reflect back on the relative successes and shortcomings experienced and to look forward to future prospects for democratization on the subcontinent.

- How does multi-party politics actually work on the sub-continent and how democratic are African “democracies”?
- Does a democratic façade merely conceal authoritarian leadership?
- Do results merely reflect an ethnic or religious census?
- Are “winner-takes-all” elections and centralized governments the best frameworks for Africa, or do broad coalitions and/or federalism provide a better way forward

Finally we can conclude that Democracy is increasingly seen as the only legitimate form of government in Africa and liberal democracy has taken root in Africa.

**Tushar Kanti Saha**  
**National University of Lesotho**  
Т.К. Саха  
Национальный университет Лесото  
Рома

**Arab Spring and its Implication for Democratization in**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa**  
**«Арабская весна» и ее последствия для демократизации в**  
**субсахарской Африке**

“Arab Spring” is the moniker term that was used in the beginning of March 2005 by numerous media commentators to suggest that a spin-off

benefit of the invasion of Iraq would be the flowering of Western-friendly Middle East democracies. The term took on a new meaning in 2011, as democratic uprisings independently arose and spread across the Arab world. An area that was a byword for political stagnation is witnessing a rapid transformation that has caught the attention of the world. New perception points to a large ideological archipelago of faux expertise. Nothing has yet been resolved in any Arab country, not even in Tunisia or Egypt, where the despots are gone but a real transformation has barely begun. This is true even though both countries possess many of the prerequisites for a constitutional government, a mature democracy, economic progress and social justice-like a strong civil society, a history of labor organization, many highly educated people and some strong institutions. And despite the bravery of those who have been beaten, tear-gassed and shot while demanding change, even less has been transformed in other Arab countries. All of it could turn sour, whether through civil war in Libya or Yemen, paralysis in Tunisia and Egypt, or endlessly fruitless contestation with those in power in Kuwait, Bahrain, Jordan, Morocco, Oman and elsewhere. The myth that this region not suited to democracy is exploded by the phenomenal history of liquid democracy echoing past glory in the events in the region where debates over how to limit the power of rulers led to sustained constitutional effervescence in Tunisia and Egypt in the late 1870s and to the establishment of a Constitution in the Ottoman Empire in 1876. At that time the empire included not only today's Turkey but also most of the eastern Arab world, including Syria and Iraq. Later, in 1906, Iran established a constitutional regime. The Western powers not only gave little or no support to democratic rule in the Middle East; they often actively undermined it, preferring to deal with pliable autocrats who did their bidding. Amnesty International singled out Wikileaks release of US Diplomatic Cables as a catalyst for the revolts. A few academics, notably Noam Chomsky, viewed the Western Sahara in October 2010 protests as the starting point from which 'the current wave of protests actually began'. "A fight back by repressive governments is putting at risk a historic struggle for freedom and justice in the Arab world", said Amnesty International. The contagion is spreading like wildfire moving from un-kingly dictatorship to kingly regimes fuelled by hunger for freedom.

The Research Paper dwells on the historical basis and seeds of present unrest of revolutionary spirit leading to dramatic sweep of political change egged on by social media and supported by world opinion. The sea change in the political climate in MENA region has implications in the rest of African region struggling to establish and strengthen democratic process. The study will investigate the influence of these events in the intellectual frame and ground level fluid of reality unleashing in the continent's sub-Saharan countries.

**Simon A. Akindes**  
**Addis Ababa University**  
**Ethiopia**  
С.А. Акиндес  
Аддис-абебский университет  
Эфиопия

## **Benin's Civil Military Transformation in a Democratic State-in a Region of Instability?**

### **Трансформация гражданско-военных отношений в демократическое государство в Бенине в регионе нестабильности?**

The military history of Nigeria is not complete without looking at the events and developments in neighboring Benin, a country with an integrated demographic, monarchical and ethnic relations in the pre-colonial era. Hence, the subsequent transformation of Benin (*formerly Dahomey until 1975*) has been remarkable-against the perceived instability of its neighbors: Togo, Nigeria, Niger and Burkina Faso.

Emerging after the debilitating series of coups since its independence in 1960, witnessed during 1963 (General Soglo), 1967, 1972, 1975 the almost direct intervention of Europe's middle powers: Belgium, Netherlands and Germany to consistently support policy and capacity building has provided a refreshing model that is unique to African conflict scenarios. How have these countries, with Belgium in the lead and also enjoying the special status of using Benin as its tropical training, succeeded to work harmoniously together and with the local armed forces and government? It is therefore this presentation's objective, to provide an empirically grounded analysis and rationale, in which the explanation of why Benin has been able to escape the coup tendencies and transformed itself into a stable, democratic state is argued? Furthermore, the achievement has not been smooth, with periods of regression based on the economic and political swings registered with the neighbors, such as the flow and disruptions of land based trade between Lagos and Abidjan and even import tariffs into West Africa through the Cotonou? The complex and integrated political and economic drivers that witnessed the intense engagement and discussions between the then President Olusugun Obasanjo and Benin President leading to the restoration of positive impact of trade on Benin.

Given the recent United Nations mission to Mali, Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso, states viewed as fragile and on the verge of imploding because of the twin curses of the impact of the North African Arab uprising that, in parallel has found weak institutions in the regional belt that links Northern Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa understanding the factors that have provided stability in Benin maybe important for urgent lessons learnt and extrapolation to the more volatile regions.

**Elena Doroshenko**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Е.И. Дорошенко  
Институт востоковедения  
Москва, Россия

**Challenges of Democratisation and Civil-Military Relations in Libya**  
**Вызовы демократизации и новые гражданско-военные отношения**  
**в Африке: Вызовы демократизации и гражданско-военные**  
**отношения в Ливии**

Analysing the ongoing “process of democratisation” in Libya and the resulting civil-military relations, one should consider the basic question of whether the dictatorial regime and its downfall alone can be blamed for the existing set of problems.

The answer depends on whether the priority is given to “pro-security” or “pro-social liberties” views; however, a more immediate issue is that the real power in Libya now belongs to militias made up of former revolutionaries (the “thuwars”), who refuse to put down their weapons and use them instead to terrorise civilians and stress their influence by pressing the government into passing laws, or kidnapping the prime minister.

The government’s attempts to integrate the militias into the state’s security forces have, by far, failed, an indication of its isolation and lack of any political authority. Such development can hardly be regarded as helping the much-awaited transition to democracy; the population at large is clearly against the militias, as numerous demonstrations prove, but they are going nowhere.

Moreover, the amount of weaponry in the country, and in the region fuels various tribal conflicts which the previous regime managed to contain by balancing the relationship between tribes. Wrongly perhaps, this policy is now presented as ‘divide and conquer’, while in reality it used to be a working security mechanism.

Thus, the conflict, which looks more like the “war of all against all” now goes in several main directions:

- the initial “revolutionary” fight for freedom against the repressive regime turning into a “witch-hunt” (Sirte), with a racial tinge (Tawergha) backed by the government-supported “need” for “degaddafination” of the country;
- militias focused on staying in power, challenging the government;
- tribes set against each other, aided by the militias;
- Al-Qaeda-associated militias trying to bring all of the population under their control.

Needless to say, all of these put the population of Libya under great pressure. The government's inability to protect the population emphasizes separatist trends which are already very obvious in Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Civil liberties are now turning into lawlessness, and yet another question turns up: is Libya really on the way to democracy, or to "Somalisation"?

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-4

### **Вожди в постколониальной системе управления и развитие в Африке: проблемы и возможности Chiefs in Postcolonial Governance and Development in Africa: Issues and Options**

**Руководитель / Convener: Prof. Geoffrey I. Nwaka  
(Abia State Univeristy, Uturu, Nigeria)**

A strong anti-chieftaincy lobby in Africa maintains that traditional rulers have now outlived their usefulness, and are no longer relevant to modern day society; that such traditional institutions are incompatible with democratic practice, and could in fact reinforce ethnic differences, and undermine nation building. On the other hand many critics of African development blame state failure and the governance crisis in the continent on “the structural disconnection between formal institutions transplanted from outside and indigenous institutions born of traditional African cultures”. There is now renewed interest in an alternative approach to governance and development which emphasizes the cultural dimension of development, and the overlooked potentials of indigenous knowledge and traditional institutions. The challenge is how best to reconcile democracy and tradition, and enlist traditional institutions and values in the effort to promote good governance and sustainable development. Many now believe that by building on the indigenous we can make governance and development more participatory and sustainable, and also bring the full weight of customary restraints and cultural values to bear on public policy and public life. The panel considers how successive post-colonial constitutions and governments in Africa have tried to evolve a suitable chieftaincy policy, and to manage relations with chiefs at the state and local levels. The panel invites papers which discuss:

- relevant background issues on chiefs and traditional authorities in pre-colonial and colonial Africa;
- constitutional provisions on the place of chiefs, and on chieftaincy management in post-colonial African countries;
- the role of chiefs in customary law, and in judicial reforms; and how to strike the right balance between Western jurisprudence and indigenous concepts of justice and conflict resolution;
- chiefs and traditional leaders in the practice of democracy;
- chiefs in local government, decentralization and grassroots mobilization;
- traditional rulers and institutions in environmental protection, natural resource management, and response to climate change;

- chiefs and land control in traditional and contemporary African societies;
- should chiefs and traditional rulers take part in politics?

Other proposals that relate to the general theme of the panel will be considered.

**Rita Ozoemena**  
**University of Pretoria**  
**South Africa**  
Р. Озомена  
Университет Претории  
ЮАР

### **Ensuring Gender Justice and Social Change in African Traditional Institutions: Progress and Challenges**

#### **Обеспечение гендерной справедливости и социальные перемены в африканских традиционных институтах: прогресс и вызовы**

In many African countries including South Africa, there is constant clash between culture and human rights. A major aspect of the contentions refers to the role and powers of the traditional leaders who are custodians of customs and traditions in an era of human rights protection.

South Africa in its constitution and other pieces of legislation subscribes to the protection of human rights and the equal rights of men and women. In matters relating to governance, access to justice and land, certain pieces of legislation such as the Traditional Courts Bill (TCB), Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (TLGFA) and Communal Land Act (CLA) have given the traditional leaders extensive and wide powers that hardly protects the rights of women. Human rights instruments such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, demand that State Parties adopt legislative measures to deal with harmful traditional practices and discriminatory inequalities. However, in our African societies, there are many sites of discrimination against women, that enacting legislation purporting to promote equality, rights and freedom is at best inadequate.

This presentation would examine whether legislation as a tool for social change in a multi-cultural society is an appropriate mechanism. It would also explore whether the situation demands a fusion of process and institutions to ensure gender justice.



**Mariano Pavanello**  
**Sapienza University of Rome**  
**Italy**

М. Паванелло  
Университет Сапиенца, Рим  
Италия

**Transformation of Traditional Rule and Change in the Significance  
of Festivals in Ghana**

**Трансформация традиционного правления и изменения  
в значении празднеств в Гане**

Traditional Rule in Ghana has a constitutional basis since the independence of the Country. Its status and functions were confirmed in the 1992 Constitution. Political engineering by the colonial authorities and governments of independent Ghana has left the institution of chieftaincy with two sets of functions. The first one, defined in the various constitutions of the Republic of Ghana, may be described as statutory and has to do with the settlement of chieftaincy disputes and the codification of customary laws in their various regions with the view to their eventual unification. The second set of functions, which may be defined as non-statutory, is derived from their customary authority. This is to fill in the space in socio-economic development, left by the central and local government agencies. The subject of this paper is the increasing attention that traditional rulers in Ghana are paying to the material and non-material development of the people under their jurisdiction. The author wishes to point out that one way of mobilizing human and material resources is through the annual festivals organised by the various political communities, and that therefore these festivals have acquired more of secular than religious character. In general, in the past, festivals were regarded as occasions of communion between the living and the unseen spirits who were believed to be the guardians to the welfare of the living. The cultural and economic change under colonial rule, and particularly after the independence, deeply affected traditional festivals. They have lost their original meaning and significance turning into instruments for pursuing modern concerns. Hence, the author regards the modern festivals as exercises in public relations and lobbying for attention to communal needs.

Ocen Laury Lawrence  
Makerere Institute of Social Research  
Uganda

О.Л. Лоуренс  
УниверситетMakerere, Кампала  
Уганда

**Between the Cultural and the Political:  
The Functional Dilemma of Cultural Institutions in Uganda  
Между культурным и политическим:  
функциональная дилемма учреждений культуры в Уганде**

The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provided for the “restoration” of traditional leadership after it was abolished in 1966. My claim is that this restoration became a political rhetoric of “inventing” or re-imagining new institutions that are often seen to *serve* the interests of the state. This claim anchors on two assumptions. The first is that in the process of restoring cultural institutions, the place of history was either misrepresented or distorted. Why? As a case study I intend to explore the historical narratives around the origin of *TekwaroLango*, a *postcolonial* cultural institution of the *Langi*, a Nilotic tribe in northern Uganda, highlighting the historical continuities and discontinuities in this “re-invented” institution. The second is that by “constitutionalising” the functions of cultural institutions in Uganda it has created contradictions that often set these institutions into colliding path with the state and their *parent* communities. Certain constitutional provisions make it likely that these “recreated” institutions get involved in “partisan” politics and yet such involvements are outlawed by the same state constitution. What are the motives of the state vis-à-vis diasporic communities and civil societies that often support these institutions? Are these institutions guided by their political or cultural histories? How does *TekwaroLango*, for instance, navigate tensions arising from the interfacing of state politics and cultural obligations? How does *TekwaroLango* and other sister institutions in Uganda navigate local, national, and diasporic relations, particularly the Ugandan exiles? Lastly, in what sense do we view the conceptual issues of “restoration”, “invention”, and “remodification” of traditional institutions in Uganda in respect to state interests?

**Aziz Mostefaoui**  
**University of Adrar, Algeria**  
А. Мостефауи  
Университет Адраара, Алжир

**The Traditional Rulers and the Educated Elite between Agreement and Disagreement: The Case of the Gold Coast, 1860s-1920s** Традиционные правители и образованная элита между согласием и несогласием: пример Золотого Берега (1860–1920-е гг.)

With regard to West Africa, the traditional rulers had long constituted the only channel of communication between the European colonial authorities and the natives. In many colonies, such as the Gold Coast, the chiefs were even the medium through which the colonists ruled over the country, a colonial system known as indirect rule. Accordingly, very often the traditional rulers in the Gold Coast enjoyed special treatment by the British colonial authorities and kept their privileged positions among their own people. However, the relationships between the two sides (native rulers and colonial government) were not always harmonious as skirmishes and even confrontations between some chiefs and British officials were not infrequent during the second half of the nineteenth century. Likewise, the relationships between the educated Africans and the traditional rulers oscillated between cooperation, alliance, dissension, and confrontation. During the period under review, the Gold Coast witnessed many instances of such heterogeneous relationships between the traditional rulers and the educated Africans. For instance, while the two sides cooperated and made an alliance to found the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.) in 1898 to protest against and oppose the British land legislation (namely the Public Lands Bill) and preserve the native system of land tenure, they got into open confrontation when some educated members of this Society decided to break away from it and form a new and greater West African organization (the National Congress of British West Africa) in 1920. This paper examines the nature of the relationships that prevailed between the traditional rulers and the educated elite in the Gold Coast from the 1860s to the 1920s. Moreover, it tackles the attitude of the British colonial authorities towards each side and their position vis-à-vis the different conflicts that emerged every now and then between them.

**Mbekezeli Mkhize**  
**University of Stellenbosch**  
**South Africa**  
М. Мхизе  
Университет Стелленбоша  
ЮАР

**The Role of Traditional Rulers in African Development:  
Limits and Prospects in Post-apartheid South Africa**  
**Роль традиционных правителей в развитии Африки:  
ограничения и перспективы в постапартеидной ЮАР**

The aim of this paper is to document the role of traditional rulers in Africa. The traditional rulers have, for the most part, played an integral part as custodians of African culture during colonial and postcolonial times. However, the influence of traditional rulers has since waned amid the spread of democracy in Africa. While existing scholarly debates lend some credence to the role of traditional rulers in democracy in Africa, the relationship between traditional rulers and local government structures has been plagued by role ambiguities and constraints. The advent of democracy in Africa has resulted in constricted and/or diminished role/s of traditional rulers. This has had dire consequences. At one extreme, traditional rulers do not want to let go of power over land control and decision-making. At the other extreme, local government structures are, by virtue of being democratically elected, bound to exercise control over land. This paper seeks to shed some light on these issues by examining the role of traditional rulers in South Africa. The primary focus of this paper is the province of KwaZulu-Natal where there is a preponderance of clashes between traditional rulers and local government structures especially in the context of development. This paper argues that the role of traditional rulers in local government needs to be harnessed and supported. It also maintains that the role of traditional rulers is important in the consolidation of democracy in Africa because they serve as custodians of culture.

**George M. Bob-Milliar**  
**Kwame Nkrumah University**  
**of Science & Technology**  
**Ghana-Kumasi**

Дж.М. Боб-Миллар  
Университет науки и технологии  
им. Кваме Нкрумы, Кумаси, Гана

**Chieftaincy and Democracy: Compromised or  
Complementary Relationship?**

**Explaining the Endurance of Chieftaincy in Ghana's Fourth Republic**

**Соотношение между институтом вождей и демократией:  
компромис или взаимодополнительность? Объяснение прочности  
института вождей в Гане при Четвертой республике**

In the 1950s and 1960s, modernization theorists predicted the demise of the chieftaincy institution in post-colonial Africa. The argument was that the traditional character of chieftaincy would make it unsuitable for the needs of a modern society. Consequently, the outmoded institution would be replaced by modern institutions of governance. When the predictions of the modernization school failed to materialize in a number of African states; democratization theorists came onboard and argued that the institution of chieftaincy is antithetical to western type liberal democracy. It is said that chieftaincy is akin to a monarchy and is therefore undemocratic because those who claim to represent sub-national entities or communities are not elected by the people they claim to represent. These are legitimate claims but at the same time highly contestable in the case of Ghana. Indeed, the overall powers and authority of chiefs have experienced ebbs and flows because of dynamic changes in the chieftaincy institution. What factors account for the endurance of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana? It is argued in this paper that the failure of the modern state and by extension liberal democracy to address the development challenges of citizens makes the institution of chieftaincy relevant in Ghana's democratic dispensation. The chiefs are seen as agents of development in their communities. They do not only mobilize resources for development but they also act as the link between the people, national and international development agencies.

**Emeka Abugu**  
**Ministry of Chieftaincy Matters**  
**Enugu State, Nigeria**  
Э. Абугу  
Министерство по делам  
вождей штата Энугу  
Энугу, Нигерия

**Constitutional Provisions on the Place of Chiefs and on Chieftaincy Management in Post-Colonial African States: A Critical Appraisal of Constitutional Provisions and Chieftaincy Management in Nigeria**  
**Конституционные ассигнования на поддержание института вождей и вождеское управление в постколониальных африканских государствах: критическая оценка конституционных ассигнований и вождеского управления в Нигерии**

Post-colonial African states have been enmeshed in crisis of identity and development since after political independence. This crisis of identity stems from the fact that there is a fundamental disconnect between the traditional institutions represented by traditional chiefs and the requirements of Western democracy. In the socio-political engineering of most African states, the general assumption is that there is no room for the accommodation of the chiefs in the political process. This is particularly true in Nigeria. Since her political independence, as well as constitutional developments even from the colonial times, the constitutional role of the traditional rulers has always been a thorny issue in Nigeria. The present federal constitution in Nigeria has not addressed this issue adequately. In the current effort by the National Assembly to amend the constitution, the question of constitutional provisions for the traditional chiefs has been strident. The response by the government has been to manage these traditional institutions merely as custodians of culture and tradition. This paper, therefore, addresses the issues of chiefs and chieftaincy management in post-colonial African states with Nigeria as a focal point with a view to identifying the constitutional constraints impinging on the role of chiefs in post-colonial African states. The paper argues that traditional chiefs have fundamental roles to play in the socio-political development of post-colonial African states especially in security matters, good governance, sustainable development and national integration. The paper recommends that there is need to give proper constitutional roles to the chiefs. Data for the paper have been sourced through secondary sources.

**Karolina Knotek**  
**University of Copenhagen**  
**Denmark**

К. КНОТЕК  
Университет Копенгагена, Дания

**The Relationship between African Chiefdoms and State Order in the  
Discourse of Democratization – Questioning the Analytical Framework**  
**Отношения между африканскими вождествами и государственным  
режимом в дискурсе демократизации: рассмотрение  
аналитической основы**

In my presentation I would like to analyze the assumption that traditional chiefdoms contribute to the state building process and democratization in Africa. I would like to argue that democracy discourse puts limitations on analysis of the role of traditional chiefdoms in African states. There is an ongoing debate between two views on the role of traditional powers in African states. On one hand, chiefs are believed to be despotic and antithetical to democracy. On the other, their existence is believed to help to catch the democratic mechanisms and pluralism. Chiefdoms are argued to help to adjust society to modern forms of economy and state. They are supposed to help to stabilize civic morals and public order during transformation time. However on the contrary, democratization can threaten those institutions' position. Belonging to double world chiefs and subjects have also to face dilemma of values and choose between traditional and modern. I would like to question if it is reasonable to lead the discussion about the role of chiefdoms in democracy categories? I find questions like: “whether traditional systems are, at their core, pro- or anti-democratic” – to be problematic. I would like to consider in which categories the issues of state and chiefdoms can be analyzed as I find that democracy discourse puts limitations on analysis. It is interesting to consider if the mix of the two different spheres of power can work together. These two orders are legitimized in a different way and they are perceived in a different way. They belong to different discourses. Does this automatically leads to rivalry between them? Identity build on traditional institutions can constitute basis for civil and state engagement. According to the Foucauldian theory of subjectivity the incorporation of chieftainship into state order can help to make a shift in subjectivity – from chieftainship subjectivity to state one.

**Adebisi Ademakinwa**  
**University of Lagos, Nigeria**  
А. Адемакинва  
Университет Лагоса, Нигерия

**Traditional Rulers and their Value in Contemporary Nigerian  
Democratic Dispensation**  
**Традиционные правители и их ценность в условиях современной  
нигерийской демократии**

By traditional rulers, one refers to the Obas, the Igwes, the Emirs, the lesser Bales and others that once used to hold sway in traditional Nigerian societies before and after the advent of colonialism. The value of the institution resides in the various duties the personalities perform as managers of the affairs of their respective communities. With colonial authority in place, their roles began to decrease as they were no longer the ultimate controllers of power. Since then, traditional rulers continued to serve as adjunct to the various authorities in the post-colonial era. This situation leads us to raise few questions: are the traditional rulers of great relevance even in this subsidiary role? Would there be any disequilibrium in the society if the institution of traditional rulers is totally abrogated? Can they improve their relevance by becoming actively involved in politics? What has been the result of a few that participated in active politics? The paper relies on analysis of novels such as *IgbiAiyeNyi* by Ladele T.A.A, *Many Thing You No Understand* by Adaora Lily Ulasi and *OgunAgbekoya*, a film by LerePaimo as well as scholarly works on the history of Nigeria. The paper argues that traditional rulers in modern dispensation, serve merely as cultural symbols and really have little political power, thus, the institution could be relegated to total irrelevance without affecting mainstream governance. Again, any attempt by the traditional rulers to get involved in politics put the institution at the risk of becoming more irrelevant in the political arena. The contribution of this paper lies in its eclectic analysis of drama, fiction and history to arrive at its conclusion.



**Grasian Mkodzongi**  
**University of Cape Town**  
**South Africa**  
Г. Мкодзонги  
Университет Кейптауна  
ЮАР

**“I Am a Paramount Chief, this Land Belongs to my Ancestors”: State Making and the Politics of land in the Aftermath of Zimbabwe’s Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP)**

**«Я верховный вождь, эта земля принадлежит моим предкам»: строительство государства и земельная политика как следствие Ускоренной земельной реформы Зимбабве**

This paper utilizes empirical data to explore the way in which the state and chiefs claim authority over land in the aftermath of the FTLRP. The paper pays particular attention to the way chiefs have utilized ancestral autochthony as a way of making claims over territories that were opened up during the land reform process. The paper argues that state making in the context of Zimbabwe’s FTLRP has been based on contested claims of authority between the state and local actors such as chiefs. The paper concludes by highlighting that although the state has sought to sideline chiefs in rural governance, chiefs remain a key part of the rural authority structure due to their roll in mobilizing their subject communities during elections. The paper is based on ethnographic data gathered in the MhondoroNgezi District of Zimbabwe.

**Concetta Lorinzzo**  
**University of Cape Town**  
**South Africa**  
К. Лоринццо  
Университет Кейптауна, ЮАР

**Traditional Authorities in Mozambique:  
Traditional or Modern Justices?  
Традиционные власти в Мозамбике:  
традиционные или современные судьи?**

The Mozambique criminal justice system is represented by a legal pluralism of conflict resolution mechanisms. Alongside the recognised formal district, provincial and supreme courts, a heterogeneous picture of traditional and informal methods of dispute resolution characterises the existing criminal justice system of the country. The inability of the state to be the sole administrator of justice; the weakness of the formal justice system in

assisting the legal needs of the people and the structural and functional existence of other mechanisms have left intact or even enhanced the role that traditional and other informal methods of dispute resolution cover in the administration of justice in Mozambique. In urban areas, neighbourhood secretaries, community courts and national non-governmental organisations are consulted by the population to restore the peace and harmony broken through the commission of a crime. In the rural areas of the country, healers, traditional authorities such as traditional chiefs, village's secretaries and other leaders solve most of the problems that occur among the communities. Specifically traditional authorities have always been defined by the orthodox literature as traditional justices distinguishing them from modern mechanisms of dispute resolution. However, while they function in the present time; while they are used in rural and in urban areas by the population, traditional authorities are still considered traditional justices and only few scholars have begun to challenge the orthodox theory, attempting to consider them as modern mechanisms. The article departs from the deconstruction of the words tradition and modern and questions if traditional authorities in Mozambique are forms of traditional, modern justices or if they can be considered both traditional and modern. Through the assessment of the traditional authorities' historical development, the article explores the reasons for which traditional authorities, today, can be considered traditional and/or modern justices in Mozambique.

**Bakare Adebola Rafiu**

**University of Ilorin, Nigeria**

A.P. Бакаре

Университет Илорина, Нигерия

**“Local Leadership Responsibility Model” as a Panacea for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution: A Case for the Constitutionalisation of the Role of Traditional Rulers in Nigeria**  
**«Модель ответственности местных лидеров» как панацея для предотвращения, урегулирования и разрешения конфликтов: пример конституционализации роли традиционных правителей в Нигерии**

The continuous upsurge in the plethora of conflicts in Africa and the problematic in their prevention, management and resolution can be strongly blamed on the relegation of the African traditional institutions in modern governance and the adoption of foreign cultures at the expense of traditional African cultures. In recognition of this incongruity, this paper attempt to identify some African cultural norms that were used in the pre-colonial African societies which helped prevented, managed and resolved conflict and

other social vices. The paper call for the re-introduction of these norms and argued that this can only be done by re-integrating the traditional institutions who are the cultural custodian into the modern governance. The author propounds the development of *African democracy* by striking a balance between traditional governance and western democracy. With reference to Nigeria, the paper makes case for the constitutionalization of the roles of traditional rulers by reviving the House of Chiefs as the lower legislative chamber in each state with the power to legislate on moral and cultural matters; serve as advisory council to the executive on grassroots issues; complement the judiciary is local disputes settlement (alternative court system-ACS). Above all, the author propounded *Local Leadership Responsibility Model* charging the traditional chiefs with the responsibility of early detection and resolution of broiling conflict in their locality before degeneration. Statistical analysis of the data from structured questionnaire administered to test the viability of the model reveals that it is strongly viable to detect, resolve and prevent conflict at the early stage from erupting and degenerated within the locality under the jurisdiction of various traditional rulers.

**Victor Igbogbo**  
**Joseph Ayo Babalola University**  
**Osun State, Nigeria**  
В. Игбогбо  
Университет им. Джозефа Айо Бабалолы  
Илеша, Нигерия

**The Politicization of a Chieftaincy Dispute. The case of Ekpon,  
Esanland, Edo State, Nigeria**  
**Политизация спора о власти вождей: пример Экпона**  
**(Эшанлэнд, штат Эдо, Нигерия)**

This paper examines the chieftaincy succession dispute in Ekpon, Esanland, Edo State, Nigeria. It traces the history of the struggle for the kingship title between the two contending personalities, His Royal Highness, Charles Edobor and Prince George Edobor. Using data and information gathered from key informants interviewed and an analysis of Customary Laws in Esanland and Chiefs Law in Nigeria, the paper concludes that the dispute has been highly politicized because chiefs now seriously enjoy the patronage of the political class. Furthermore, the desire of politicians to use the Royal fathers as grassroots mobilizes has contributed immensely to the politicization of the Ekpon Chieftaincy Dispute.

**Adedayo Emmanuel Afe  
Adekunle Ajasin University  
Ondo State, Nigeria**

**А.Э. Афе  
Университет им. Адекунле Асаджина  
Акунгба-Акоко, Нигерия**

**Traditional Judicial System And Governance In The Old Ondo  
Province, Southwestern Nigeria**

**Традиционная правовая система и управление в провинции  
Старое Ондо (Юго-Западная Нигерия)**

Traditional judicial system and governance in the Old Ondo Province, like other Yoruba communities, evolved during the long process of the people's historical, political, economic and other social evolution. In other words, the people evolved a system of justice and governance that was relevant to them despite the complexity of justice before the advent of the British. The traditional system of governance recognized that judicial function was an essential part of government and it was divided into three major levels: the king (*oba*), the chief or village head (*Ijoye/Baale*) and the family head. The people's traditional structure of governance with its judicial system, as a key element, was unique and judgments were adhered to, strictly. But recently, our societies have reached a stage where the courts are no more respected, most especially by prominent citizens. Therefore, this study is imperative in relation to the positioning of our judicial system for better justice delivery. This study is approached from both historical and legal perspectives. Thus, this work enables us to know the efficacy of a good judicial system and governance as the bedrock of the survival of any nation all over the world. To an extent, the evolution of modern judicial system can be achieved with the fusion of traditional and foreign experience by changing circumstances such as increase in the population, the interplay of the economic situations, and contact with different peoples, cultures and modernization. This paper concludes that traditional judicial system and governance will, for a long time, continue to function complementarily in contemporary socio-political imaginary.

**Ikpanor Elijah Terdoo**  
**Benue State University**  
**Makurdi – Nigeria**  
И.Э. Тердоо  
Университет штата Бенуэ  
Макурди, Нигерия

**Traditional Chieftaincy Institutions and the Challenge of Free and Fair  
Elections in Nigeria: Hindsight on the Tiv People of Central Nigeria**  
**Традиционные институты вождей и вызов свободных и  
справедливых выборов в Нигерии: взгляд в прошлое народа тив  
Центральной Нигерии**

Successive administrations in Nigeria have generally, played the central role in the selection and installation of traditional rulers, sometimes contrary to the traditional system. Traditional rulers also depend on government for the payment of their salaries and retention of relevance in the present socio-political configuration. These are the challenges captured in this discourse the reliance on should place on traditional chieftaincy reliance. This has certainly affected the place of traditional chieftaincy institutions among the Tiv of central Nigeria. Government administrations use them as agents of mobilization for political rallies, election campaigns and voting. This role has posed a challenge to free and fair elections since traditional rulers began to serve the interest of the ruling political parties and government in power against their traditional function as custodians of customary values. This paper examines the evolution and functions of traditional chieftaincy institutions in the Tiv society and the degree of their changing roles and involvement in partisan politics in the contemporary society. The paper interrogates the syndicate role of traditional rulers and political office holders in the manipulation of electoral process, rigging of elections and impact of their emerging status on the question of relevance. The paper submits that, for traditional chieftaincy institutions to remain relevant in their communities, there must be a clear distinction in their activities as traditional leaders, especially with respect to their involvement in elections.

**Akachi Odoemene**  
**University College, Oxford, UK**

А. Одомене  
Университетский колледж  
Оксфорд, Великобритания

**The New Scramble for Africa: Of Wealthy Foreign Grabbers,  
Local Elite Conspirators and Alienated Rural Peasantry**  
**Новая схватка за Африку: о богатых зарубежных хапугах,  
заговорщиках из местной элиты и отчужденном крестьянстве**

Just as in the case of the earlier “scramble for Africa” which came at the heels of the historic 1884/5 Berlin Conference, several evolutionary factors in other parts of the world have created the impetus for a new scramble. This is the 21st Century “land grabbing”, ostensibly to ensure both food and energy security elsewhere. Three key interested parties are identified in this development. This study, in analyzing the interests and stake of each, argues that, unlike the earlier scramble, this modern trend has a good measure of “local content and participation” – often orchestrated and/or agreed to by the African elite. But, like the late 19<sup>th</sup> century scramble, this has been at the expense of the rural poor exposed to the dire socio-economic challenges associated with landlessness. It shows how the modern trend is “an alliance” involving international capital and complicit local elite, including State officials, the modern elite and local traditional authorities for capital accumulation. The paper concludes that, as land lies at the heart of “life” in Africa, issues pertaining to rights to it, access and use(s) would remain bitterly contested. Thus, due to the intrigues involved in the land grab processes, these struggles – contestations and competitions – over land are likely to take on a fierce turn with dire consequences.

**Lydia Amoah**  
**University of Ghana, Legon**

Л. Амоа  
Университет Ганы, Легон

**The Changing Roles Of Akan Queenmothers:  
A Study Of Nana Yaa Asantewaa II**  
**Меняющиеся роли аканских королев-матерей:  
пример Наны Яя Асантеваа II**

Queenmothers in Ghana occupy a very important position as part of traditional authority. Though, they are often referred to as counterparts of chiefs, their levels of authority and roles may differ from that of the chiefs but together they have created a niche in the new system of governance in

Ghanaian Traditional Societies. This study examines the roles of an Akan queenmother such as Nana Yaa Asantewaa II, and indicates how these roles have changed or are changing. The findings of the study seem to suggest that some major roles such as selection of eligible male candidates to occupy the male stool of the paramountcy, giving the chief counsel as well as observing and pouring of libation on special days like the Akwasida, Awukuda and Fofie performed by Nana Yaa Asantewaa II have not changed. Nevertheless, globalization and development have influenced some of the roles an Akan Queenmother plays today.

In contemporary Ghana, the demand for development is gradually defining the modern traditional leaders' position in terms of his or her ability to be a development leader who can source for funds, lobby the government and international agencies for development projects for their communities and play active roles in governance. Queenmothers are thus using their position as leaders to work hand in hand with the government, Non-governmental organizations and development agencies to spearhead developmental projects in their communities. Some of them are involved in projects that are tuned to benefit women, such as improved maternity and health care for young girls and children, girl-child education and vocational training to mention a few.

Thus, Nana Yaa Asantewaa II now lobbies government and non-governmental agencies for developmental projects to be brought to her community and undertakes fundraising campaigns home and abroad to fund empowerment projects instituted by her such as the Virgins club and the refurbishment of the maternity block of the Ejisu government hospital in Ejisu.

**Patience Adzande**  
**Benue State University**  
**Nigeria**

П. Адзанде  
Университет штата Бенуэ  
Макурди, Нигерия

### **The Role of Traditional Institutions in Urban Security in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects**

#### **Роль традиционных институтов в обеспечении безопасности в городах Нигерии: проблемы и перспективы**

Traditional institutions still exist in urban areas in post-colonial Nigeria. However, it appears the traditional institution functions as a parallel government rather than as an integral part of the social control systems in urban areas. In Makurdi, the traditional institution is headed by the "TerMa-

kurdi” while kindred heads are appointed to oversee smaller units of the town. Makurdi town serves a dual role as the capital of Benue state and the headquarters of Makurdi local government area. The town is therefore administered by state agencies, the local government council and traditional rulers. With the increasing rates of urbanization and heightening insecurity, what do the multiplicity of governance structures portend for urban security? What is the role of traditional rulers in urban governance generally and urban security in particular? Does the traditional institution have the potential of contributing to urban governance and urban security? The paper will examine the functions of traditional rulers in urban governance and specifically, the challenges and prospects of involving them in managing security in the city.

**Animashaun Bashir Olalekan**

**Lagos State University**

**Lagos, Nigeria**

**А.Б. Олалекан**

**Университет штата Лагос, Нигерия**

**The Idejo and the Emergence of Traditional Political Institutions and  
Government in Lagos Island up to 1851**

**Идеджо, возникновение традиционных политических институтов и  
управление на острове Лагос до 1851 г.**

This paper examines the role of the Idejo traditional political institution in the evolution and development of traditional political system and government in Lagos Island from earliest time to the era of British imperialism in 1851. The Idejo by virtue of being the earliest inhabitants of Lagos exercises tremendous influence on political developments in Lagos from the earliest time to the present. Although there are evidences that suggests the existence of some elements whose activities pre-dates the advent of Olofin, the progenitor of the Idejo. Studies have shown that, the emergence of an institutionalized traditional political system and government in Lagos did not begin until the advent of the Idejo political institution. This paper seeks to examine the roles and contributions of the Idejo political institution to political development in Lagos from earliest time up to 1851. It further attempts to examine how the Idejo still remain relevant in the traditional politics of Lagos in spite of the advent of the Benin and British imperialist. The work adopts the historical narrative and analytical methods.



**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-5**  
**Экономическая политика в Африке**  
**Economic Policy in Africa**

**Руководитель: к.э.н. Евгения Викторовна Морозенская**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)**  
**Convener: Dr. Evgenia V. Morozenskaya**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

Темы для обсуждения:

- государственные программы структурных преобразований в экономике африканских стран;
- изменение роли государства в африканской экономике и возможности ее преобразования в «государство для развития»;
- инвестиционная политика африканских правительств и деятельность институтов по регулированию рынков капитала;
- проблемы выработки национальной и региональной промышленной политики;
- бюджетная и фискальная политика; способы контроля над ненаблюдаемой экономической деятельностью;
- кредитная политика африканских национальных и региональных банков;
- изменения во внешнеэкономической политике и регулировании внешней торговли;
- меры по регулированию трудовой занятости населения;
- программы социального развития и возможности достижения устойчивого экономического роста.

The panel addresses African studies, conducted in all fields of state economic activity with a special focus on:

- national programs for reforming the economic structure;
- evolution of the African state's role in the economy and a perspective of the “developmental state” concept;
- investment policy and the institutions of the capital market regulation in Africa;
- national and regional industrial policy;
- public finance: budget and fiscal policy;
- methods of the measurement and the control over an informal activity;
- credit policy of national and regional banks;
- changes in the regulation mechanism of a foreign trade;

- employment situation and government activity in this sphere;
- social development programs and a possibility of achieving sustained economic growth.

**Ana Maria Simões Ramalho Duarte**  
**Instituto Superior Politécnico**  
**Lusíada de Benguela, Angola**  
А.М. Симоэш Ромальо Дуарте  
Высший политехнический институт  
Лузиада Бенгелы, Ангола

### **The Dynamics of the «Real» Transport System and Poverty Reduction – a Case Study of Benguela (Angola)**

#### **Динамика «реальной» транспортной системы и сокращение бедности: пример Бенгелы (Ангола)**

Hirschman (1958) has argued that in the context of development strategies, economic development might be achieved through the positive effect of imbalances that push the economy forward as economic agents exploit the possibilities created by bottlenecks in the market. Such imbalances are conducive to change and provide more benefit than any other strategy. In Benguela (Angola), they are apparent in the «real» transport system where people's lived experiences of war-to-peace transitions are shaped by the interactions between official efforts and a myriad of inventive, often messy, adaptations. It is essential to analyse this combination of a variety of coping and accumulating strategies pursued by diverse kinds of rural and urban Angolans, and of official infrastructure reconstruction projects. The latter by and large developed non-formally during the years of conflict, and are now expanding under the sector reconstruction and modernization.

The assessment of the formal and non-formal dynamics, which characterizes the «real» transport system, is further crucial in the context of poverty reduction, as the type and the extent of poverty-related problems are worsening due to inadequate provision of transport infrastructure and services. Nevertheless, these dynamics have not induced maximum multiplier effects in terms of increased employment and income generating opportunities of the poor despite their improved mobility. The transport economy is a site of capital accumulation and change where social stratification goes parallel with increased socio-economic inequality and precarious conditions in the labour transport market. To some extent the government is bound to reinforce long continuities of inequality by reconstructing transport infrastructure. People then adapt to this changed framework and it partly serves but partly constrains development. In this

context, an improved regulatory and institutional framework is necessary if the formal dynamics of the «real» transport system (top-down approach) are to be integrated with the non-formal ones that have been developed in everyday life of the sector (bottom-up-top approach).

**Baumann Eveline**  
**Institut de recherche pour le développement**  
**France Nord, France**

Э. Бауманн  
Институт исследований развития  
Марсель, Франция

### **Labour Policies in Senegal: Squirring the Circle** **Трудовая политика в Сенегале: квадратура круга**

This paper puts the focus on labour policies in Senegal, in the light of the global imperative of “decent work”. Whereas labour is definitely back on the agenda of global actors and donors, job creation is a tremendous challenge for the national decision makers.

I firstly argue that pro-labour policies are hampered by a series of factors, such as the absence of reliable data, increasing informal practices and the people’s proneness to bypass legal obligations, insufficient vertical integration of the production system as a legacy of the aftermath of independence, the lack of promising niches allowing for massive job creation, etc.

Secondly, overcoming these constraints call for a powerful political will and a long term vision as regards “development”. However, both are jeopardized by short term challenges, such as the election timetable and the decision makers’ preoccupation concerning international benchmarking such as Doing Business. This fosters highly politicized stop-and-go measures supposed to gain the electorate’s, especially the youth’s, consent.

Thirdly, as a panacea, the decision makers give high value to individual responsibility as regards (self-) employment, education and vocational training, as well as social protection. Whereas micro-finance and community-based insurance are part of the tools supposed to overcome day-to-day hardship, the Senegalese authorities have recently introduced universal health coverage. Insofar, they may pretend being in line with the “decent work” claim. However, the population’s expectations are far from being met, which may give way to a politically explosive situation.

**Брагина Е.А.**  
**ИМЭМО РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Elena A. Bragina  
Institute of World Economy and  
International Relations,  
Moscow, Russia

### **Формирование среднего класса в странах Африки** **Formation of the Middle Class in African Countries**

В научной литературе просматриваются две противоположные тенденции в понимании и оценке среднего класса. По мнению ряда исследователей, в развитых экономиках его численность и влияние сокращается из-за резкого ухудшения экономической ситуации. Напротив, эксперты МВФ в 2000-е гг. неоднократно подчеркивали ускорившийся рост среднего класса в развивающихся экономиках, особенно в Африке.

Объективными факторами этого процесса стали, во-первых, высокие темпы роста населения в странах континента, прогнозируемые до конца XXI века. Нигерия будет насчитывать 730 млн человек, Танзания – 316 млн, Конго – 212 млн человек, они войдут в десятку самых многонаселенных стран мира. Вторым фактором является урбанизация, по темпам которой страны Африки также лидируют среди развивающихся регионов, а третьим – демонстрационный эффект, в том числе вследствие распространения мобильной связи (600 млн африканцев имеют мобильные телефоны).

Для исследований среднего класса в странах Африки характерно отсутствие сущностного определения этого понятия. Используются лишь количественные показатели: доход на душу населения (от 2 до 20 долл. в день) или на домохозяйство (причем в большинстве случаев не приводятся данные о количестве домоладцев). Такие показатели исключают возможность сравнения со средним классом в развитых экономиках.

Ошибочность сопоставления доходов среднего класса в странах АЮС с западными аналогами отмечается в докладе Африканского банка развития «Африка через 50 лет», где приведен также средний располагаемый доход на человека в этой группе: 1460–7300 долл. в год. Доля среднего класса в населении составляла в 1990-е гг. 27% (196 млн человек), в 2010 г. – 34% (326 млн человек, из них 70% – до 40 лет). Их потребительские расходы в 2008 г. достигли 860 млрд долл. (оценка на 2020 г. – 1,4 млрд долл.). Это **иной средний класс**, формирующийся в условиях отсталой страны, пытающейся проводить политику индустриального развития и роста в условиях массовой бедности.

**Bud Alexander**  
**University of Edinburgh, UK**

А. Бад  
Университет Эдинбурга  
Великобритания

**The Nigerian State, Film Marketers and the Struggle for Distribution**  
**Нигерийское государство, дистрибьюторы фильмов**  
**и борьба за прокат**

The 2006 Distribution Framework was the first meaningful attempt by the Nigerian state to regulate film marketing. It aimed to create a centralized film distribution structure, but its implementation was traumatic, with the parastatal Censors Board and marketers' guilds struggling to shape the process. The paper examines the interactions between conflicts over the enforcement of regulation, contestations over institutional legitimacy and individual marketers' struggles for social self-realization and honour.

The initiative is analysed across four scenes. In Scene 1, *Impasse*, the Board struggled with communication, surveillance and enforcement and faced legal suits and physical threats. The Board and guilds contested each other's legitimacy along three axes: core industry creation and development narratives, legal rights, and commentaries on extraction.

Scene 2 saw a *Realignment* of strategic groups, as many Edo and Hausa marketers licensed, utilizing the Board's arguments in their own strategies.

In Scene 3, *Coercion/Shaming*, the Board's refusal to certify new films began to squeeze the marketers, accelerating uptake. The Board then publicly shamed the recalcitrant marketers by publishing a list of licensees, which included anti-Framework campaigners. This stimulated the collapse of opposition to licensing with the accession of the Igbo guild.

In Scene 4, *Transformation*, the remaining marketers licensed. However, the Board was unable to remould them into the desired structure. Emboldened, marketers found opportunities to appropriate the Board's conflict and contestation strategies through their own uses of the licenses. A typology of these relationships between institutional strategies and marketer applications is created, including: coincidence, correspondence, redeployment, and recycling.

**Gaulme François**  
**Institut catholique de Paris**  
**Paris, France**

Ф. ГОЛЬМ  
Французское агентство развития  
Париж

**Economic Policy in a Peace-building Context: the Case of Mali**  
**Экономическая политика в контексте установления мира:**  
**пример Мали**

In typological terms, the case of Mali seems interesting as it illustrates a situation in which military and political collapse was not ignited by any kind of economic disaster. To the contrary, it took place in a rather sound economic and/or financial situation. Considered as an “aid darling”, the country has entertained a fairly good relationship with IFIs since the democratic revolution of the early 90s. Before the 2012–2013 crisis, its poverty reduction strategic documents were approved by the World Bank, civil servants were paid each month and a 5% annual growth was typical of the favorable trend experienced also by many other countries in Africa since the last decade.

In the new post-civil war context and considering the rather minor destructions generated by the rebel occupation and the fighting in the North, a concept of “economic reconstruction” seems to be particularly inappropriate for analyzing and treating such a national case. However, the international donors community and the UN mission supporting the GoM (Government of Mali) during the post-crisis phase are tending to follow the usual normative templates for peace-building and state-building action in such situations. Mali, for instance, has been -oddly enough- compared with Somalia, a rather different case except for some similarities associated with a common development of terrorism, kidnapping and cross-border crime in uncontrolled areas. Such blue-prints should be rejected from the start. An organically country-specific policy is needed.

As the main features of a future development for Mali are shaping form – a first broad plan was presented by the GoM at the donors conference in May 2013 in Brussels- it is already clear that it should mix together a double dynamic for mitigating the impact of two major but fairly distinct challenges: a first of economic growth in the South, with a job oriented approach and a stronger interest for youths’ and women’s situation; a second upon reconciliation and inclusiveness for the North, through political integration but also physical infrastructures and services for nomadic people.

**Dung Pam Sha**  
**University of Jos, Nigeria**  
Д.П. Ша  
Университет Джоса, Нигерия

**Neo-liberal Reforms, Expanded Accumulation and Withering away of  
the Developmental State in Africa**

**Неолиберальные реформы, расширенное накопление и отмирание  
развивающего государства в Африке**

African countries are currently implementing a variety of neoliberal economic reform programmes ranging from privatisation, commercialisation, devaluation of currencies, labour reforms, liberalisation of trade etc These neoliberal programmes have converted the once developmentalist state in Africa to be a mere facilitator of accumulation as it is mandatorily required to withdraw as an active participant in production and operation of the economy. Since then, African countries have experienced variation in national accumulation processes and with different results such as economic growth rates.

The records show that East Africa, North Africa, West Africa and Southern Africa in that order have recorded different levels of economic growth. The average continental growth rate is 7% which is considered as better than some developed nations. This appreciable expansion in accumulation of capital has not translated into overall economic development as the disarticulation of economic development takes place as well as poverty, unemployment and inequality continues to expand.

The 'withering away' of the African state from direct production as well as the unproductive behaviour of the elites in control of the African States accounts for this poor development, poverty, unemployment and inequality. Are there public policy alternatives to neoliberalism in Africa? How can expanded accumulation of capital be made to serve the interest of the lower section of society? How can the African State be made developmental? These issues the paper will be discussing.

**Ibrahim Gerarh Umaru**  
**Nasarawa State University**  
**Keffi-Nigeria**  
И.Г. Умару  
Университет штата Насарава  
Кеффи, Нигерия

**Nigeria's Rapid Economic Growth and Environmental Sustainability**  
**Быстрый экономический рост Нигерии и экологическая**  
**устойчивость**

Statistics and studies seem to show that on the average the Nigerian economy has been growing at a reasonable rate, though sluggish at some intervals. The 2007 Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin put the average real growth of the economy between 1961 and 2007 at 4.4 percent. For the subsequent period, especially 2008–2011, the economy is said to be growing at an above–global average of 6 per cent. By conventional economics standards, this performance can be adjudged to be reasonably impressive.

However, when gauged on broader socio-economic and human development scale, and against the monumental strides accomplished by the Asian Tigers and China within the same period, it leaves much to be desired. Perhaps more fundamentally, what these impressive assessments of the performance of the Nigerian economy failed to take account of is the deterioration of the environment and discounting of the depreciation of the country's natural resources.

Using the green national accounting framework motivated by the 'Expanding the Measure of Wealth' of the World Bank (1997) and Hamilton-Clemens (1998) methodology, this study reappraises the economic performance of the Nigerian economy from 1960 to 2010. Tentative results of the study show that the reported impressive performance of the Nigerian economy within the study period may be an indication that Nigeria is not on the path of sustainable development – environmentally sustainable one.

**Калиниченко Л.Н.**  
**ИАФР, Москва, РФ**  
Lyudmila N. Kalinichenko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Проблемы выработки промышленной политики в странах Африки**  
**Problems of the Industry Politics Elaboration in African Countries**

Трудное и противоречивое развитие процесса индустриализации в странах Африки требует разработки собственной промышленной поли-



тики, направленной на создание определенных финансовых механизмов и благоприятных экономических условий для расширения и диверсификации промышленного производства на Африканском континенте.

На протяжении независимого развития африканские страны приняли участие в трех основных стратегических программах развития промышленности, предложенных международными финансово-экономическими организациями, такими как Всемирный Банк, МВФ, а также ведущими специалистами из развитых стран. В число данных стратегий вошли импортзамещение (Import Substitution Industrialization), структурная адаптация (Structural Adjustment Programmes), стратегия сокращения бедности (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers).

Однако попытки претворения в жизнь данных программ не привели к обеспечению устойчивого роста промышленного производства и созданию отраслей, выпускающих конкурентоспособную продукцию. Так доля стран Африки к югу от Сахары в добавленной стоимости обрабатывающей промышленности мира по-прежнему не достигает даже 1%.

Некоторые аналитики высказывают скептицизм по поводу возможности применения промышленной политики в странах Африки («афропессимизм»), учитывая отсутствие качественного управленческого аппарата, особенности социальной структуры, неудовлетворительную организацию производственных процессов и инфраструктуры, географические, ресурсные, финансовые и другие проблемы.

Представляется все же, что промышленная политика необходима для планомерного и обоснованного развития индустриализации в странах Африки. Основным участником выработки ее направлений должно быть государство в тесном сотрудничестве с частным сектором при поддержке национального сообщества, которому необходимо максимально разъяснять выбранные пути развития промышленности и средства их осуществления. Важным фактором является всесторонний учет уровня и особенностей экономического положения той или иной страны.

Роль государства при этом заключается в согласовании промышленной политики с фискальной политикой, создании благоприятного инвестиционного климата, обеспечении доступа для мелких и средних предпринимателей к системе банковского кредитования и субсидиям с целью поддержки зарождающегося производства. Создание адекватной инфраструктуры и научно-технологической базы, укрепление образовательных и тренинговых структур, расширение экспортно-производственных зон и индустриальных кластеров, показавших себя эффективными, также входит в число важных направлений промышленной политики.

**Kukushkin Vladimir Yu.**  
**Institute for African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
В.Ю. Кукушкин  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Rentier State versus Resource Curse Paradigms for Africa,  
the Middle East, Russia**

**«Государство рантье» и «парадигма ресурсного проклятия»  
в Африке, на Ближнем Востоке и в России**

Comparisons of modern development strategies within a group of petroleum and natural gas exporting countries embracing the Middle East, Africa and Russia have revealed many similarities. They include a “triple option”: 1) fossil fuels in the ground; 2) money in the banks; 3) accelerated spending i.e. conversion of oil and gas via the export proceeds there from into development. Within this paradigm the “absorptive capacity” issues have revived.

For the majority of hydrocarbon exporters, including the principal African ones, most Middle East states, and Russia that capacity is evaluated rather highly, focusing their strategic choice on the third variant. The second variant, including the assets in stabilization and other sovereign funds, retains auxiliary functions.

The minority of resource-rich states (in per capita terms) with lower absorptive capacities have to choose between the first and second variants, both of which acquire “structural” importance, and may motivate restrictions on foreign participation in the oil and gas industries. Yet even the trends of strengthening and/or keeping state monopolies in some strategic fields do not mean inevitable curbing of private activities in the others.

The discourse upon the natural resources being a “curse” or “blessing”, as well as on the rentier states’ transformation, resembles general alternative approaches to socio-economic development.

Those who tend to evaluate the roles of natural resources outside the developed market economies “pessimistically” belong primarily to the adherents of the determinist school in social sciences.

On the contrary, their “optimistic” opponents, taking indeterminist stand, support the possibility to combine the development of mining industries with the post-industrial growth.

Some of the resource-rich states in the reviewed regions seem to draw rational conclusions, and thus might have started to get free of the “misfortunes” of natural resource abundance and financial windfalls.

**Матвеева Н.Ф.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia F. Matveeva  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Кения: технологические инновации в области сотовой связи**  
**Kenya: Technological Innovations in Cellular Communications**

Кения входит в группу африканских государств с наиболее динамично развивающимися рынками сотовой связи. Так, численность абонентов сотовых телефонов выросла со 180 тыс. в 2000 г. до 29,2 млн в 2012 г., превысив количество пользователей стационарными телефонами в 107 раз и составив 74% от 44-миллионного населения страны (против 1% в 1999 г.).

Ведущим игроком на кенийском рынке сотовой связи является компания «Safaricom», которая опережает других сотовых операторов по внедрению инновационных технологий, ориентирующихся на массовый спрос. Наиболее характерный пример – это платежная система «M-Pesa», получившая широкое международное признание, как самый яркий пример масштабного применения современных технологий в области сотовой связи в Африке.

«M-Pesa» рассчитана в первую очередь на спрос населения, по разным причинам не имеющего доступа к банковским услугам. Перевод и получение денег по мобильному телефону гарантирует сохранность заработка, отпадает необходимость иметь при себе наличные, устраняет угрозу грабежей и пр. Введение в оборот мобильных денег способствует росту занятости населения и его доходов, развитию предпринимательства, подъему деловой активности и увеличению ВВП страны. Меняется сам уклад общественной жизни, модели традиционного поведения.

Мобильные инновационные технологии в Кении находят свое применение в сельском хозяйстве, здравоохранении, медицине, образовании. Мобильные телефоны играют основную роль в развитии системы связи через Интернет: с их помощью Сеть доступна для 99% Интернет-подписчиков.

В 2007 г. в Кении был принят программный документ, определяющий главные направления развития страны до 2030 г. («Kenya Vision in 2030»). В нем, в частности, подчеркивается особое значение развития мобильных технологий и доступа к ИКТ для всех кенийских граждан как важнейшего залога роста их благосостояния. За годы, прошедшие со времени принятия этого документа, страна достигла весьма заметных успехов в развитии ИКТ-сферы, чему способствует активная государственная политика по поддержке инноваций, связанных с мобиль-

ными технологиями, налоговому стимулированию работающих в этой области частных компаний, а также высокий уровень свободы для иностранных инвестиций.

**Матыченков В.В.**  
**Институт фундаментальных проблем**  
**биологии РАН, Пушкино, РФ;**  
**Бочарникова Е.А.**  
**Институт физико-химических и биологических**  
**проблем почвоведения РАН, Пушкино, РФ**  
V.V. Matychenkov  
Institute of Fundamental Biological Problems  
Pushchino, Russia  
E.A. Bocharnikova  
Institute of Phisio-Chemical  
and Biological Problems of Soil Science  
Pushchino, Russia

**Сельское хозяйство как будущая основа экономики африканских государств: опыт создания современной фермы**  
**Agriculture as the Future Basis of the African States' Economy: An Experience in Creating Modern Farm**

Сельское хозяйство играет ключевую роль в экономике любого государства, обеспечивая его продовольственную независимость. Традиционные сельскохозяйственные технологии во многом зависят от плодородия почв, они были адаптированы для бореальных климатических зон. В результате большая часть Африканского континента представляет собой зону рискованного земледелия с высокой скоростью деградации почв.

Природный фактор, наряду с дешевыми продуктами питания на мировом рынке, обусловил в недалеком прошлом (6–10 лет назад) низкий уровень развития сельского хозяйства практически на всем континенте, за исключением Южной Африки. Современные сельскохозяйственные технологии позволяют создать высокопроизводительное, экологически безопасное производство продуктов питания в любых климатических зонах. Такие проблемы, как деградация почвенного покрова, дефицит влаги, защита растений от вредителей и болезней без применения ядохимикатов, обеспечивают для любой страны гарантированную возможность достижения продовольственной независимости.

При современных ценах на продукты питания создается возможность привлечения инвестиций в сельское хозяйство и тем самым получение экономической независимости промышленно неразвитых стран.

Большая часть современных сельскохозяйственных технологий не требует высоких затрат и специального оборудования. Так, в республике Того была создана ферма по высокоэффективному выращиванию овощных культур с использованием новых технологий.

Проведенные исследования (анализы почв и растений, создание рынка сбыта для выращиваемой продукции, экономические исследования) показали высокую перспективность таких ферм в различных регионах Африки. Были выявлены основные препятствия для широкого практического внедрения современных ферм. Во-первых, это препятствия со стороны химических компаний, продающих агрохимикаты. Во-вторых, недовольство международных сельскохозяйственных компаний, занимающихся хищнической эксплуатацией земельных ресурсов Африки. В то же время была получена поддержка от научных организаций стран Африки, понимающих значение новых технологий, но не имеющих к ним доступа.

Опыт работы в республиках Гана и Того показал, что основную роль во внедрении новых сельскохозяйственных технологий играет местная элита. Была показана возможность создания высокодоходных, высокопроизводительных и полностью экологически безопасных ферм с вовлечением местного населения в процесс производства продуктов питания. Такие фермы могут быть центрами образования и культурными центрами с сохранением народных традиций.

**Маценко И.Б.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Irina B. Matsenko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Наименее развитые страны Африки:  
проблемы и перспективы развития The  
Least Developed Countries of Africa:  
Development Problems and Prospects**

Среди всех наименее развитых стран (НРС) мира 70%, или 34 государства, находятся в Африке южнее Сахары (АЮС), где они составляют основной массив стран этого региона. На их долю приходится 53% всего населения и лишь 17% совокупного объема ВВП континента. Свыше 50% африканцев живут в условиях крайней нищеты, то есть на доход менее 1,25 долл. в день. Здесь сохраняется самый низкий в мире доход на душу населения при самых высоких темпах роста населения.

Большая часть африканских НРС на сегодняшний день не обладает разведанными запасами каких-либо полезных ископаемых, в них нет, за

редким исключением, не только сколько-нибудь развитой добывающей, но и обрабатывающей промышленности. Основа экономики – отсталое и малопродуктивное сельское хозяйство, не обеспечивающее местное население достаточным уровнем продовольствия. Значительная часть африканских НРС превратились в чистых импортеров продовольствия. Почти 80% экспорта этих стран по-прежнему приходится на сырьевые товары, что делает их уязвимыми для многочисленных внешних потрясений из-за неустойчивости цен мирового рынка. К тому же экономика этих стран остается весьма подверженной различного рода внутренним конфликтам (этническим, политическим и пр.), а также стихийным бедствиям. Иными словами, НРС Африки не располагают надлежащими возможностями для развития национальной экономики и обеспечения адекватного уровня жизни своего населения и, как было заявлено на последней Конференции ООН по наименее развитым странам (Стамбул, май 2011 г.), пропасть между ними и остальной частью мира продолжает увеличиваться.

Несмотря на значительный экономический рост во многих НРС в 2000-е гг. (в среднем 6–7% в год), по основным показателям социального развития (подушевой доход, бедность, безработица, здравоохранение, образование и др.) эти страны остаются на обочине мирового прогресса, вызывая все большую озабоченность международного сообщества. Налицо также серьезное отставание в реализации Целей развития тысячелетия (ЦРТ), провозглашенных в Декларации ООН в 2000 г. Очевидно, что ни одна африканская НРС, как и группа в целом, не сможет достигнуть реализации в полном объеме ЦРТ к установленному сроку.

**Морозенская Е.В.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Evgenia V. Morozenskaya

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

### **State Economic Policy in Africa: Some Modern Concepts**

#### **Государственная экономическая политика в Африке:**

##### **некоторые современные концепции**

The present role of African state in the economic modernization consists in accumulating the external resources, creating the privileges for a foreign capital and liberalizing the rules of the taxation and trade. It depends on the socio-political situation, the financial resources for structural reforms, and many internal economic threats to African countries.

Successful economic development of any country is possible in the case of balanced governance functions. In African countries such balance is absent

because of the conservation of numerous traditional institutions. They influence not so much the content of the state economic policy as the forms of its realisation. The shift in the proportion of modern and traditional sectors leads to growing activity of an invisible economy. So reforming the authoritarian economic system with predominance of vertical hierarchical structures presupposes of creating the direct horizontal links between producers, in the real sector previously.

In Africa, the important constraints for the development are unequal circumstances (in the historical, social, environmental, geographical, civilization and economic context), which are a basis for the clientelism, the interethnic struggle for the national resources' ownership. This concurrence can generate the resources and production concentration within a supreme power and lead to the economic collapse.

Current state policy in Africa is characterised by some attributes of both "Developmental state" (DS) or "Inclusive growth" (IG) models. The main attributes of DS are: the ability to plan longer term, to focus key partners on a common agenda, to mobilise state resources to build productive capabilities and to develop of the country potential. Model IG is reaching a scale employment and improving a human capital. As it seems, the African governments' capacity to realise the socio-economic strategies is to base on more than one modern theoretical concept. So, main question is: are the national governments playing a role in promoting the main principles of these concepts?

**Морозов В.П.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Valery P. Morozov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Экономико-региональные аспекты обеспечения продовольствием в странах Африки южнее Сахары**

#### **The Regional Economic Aspects of Food Supply in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Объем и структура потребления продовольствия сельским населением находятся под влиянием таких не связанных между собой факторов, как уровень доходов жителей и состояние природных условий, определяющих для конкретных территорий возможности и способы ведения хозяйства на земле. Первый фактор формирует экономические условия доступа населения к продовольствию, второй – физические возможности потребления продуктов питания местного производства. При этом экономический фактор – рост экономики и реальных доходов населения – предопределяет условия обеспечения продовольственной безопасности в целом.

Исследования корреляции между ростом душевого дохода (здесь – ВВП на душу населения) и изменениями в объеме и структуре питания сельского населения стран Африки южнее Сахары (АЮС) позволяют сделать следующие выводы: а) в краткосрочном периоде прямой зависимости качественного улучшения питания населения от роста душевого дохода не наблюдается; б) в домашних хозяйствах с низким доходом при его увеличении в рационе питания практически не происходит качественных структурных сдвигов, а увеличивается лишь разнообразие видов традиционно потребляемых продуктов питания.

В условиях развивающейся экономики, находящейся на начальной стадии становления рынка, структуру потребляемых продуктов питания во многом определяют региональные и нередко конкретные местные факторы в сфере производства продовольствия, а также сложившиеся традиционные модели и обычаи в приготовлении и потреблении пищи.

**Нефедова Л.В.**

**МГУ, Москва**

**Иванов М.Г.**

**МГИМО (Университет) МИД РФ**

**Lyudmila V. Nefyodova**

**Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia**

**Mikhail G. Ivanov**

**Moscow State Institute of**

**International Relations [University]**

**Russia**

### **Состояние, перспективы и риски использования возобновляемых источников энергии в Субсахарском регионе Африки**

#### **The State, Prospects, and Risks of Using Renewable Energy Sources in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Анализ возможностей освоения ресурсов возобновляемых источников энергии (ВИЭ) в Субсахарском регионе Африки и перспектив включения их в топливно-энергетические комплексы стран региона при участии международных программ поддержки климатически целесообразной «зеленой» энергетики являлся целью данного исследования.

Обеспечение устойчивого экономического и социального развития стран Африки южнее Сахары тесно связано с решением проблемы доступа к электроэнергии населения региона в рамках инициативы ООН «Устойчивая энергия для всех». Согласно разработкам 2001–2007 годов по международной Программе оценки геологических и ветроэнергоресурсов (SWERA) программы UNEP, финансируемой Глобальным Экологическим Фондом, значимыми ресурсами ВИЭ обладают многие страны



региона. Анализ планов стран Субсахарского региона Африки по освоению ресурсов ВИЭ, показал, что наиболее четкие и конкретные планы по включению объектов на ВИЭ в ТЭК имеют две страны – Эфиопия и Кения.

В Эфиопии уже введены в строй две ветроэлектростанции (ВЭС): в 2012 г. Адама (52 МВт) и в 2013 г – Ашегода (120 МВт). К 2015 г., по государственному Плану развития и преобразования, намечено довести суммарную мощность ВЭС до 1 ГВт, ГеоЭС – до 100 МВт, а к 2018 г. – до 450 МВт при финансовой поддержке Программы развития возобновляемой энергетики в бедных странах (SREP) в рамках Климатических инвестиционных фондов. В Кении уже работают три ГеоЭС – 212 МВт. К 2016 запланированы еще 600 МВт (ГеоЭС), 300 МВт (ВЭС) и две солнечные электростанции – 30 МВт.

Освоение ВИЭ в странах региона связано с высокими инвестиционными рисками и требует международной финансовой и технической поддержки. К факторам риска относятся: значительная пространственно-временная изменчивость потоков ветро- и гелиоэнергии, нестабильность политических режимов, проблемы технической отсталости населения стран. Наиболее значительные риски характерны для освоения геотермальных ресурсов, связанные с высокой стоимостью первичного разведочного бурения при вероятности отрицательных результатов. Именно поэтому в 2012 г. в рамках Программы Содействия Управлению Энергетическим Сектором (ESMAP) Всемирного Банка начат проект «Глобальный план развития геотермальной энергетики в странах Великого африканского разлома» с общей суммой финансирования 500 млн долл. – на 25 проектов крупномасштабного разведочного бурения более 100 скважин.

**Novikova Zinaida S.**  
**Institute for African Studies RAS,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
З.С. Новикова  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

### **Africa on the Way of Information and Telecommunication Technologies Development**

#### **Африка на пути развития информационных и телекоммуникационных технологий**

The early 1990s – the Africa's first steps to penetrate into the global communications network. Great importance of information and telecommunication technologies (ITT) may accelerate continent's development and economic growth, national prosperity and global competitiveness.

Africa has become a fast growing telecoms market, its mobile phone penetration rate is twice the average for the world. Mobile telephony practically took place of fixed lines across the continent. There were just 16m subscribers in 2000 but 500m in 2010. Africa has experienced huge growth of internet users from 0,4% of the world's users in 2001 up to 15,6% in 2010.

There is a great gap between the level of ITT development in Africa and developed countries. One of the main tasks is to extend telecoms infrastructure, it should become basic economic infrastructure as roads. African countries have the target of covering 100% of population by accessing services.

Efforts of African governments to develop the telecoms sector include of the liberalization policy of improving services, the privatisation of former state-owned enterprises, partnerships between the government and private capital, foreign and national. With billions of dollars of international investments flowing in and subscriber numbers rising across the continent Africa's communication market has now passed the top point from high potential to high growth.

There is a positive and significant impact on economic growth. In addition to being one of world's most dynamic telecoms market Africa is also among the most innovative application in areas like payments, commerce, healthcare and education.

**Obademi Olalekan**  
**University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria**  
О. Олалекан  
Университет Лагоса, Нигерия

**Public Financial Management for Africa's Economic Development:  
Addressing the Missing Links**

**Общественное управление финансами для экономического  
развития Африки: в поисках недостающих звеньев**

This paper focuses on public financial reforms that have been embarked on by some countries in the African Continent among which are Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, Burkina Faso and Libya geared towards achieving economic development against the backdrop of the trend of economic growth in Africa that has not translated into economic development and which cause is traceable to the absence and in other cases the non-adherence to sound public financial management procedures and practices.

Special attention has however been paid herein to the missing links in public financial management reform initiatives as it concern the political-economy of reforms, policy space, reform sequencing, institutional and human capacity issues among others which has resulted in the sub-optimal performance of genuine initiatives. Most times, actors in the governance

improvement teams often lose sight of the fact that reforms should translate into tangible, impactful and inclusive results on a sustainable basis in a specific national context or sub-national context.

**Павлов В.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Vladimir V. Pavlov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Ключевые направления новой внешнеторговой политики США в Африке**

#### **Ket Directions of the New Foreign Trade Policy of the USA in Africa**

Ведущие мировые державы, в первую очередь США, в 2012–2013 гг. стали уделять несравненно более пристальное, чем прежде внимание практической реализации долгосрочной торговой стратегии в странах Африки в целях обеспечения стабильного и неограниченного доступа к энергоресурсам и некоторым видам минерального сырья, исходя из приоритетных целей ведущих американских корпораций. В числе основных задач американской государственной торговой политики в регионе в 2013–2017 гг. выделяется укрепление прямых связей США с правительствами многих стран континента и их субрегиональными объединениями.

Главными объектами контроля со стороны США являются африканские товарные рынки и разведанные достоверные запасы углеводородного сырья, где в 2005–2012 гг. были обнаружены более трети всех новых месторождений нефти в мире. Совокупный объем добычи сырой нефти в Африке в этот период практически удвоился, в совокупном объеме американского импорта нефти доля Африки в 2010–2013 гг. сравнялась с долей государств Персидского залива.

Современная американская политика в Африке исходит из реальных возможностей стран региона наращивать производство и экспорт сжиженного природного газа, обеспечивать стабильные поставки в США кобальта, марганца, хрома, ряда редкоземельных элементов. Корпорации США увеличивают импорт золота и платины, а также кремния, иттрия (лантана), ванадия, в результате чего некоторые африканские страны становятся стратегическими торговыми партнерами ряда ведущих американских промышленных и военных корпораций.

Администрация США постепенно отходит от использования прежних методов военного, геополитического и валютно-финансового давления на страны Африки (в том числе через МВФ и Группу Всемирного банка), все шире используя правовые и организационные методы дол-

госрочного торгово-экономического сотрудничества со странами Африки, особенно с теми, роль которых в системе мирохозяйственных связей заметно повысилась. Исходя из усиления в 2010–2013 гг. реальной заинтересованности ведущих американских промышленных и торгово-сбытовых корпораций в расширении долгосрочного экономического и финансового партнерства с Нигерией, ДРК, другими странами Западной Африки, Египтом, Анголой, Экваториальной Гвинеей, Кенией, ЮАР, Либерией, Кот-д’Ивуар, важными становятся задачи интенсификации торгово-экономического и валютно-финансового сотрудничества с этими странами региона.

**Remi Adeyemo**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University**  
**Ile-Ife, Nigeria**  
Р. Адейемо  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**Community Development: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative for Sustained Economic Growth**

**Общинное развитие: повторное открытие местной инициативы для устойчивого экономического роста**

Community development plays a significant role in the socio-economic development of various parts of a nation and such community development efforts have been stimulated largely by the residents of the various communities.

The paper examines community development and the role of institutions and self help initiatives and private efforts. The first section of the paper outlines the major goals of community development. The writer then discusses the traditional approaches to community development. The section that follows then examines the new approach.

The paper identifies various community developments and looks at the local organization and various public private partnerships. What the organization and private partnership have to offer, the risks of partnership, lesson and challenges. The paper concludes with some policy considerations.

**Рошин Г.Е.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Georgy E. Roshchin  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Зарубежные инвестиции и экономический рост в странах Африки**  
**Foreign Investments and Economic Growth in African Countries**

1. Приоритетными задачами развития в большинстве африканских государств являются достижение устойчивого экономического роста, структурных сдвигов в экономике и ее модернизации, укрепление технологического и кадрового потенциала, повышение конкурентоспособности экспорта на мировых рынках и создание широких возможностей в сфере занятости, защита и сохранение окружающей среды для будущих поколений. Прямые иностранные инвестиции (ПИ) и международное производство транснациональных корпораций (ТНК) могут играть важную роль, дополняя усилия национальных компаний в достижении этих целей.

2. В пакете активов, связанных с ПИИ, первостепенную роль играют передача технологии и укрепление кадрового потенциала принимающих стран. ТНК могут ввозить современные технологии, часть которых недоступна без ПИИ, способствовать повышению эффективности использования существующих технологий. К другим ценным активам относятся торговые марки, специальные знания в области организации производства и маркетинга.

3. Подключение местных производителей к технологически передовому сектору ТНК способствует разворачиванию сопряженных отраслей и рыночных связей, межотраслевому товарообороту, смягчающему нехватку капитала. Приток ПИИ раздвигает границы накопления в стране их приложения, создает дополнительный спрос на рабочую силу, стимулирует подготовку местных кадров.

**Sokolova Zoia**  
**The Institute of International Relations**  
**of the National Aviation University**  
**Kiev, Ukraine**  
З. Соколова  
Національний авіаційний університет  
Київ, Україна

### **Investment Rules for African Industrialization**

#### **Правила инвестирования для африканской индустриализации**

The manufacturing industry in African countries is still not being developed. Moreover – since the 1990's there has been a tendency towards economic deindustrialization in these economies.

Structural reforms in African countries must result in an increase of productivity in their main economic sectors: agriculture and manufacturing industry, which should result in the growth of their added value.

The two key drivers of structural transformation are investment and technology. To encourage new technology come to Africa, it is necessary to create incentives (for example: exemption from certain taxes or specific financial bonuses), which should be targeted at **the foreign investors as well as at their African partners**. In this field the state should play a very important role.

New technologies could come to Africa in the framework of global value chains (GVC). This means that African enterprises should cooperate or even merge with foreign companies. The terms of trade with the requirements of the end product, as a key factor for this, should be revised within the framework of the Doha Development Round.

For higher effectiveness, **production** in the framework of GVC in Africa should be organized at the regional level, according to the production specialization of African countries that require **integration**. At the same time, African states must control capital flow, in order to prevent their economies from becoming a target for financial speculation.

Besides African states need to develop their legislation and institutions that harness private ownership, and it is also necessary to teach African managers to organize, to manage and to control the activity of their enterprises. The lack of market information which is typical for production in Africa could be solved by creating a database of producers and suppliers, so that it would be easier for them to find each other.

**Tafadzwa Mafemba**  
**University of Johannesburg**  
**South Africa**  
Т. Мафемба  
Университет Йоханнесбурга  
ЮАР

### **State Economic Policy**

#### **Государственная экономическая политика**

When the global economic crisis hit Africa, I worried that the continent's economic reforms would be stalled or reversed. Political support for these reforms may be undermined as economic growth slowed. Furthermore, the response of high-income countries in response to the crisis – large fiscal deficits and greater government participation in the banking sector – was in the opposite direction of the reforms that African countries had been pursuing in the past decade.

In fact, the response of African governments has been largely to maintain, and in some cases accelerate, their reform programs (for instance, in Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria). There are some reasons. First, in low-income countries, a large fiscal stimulus can have impact only if it is financed with additional external resources and with the exception of “front-loading” of already-committed aid, these additional resources have been lacking during the crisis. Second, many countries don't have well-functioning safety net programs that can be scaled up easily. Third, it could be that the economic reforms that generated growth and reduced poverty in the decade prior to the crisis are precisely what are needed to preserve growth and protect the poor during the crisis.

Whether African governments' responses were appropriate will be debated for some time (see: The African Economic Research Consortium “Rethinking African Economic Policy in Light of the Global Economic and Financial Crisis”). The financial crisis presents a real need to challenge ourselves and to rethink the way we do things.

The biggest challenge facing African countries is the extractive nature of our production. With little or no value addition, any sharp drop in the prices of commodities is bound to have a major effect on the African government budgets and foreign exchange revenue. The need to add value to what is mined is critical. Inter-regional trade need to be promoted to ensure such happenstance way out of Africa does not constitute a major setback on the economies of Africa. By removing trade barriers among the African nations, trade can be boosted allowing for stronger economies less dependent on the western market.

**Honita Cowaloosur**  
**University of St Andrews**  
**Scotland, UK**  
Х. Ковалусур  
Университет св. Андрея  
Файф, Великобритания

### **Investment Policy Framework of a Developmental State**

#### **Основы инвестиционной политики развивающегося государства**

Often, Mauritius is put forward as an exemplary developmental state model. International economic and political indexes consistently rank the island highly in terms of doing business and on its conditions of political stability which may be conducive to inflows of foreign direct investment. However, if it has been successful at garnering FDI, the way in which the Mauritian state spelled out its investment policies have not correlatively enhanced its national growth and development needs.

This paper outlines and evaluates the Mauritian investment policy framework. It refers to three specific investment regulatory institutions – the epicentral Board of Investment, the Financial Services Commission (for the financial sector) and the Tertiary Education Commission (for the education sector). The paper argues that these government entities tend more towards clientelism rather than diffusing the expected equitability of a developmental state.

**Chikwendu Christian Ukaegbu**  
**Northwestern University, USA**  
Ч.К. Укаегбу  
Северо-западный Университет  
Эванстон, США

### **What we Know about Economic Development: Leadership and African Agency for Economic Development in Post 50 Africa**

#### **Что мы знаем об экономическом развитии: лидерство и африканский фактор экономического развития в Африке после 50 лет независимости**

2010 was a modal year for the celebration of 50 years of political independence among Africa countries. Half a century of independence from colonialism is worth celebrating. But assessments of the human condition in Africa show that the continent, especially sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), has lagged behind other regions of the world in the march to development whether defined as improvement in quality of life, provision of basic needs, productive capacity, or degree of technological advancement.



Based on what we know about development or what I call the constants of development, this paper argues that effective development is fundamentally driven by the maximum deployment of organized endogenous agency. Because African agency has not been properly shepherded toward development in the past 50 years, transformational leadership through the instrumentality of the developmental state is the path to effective development in post 50 Africa.

**Worku Aberra**  
**Dawson College**  
**Montreal, Canada**

В. Аберра  
Колледж Доусон, Монреаль, Канада

### **Aspirational or Realistic? Ethiopia's Goal of Becoming a Middle-Income Country by 2025**

#### **Желательное или реалистичное? Провозглашенная Эфиопией цель превращения в страну со средним уровнем доходов к 2025 г.**

The Ethiopian government asserts that Ethiopia will become a middle-income country by 2025. The government contends that since the economy has been growing at double digit rates for the last decade or so, Ethiopia will transform from being one of the ten poorest countries in the world to a middle-income country in just ten years. This objective is unattainable given the economic and political reality of the country. The article highlights key variables that will hinder Ethiopia from attaining middle income status in 2025, according to the reports of the World Bank (2013) and the IMF (2013). With the actual lower rate of economic growth and a real higher rate of population growth, it will take Ethiopia longer to move out of its low-income status. Other than the overstated economic growth and understated population growth, there are economic factors that will reduce Ethiopia's rate of economic growth over the next few years, prolonging the time it will take to reach middle-income status.

The two major sources of finance for Ethiopia's high rate of growth have been foreign aid and remittances, and they are both projected to decline in the future (World Bank, 2013). Ethiopia's saving rate, one of the lowest in Africa, has been declining over the last decade and is expected to do so in the coming years (World Bank, 2013). Given the country's institutional inefficiency, democratic deficit, and transportation bottlenecks; as well as the expected decline in foreign aid, the continued decrease in the domestic savings rate, and the low growth of the manufacturing sector and its relatively small share of GDP, it is highly doubtful that Ethiopia will become a middle-income country in 2025.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-6**  
**Общественная и политическая жизнь Африки**  
**в гендерном измерении**  
**Gender Dimension of Social and Political Life in Africa**

**Руководители: д.и.н. Крылова Наталия Леонидовна,**  
**к.и.н. Ксенофонтова Наталия Александровна**  
**(Институт Африки РАН)**  
**Conveners: Prof. Natalia L. Krylova , Dr. Natalia A. Ksenofontova**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции предполагается проанализировать различные аспекты гендерной ситуации и ее влияния на общественно-политическое развитие стран Африки. Особое внимание предполагается уделить проблемам, связанным с местом и ролью женщины в системе общественных связей и политической жизни континента, а также издержкам дискриминации женщин в основных правах, в доступе к образованию, к участию в общественной жизни и выражению политических интересов. Задача и смысл гендерного подхода к указанным проблемам – нарисовать разноплановую картину общественно-политической жизни континента и, таким образом, реализовать основную цель работы Секции – показать, что игнорирование гендерных несоответствий наносит ущерб как благополучию людей, так и возможностям стран Африки в их стремлении к устойчивому росту, эффективному управлению и снижению бедности.

1. Гендерный статус как модель социокультурной и политической регуляции общества.
2. «Женские» и «мужские» интересы в контексте социально-политических и экономических изменений». Особенности и причины неравенства полов в разных странах и регионах Африканского континента.
3. Женщина, политика и власть в традиционных африканских обществах.
4. Трансформация гендерных ролей в современном африканском обществе.
5. Современная африканская семья (экономические, социокультурные, политические гражданско-правовые аспекты).
6. Женщины в войне и мире. Миротворческая роль африканских женщин и рост их общественно-политической активности.
7. Женщины и борьба за экологическую безопасность в Африке.
8. Гендерные аспекты национального и социально-культурного самосохранения в эпоху миграционных процессов.

9. Расово-смешанная семья. Способы интеграции и формы дискриминации в принимающем обществе.

10. Эмиграция африканцев в Европу как один из факторов разрушения традиционной семьи.

11. Гендерные аспекты бедности.

12. Гендерное соотношение в политической жизни стран Юга Африки. Тенденции и перспективы.

13. Мусульманский мир и женское движение. Политическое представительство женщин в исламском обществе.

14. Художницы и писательницы Африки и их влияние на процесс женской эмансипации.

15. Кто и почему говорит по-русски в Африке? Соотечественники в странах Африки, их роль в общественной и культурной жизни континента.

During the work of the panel it is supposed to analyze the various aspects of the gender situation and its impact on the socio-political development of African countries. Special attention will be paid to issues related to the place and role of women in the system of social relations and political life of the continent, as well as to the costs of gender discrimination in basic rights, access to education, participation in public life and the expression of political interests. The aim and the sense of gender approach to the afore-mentioned problems is to draw a picture of diverse public and political life of the continent, and thus realize the main purpose of the panel - to show that ignoring gender disparities hurts human well-being and does harm to the possibilities of African countries in their quest for sustainable growth, good governance and poverty reduction.

**Patience Rockymore-Turner**  
**Nova Southeastern University**  
**Florida, USA**

П. Рокимор-Тёрнер  
Новый Северо-восточный университет  
Форт-Лодердейл, США

### **From Bush Wife to Combatant: Examining the Changing Role of African Women in Armed Conflict**

#### **От «партизанских жен» к соратницам: исследование меняющейся роли африканских женщин в вооруженном конфликте**

This paper aims to explore the changing role of African women and girls engaged in armed conflict. The shifting role from bush wife (synonymous with sex slave) to female combatant has been influenced by the introduction and increasing use of small firearms in combat. Recruited into militias through voluntary and involuntary means, partially as a means to replenish the

dwindling male combat population, it is proposed that these women and girls have become “villainous victims” as combatants, adding an unjust dimension to an already precarious situation. This exacerbating shift in combat responsibility continues to perpetuate the endangerment of females in modern war, and contributes to an ever increasing threat to human security. Regardless of the type of victimization employed by militias against women and girls, enforcement of international humanitarian law at the domestic level is imperative in the real protection of females in wartime and post-conflict.

**Okot Bengé**  
**Makerere University**  
**Kampala, Uganda**  
О. Бенге  
Университет Макерере  
Кампала, Уганда

### **Acoli Song Performance and Gender Power Dynamics**

#### **Исполнение песен у аколи и динамика гендерной власти**

Much “Western” feminist scholarships have focused on a critique of gender roles and the idea that these underlie differential ideas of power and hence should be weakened or subverted in the interests of promoting greater democracy and equality. In these analyses, forms of gender differentiation are “bad”. One strand in this debate has been on the idea of the performative nature of gender. Performativity is hence seen as the site of understanding how ideas of gender gain substance and are made “real”.

However, in the context of my study of Acoli song performances, gender is embraced as “good” and is seen as a site in and through which power can be debated. Also, given the prevalence and importance of expressive genres generally in Acoli society of Uganda, these debates are often “broadcast” and amplified in songs. The paper, therefore, seeks to throw light on the prevailing debates on gender by examining how gender is used as a resource and how females make powerful investment in it. Textual forms such as songs provide us with privileged insight into the nature of this investment.

In Acoli song performances the binary dichotomy of gender identity is projected as not necessarily always negative; it can be productively harnessed for social organisation of society. Acoli worldview takes the human society as organic, in which all the members are considered relevant and effective for the survival of the society. Gender is built into the very structure and organisation of the family unit (and, thereby, the community) with complementarity as the guiding principle. In some of the songs studied the females do not see their roles as degrading or humiliating, but rather as a significant contribution for the continued existence of the family and the society.

Through song performance Acoli women do not only call attention to themselves as the gender category “women” and celebrate their femininity, but also comment on social issues and critique gender power relations. Furthermore, Acoli females have used gender differentiation as a means for positive agency; and through song performance have invested in gender deferential notions to attain their goals and aspirations as “women”.

**Roseline M. Achieng’  
University of South Africa**

Р.М. Ачиенг  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**Young African Women Engage the Public Sphere  
Молодые африканские женщины: вовлечение  
в общественную жизнь**

Literature abounds on the dismal place of the African woman bent over by the burdens of poverty, maternity and patriarchy. One hardly finds writings on the struggles the African woman, in this case, the young woman is engaged in. Worst still, where such writings exist, the exploration of young African women’s agency and social action in bringing about structural transformation is not sufficiently explored. The paper proposes to depart from the point that young African women exhibit a certain agency in negotiating structures and institutions that oppress them. The case of the public sphere and how young African women engage it, will be privileged in show-casing, through lived reality, how young women are transforming their societies.

**Arkadiusz Zukowski  
University of Warmia and  
Mazury in Olsztyn  
Poland**

А. Жуковски  
Университет Вармии и Мазурии  
Ольштын, Польша

**Women Participation in Elections in Africa – Legal Solutions  
and Practical Outcomes**

**Участие женщин в выборах в Африке:  
правовые решения и практические следствия**

The problem will be investigated in the perspective of participatory democracy and gender studies. The legal regulations which should increase female representation in representative bodies (mainly in national parlia-

ments) will be presented and analyzed in comparison with the legal regulations in other parts of the world. It means: implementation of statutory quotas for women in parliaments and implementation of statutory quotas for women on party lists of candidates. Also implementation of voluntary quotas for women on party lists of candidates will be investigated. The specificity of African regulations with division to North and Sub-Saharan Africa will be taken into consideration. The participation of women in elections in Africa will be analyzed with regard to short-term and long-term effects of above mentioned obligatory and voluntary regulations.

**Osondu Adaora**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University**  
**Ile-Ife, Nigeria**

А. Осонду  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**The Place and Role of Women in Contemporary Nigerian Society:  
What Has Changed and What Has Not**

**Место и роль женщин в современном нигерийском обществе:**

**что изменилось, а что – нет**

It is a well known fact that Nigerian society just like many other African societies is highly patriarchal in nature. Gender roles and relations are well separated and defined. For instance, there are roles women are meant to perform and men are not. There are also certain limitations to women's participation in public life and even pursuit of career, as the society believes that women's lives are to be lived managing the home. Undeniably many of these cultural/traditional norms and patterns have not only been demeaning and challenging for women when compared to the men but have limited the significant contribution of women in the societal development. However, changes are being witnessed as more Nigerian women are now challenging the status quo with the increase in educational attainment. According to the 2008 National Demographic Health Survey data, 54% of women age 15–49 and 77% of men 15–59 are literate. Nigerian women now hold important political offices; for instance in the present government administration, there are 7 women Senators out of 109 and 19 women House of Representative out of 360 members. In spite of the changes (though minimal), there are still things that have not changed especially in rural communities with regards to gender relations. For instance in such community development projects where community members combine their efforts with that of government or non-government bodies to improve and develop community socially, economically and culturally, women are hardly involved in project

discussion and execution. In most cases, women are not allowed to partake in community meetings and gatherings, and their voices, expertise and experiences are still left unheard. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine the place and role of women in Community Development Projects with particular reference to Amoli Community in Enugu State, Nigeria where various community development projects (such as provision of pipe borne water, rural electrification, road construction etc) are ongoing.

**Akhona Nkenkana**  
**Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute**  
**Pretoria, South Africa**

А. Нкенкана  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**Building Critical Consciousness for Africa's Renaissance: Androcentric Theory as a Context of Understanding Gender Stereotype in Africa**  
**Формирование критического сознания для Африканского ренессанса: андроцентрическая теория как контекст понимания гендерных стереотипов в Африке**

Gender stereotype remains a challenge in addressing the inequalities amongst men and women in Africa. These stereotypes remain at an advantage of men and oppression of women. Regardless of the interventions made with the processes of Gender mainstreaming, progress of enhancing lives of women in the continent remain very low. This paper will look at androcentric theory to critically provide analysis of the social construct of societies in Africa which perpetuates the status quo as the major challenge in advancing the gender struggle in the continent. It will further propose a possible solution with which the challenge of gender as a social phenomenon could be addressed so as to advance the African Renaissance. Advancement of African Renaissance requires a radical process that should deal with the conscious of its citizens so as to build new thinking around the struggles that continue to shackle the continent in this case Gender issues. The new thinking that will sort to define the roles of citizens not informed by their gender but by the challenges at hand that needs to be addressed in order that the advancement of African development is not prohibited by the division of its own citizens due to gender lines.

**Charu Khatri**  
**Jamia Millia Islamia University**  
**New Delhi, India**

Ч. Хатри  
Университет Джамии миллиа исламия  
Нью-Дели, Индия

**Impacts of Gender Fair Higher Education on Reshaping Cultural,  
Social and Political Participation of Women: A Comparative Analysis  
of African and Indian Universities**

**Влияние гендерной справедливости в высшем образовании на  
участие женщин в изменении культуры, общества и политики:  
сравнительный анализ африканских и индийских университетов**

Higher education is a training ground for research based professional and career oriented future. It is a potential instrument of ensuring success of democracy and bringing social transformation in the new environment of knowledge and information technology. Theodore Schultz and Mary Backer have termed the role of higher education as transformation of human beings into human capital. Globalized economy understands the strategic importance of removing gender barriers. Africa and India in the twenty first century face number of such challenges in the field of higher education.

The African Union's Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), Millennium Development Goal 3 (MDG 3), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), essentially relate to women's empowerment and gender equality at all levels of education system by 2015. There is a need to analyse power differences (equipment, financial, time and human) between men and women within higher education and research institutions in Africa.

In India, National Policy of Education (1982) identifies that a "Wider women's access to vocational, technical and professional education at all levels, breaking gender stereotypes, will ensure better financial stability for women and lead to national development". Plan of Action (PoA) 1992 is a milestone in women's educational policies and declares that: "The education system will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women".

Women empowerment in the field of academia is critical for African and Indian experiences while emphasizing the role of women in cultural, social and political realms in both these developing societies. This paper thus analysis the impact of gender fair higher education on cultural taboos, social and political behavior of women especially when feminist research confirms the relation of women with environment, health, nutrition, housing and shelter.

**Virginie Diaz Pedregal,**



**Emmanuelle Cathelineau,  
Céline Gratadour  
Agence Française de Développement  
Paris, France**

В. Диас Педрегаль, Э. Кателино, С. Гратадур  
Французское агентство развития, Париж

### **Improving Women Access and Retention of “Quality Jobs” in the MENA Region**

#### **Расширение доступа женщин и удержание «качественной работы» в странах Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки**

Requests to fight unemployment are strong in most of Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries. Unemployment is the highest of all regions in the world – a rate that reaches up to more than 20% in Tunisia. The 2011 “Arab Springs” vigorously expressed this social demand. In addition to young people, women and people living in rural areas are the first victims of unemployment (Magdi, 2012). Because they rely financially and socially on men, women are particularly exposed to poverty (Destremau, 2013).

In Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey, less than 28% of women are part of the labor force. Their jobs are often poorly paid, precarious, and socially unattractive. Yet explanations of this gender inequality are difficult to sort out. A lot of factors intervene: legal framework, education enrollment and quality for girls, employment discrimination, and difficulty to take care of children while being at work... What are the most important hurdles facing women on the labor market? What levers could be activated to improve women access and retention in “quality jobs”? To what extent social welfare policies are an answer to empower women in MENA societies? This research will address these questions.

We will present the results of this innovative work, which is still in process. The study is based on interviews with high level ministries staff and civil servants, companies, local authorities, women and associations of unemployed people in several Southern Mediterranean countries... It relies on literature on “decent jobs”, “quality employment” and female work in the MENA region.

**Rhoda Asikia Ige**  
**University of Lagos, Akoka Lagos**  
**Nigeria**  
Р.А. Иге  
Университет Лагоса, Нигерия

**Gender Disparity in Access to Education in Africa:  
The Quest for Good Governance**  
**Гендерное неравенство в доступе к образованию в Африке:  
поиск надлежащего управления**

The Millennium Development goals including the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women-represents new ways of doing development business. Equality and non-discrimination between women and men and equal protection before the law are among the cardinal principles regulating the enjoyment of rights. The Human Development Index (HDI) measure the average achievement of a country in basic capabilities; the Human Development Report of 2013 indicates improvement in the lives of people of the South which includes Africa however, the report still indicates gender disparity in most countries of the South especially in education, for example 57% of Children who are girls are out of school. The emergence of international human rights have brought about radical change in the ideological basis of international law such as in universal acknowledgement that gross violations of individual and collective rights cannot be justified on the grounds of sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction. Gender disparity in education certainly violates both individual and collective rights of the female gender and needed to be addressed urgently in many African countries.

The paper argues that there are ample treaties both regional and international in tackling gender disparity in education and that what is needed is the political will to remedy the situation.

The paper posits that tackling gender disparity can only be achieved through various African states embracing good governance in running the affairs of their respective states.

**Mahboob Sooltan Sohawon**  
**Mauritius Institute of Education**

М.С. Сохавон  
Маврикийский институт образования,  
Редюит

**School Leadership and Social Justice**

**Школьное лидерство и социальная справедливость**

There is a saying which runs thus 'Education is the social leveler.' This paper is going to study how schools can address the issue of social (in) justice and the example here is drawn from a school with which I have been closely involved over three years. In this study, which is a field one, will be looking at the strategies which the school/school leaders have been adopting to establish social justice. Apart from analyzing the profile of the learners and the school as background study, my interest is to share the strategies established by the Head of the school or school administrators in setting up school structures favouring social justice. I shall be also considering the initiatives of the Head to re-center and enhance staff capacity through robust staff development preparation programmes with a social justice orientation and practices where focus is principally on issues like race and social equity. Other consideration in this study is the strengthening of the link between the school culture and community where a warm and welcoming school climate is created with a view to reaching the community at large but targeting principally the marginalized families. But the main focus will be the setting up of structures within the school and the learners' community to raise learners' academic achievement. One fascinating aspect is the establishment of a network among parents and the community where literate parents take under their responsibilities to mentor and guide the learners especially in their homework lessons. There are data, which I shall be discussing, demonstrating behavioural improvement in the learners, especially their academic performance and achievement. And, the way forward.

**Olga Kulkova**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Olga Kulkova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Evolution of African Masculinity in Africa and beyond**  
**(Case study of Diola men, Senegal)**

**Эволюция африканской мужскости в Африке и за ее  
пределами (пример мужчин диола, Сенегал)**

Masculinity largely determines the trends of development of African state and society, as men still occupy the dominant position in the society. Now the structure of the African male identity is undergoing a process of transformation, both in Africa and in the Diaspora. It can be assumed that history made a significant impact on the formation of the African masculinity on the continent (a legacy of colonialism) and in the West (slavery, segregation, the struggle for civil rights.)

I would like to briefly examine the evolution of masculinity in Africa and beyond on the case of masculine consciousness and behavior of Diola people, Senegal. Diola is one of the largest ethnic minorities in Senegal. Diola were originally animists. Among them, in Senegambia there are still many followers of traditional religion, “Awasasena path” (awasena – clairvoyants-priests). Most Diola religious cults are controlled by men, and their members are exclusively men. Many Diola converted to Christianity or Islam.

Diola communities in the past were built on respect for the family and social values. Pre-marital sexual relations were not allowed. After the boys and girls passed initiation rites, during which they were taught the sacred knowledge of what it means to be a man, a warrior, head of the family, and accordingly – a woman and a mother, they became full-fledged members of society and could marry. Men regard marriage and fatherhood as a great value. Primacy of family and community formally belongs to men. Diola man has a patriarchal, patronizing worldview.

Diola formed societies of egalitarian nature which is rare.

In modern Diola masculinity there are still some characteristics inherent in men of this ethnic group in the traditional culture, but a lot has changed over time.

**Lubov Prokopenko**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Л.Я. Прокопенко  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**The gender dimension of the political leadership  
(Southern Africa states' case) Гендерное  
измерение политического лидерства (пример  
государств Юга Африки)**

In the countries of the South of Africa as well as in the whole continent the problem of political leadership and of the political leader is essential. In the process of political modernization, in the presence of certain political freedoms, leadership takes on new meaning. Analyzing the gender aspect of political leadership it is necessary to consider a number of issues: gender balance in society, types of leadership, political culture, the psychology of gender relations and their levels in politics, the image of a political leader, etc. It is necessary to take into account the significant influence in the politics of ethnicity and tribalism as leadership in Africa is historically closely linked to the institution of traditional leaders.

In most countries there are legal and institutional conditions for the emergence of female leaders. Promotion of women into power, into all levels of government in the countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is recognized as a critically important issue of government policy, a fixed quota system of female representation in elected office is established. A high level of literacy among women which in most countries is more than 80% also contributes to this development.

A significant increase in the number of women in the political leadership of most countries is a real fact that has a tendency to develop. Important figures of women politicians (both in ruling and opposition elites) emerge in the political field who are in a decent competition with male politicians. However in practice manifestations of male chauvinism are observed even in South Africa, in spite of all its success in the official gender policy. Some women have expressed their desire to take responsibility for the fate of their countries (N. Dlamini-Zuma (South Africa), M. Mwanawasa (Zambia). In Zambia I. Mbikusita-Lewanika (2001) and E. Nawakwi (2011) took part in presidential election campaigns. However, there is only one female head of state in the whole region – J. Banda (Malawi).

South Africa's achievements in the field of gender equality, the result of nearly twenty years of efforts by the ANC government, parliament and civil society organizations, are personified by successful female leaders holding

important public offices and positions in international organizations (N. Dlamini Zuma, N. Pillay), as well as in the opposition. Meanwhile Botswana which is often referred to as a “showcase of African democracy” has not yet achieved gender symmetry in politics and doesn’t have outstanding female leaders. The growth of the female representation in government has become one of the characteristics of the formation of political leadership in the region. However it has little effect on the improvement of the socio-economic status of women and therefore on the development of the whole society.

The process of generational change in the political elites is gaining momentum. Many young female leaders have degrees in Political Management. Sane pragmatism is among their particular advantages.

**Remi Adeyemo**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife,**  
**Nigeria**  
Р. Адейемо  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

### **Land Tenure and Women in West Africa** **Землевладение и женщины в Западной Африке**

Agriculture is the most important sector of the economies of West Africa. It employs more than 60% of the adult population of most West Africa countries, accounts for more than 30% of the gross domestic product and contributes significantly to the foreign exchange earnings of most countries in the sub region. The quality of life of the people of the sub-region depends largely on how well agriculture is doing. The rapid increase in population has made land less available to ensure the sustainability of the systems as practiced by the men and women farmers Land is a special and most productive resource in the sub region.

Contrary to the thinking of some agriculturalists, a great deal of agricultural work and decision making are in women hands in West Africa. Out-migration of large numbers of males tends to augment female responsibilities as wives hold the farm and use the land until husbands retire from wage labour. Even among commercial farmers, women activities are often critical in farm operations, especially for absentee male owners as women became adept at managerial responsibilities.

In this part of the sub-region, customary and formal tenure systems have marginalized women rights. Women tend to have subordinate roles in relation to land. Under the customary system land usually belongs to and is managed by a patrilineal group so that women are always secondary users,

whether as daughters, sisters, wives or mothers. Their rights of access are highly dependent on the social ties which link them to those with primary rights over land.

With this background this paper narrates the women activities in the rural and socio-economic life in West Africa, their landholding, roles and challenges. The paper then argues in favour of women access to land and the right of controlling the special resource since women have shown and proved of playing a pivotal role in the economic development of the family, state and the sub region.

**Oyeronke Oyewumi**  
**Stony Brook University**

О. Ойевуми  
Университет Стоуни Брука, США

**Bridging Gender Disparities in Higher Education: Implications,  
Strategies and Challenges**

**Преодоление гендерного неравенства в высшем образовании:  
последствия, стратегии и вызовы**

One of the problems associated with modern African universities is social inequality in the composition of the student body. Disparities implicate gender, class, region and ethnicity. Commenting on the multiple inequities in education, Ivorian scholar Assie-Lumumba writes, “of all these factors gender has been the most widespread and persistent basis for inequality in opportunity for and access to schooling, and educational output and outcome” (Assie-Lumumba 2006). In recent times, global and local women’s movements focus on challenging gender discrimination and female marginalization. On campuses across the continent there are women’s movements advocating for more gender-aware policies and promote practices that address gender discrimination. My goal in this paper is threefold: to examine the implications of having few women in a sector that is crucial to producing leadership that is essential for development; to evaluate the strategies that are being put in place to address discrimination, and highlight the persistent challenges.

**Toyin Oluwaremilekun Oluwaniyi**  
**Redeemer's University, Nigeria**

Т.О. Олуванийи  
Университет Спасителя  
Мове, Нигерия

**Women and the Politics of Representation in Nigeria's Democratic  
Governance: An Analysis of the Legislative Elections from 1999 to 2011**

**Женщины и политика представительства в Нигерии при  
демократическом правлении: анализ выборов в законодательные  
органы власти с 1999 по 2011 г.**

The low level of women's representation in Nigeria's democratic politics has been an issue of concern. This issue cuts across all political positions, including elective and appointive ones. Though the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Nigerian state has witnessed an increasing trend in the numerical strength of women's representation due to some enabling factors, a critical analysis of elections from 1999 to 2011 into elective positions reveals a huge gap between women and men's representation. Therefore, focusing on legislative elections, this article critically analyses legislative elections from 1999 to 2011 and argues that despite the role of the state, civil society and international community in improving women's numerical strength in representative elective positions in Nigeria, several factors persistently impinge their successes. It draws on and suggests measures for building on factors that have contributed to this positive trend. This paper concludes that women's representation should not only be perceived beyond the number, but it should involve their active participation that will transform the political space and engender political equality in Nigeria.

**Tatiana M. Gavristova**  
**Yaroslavl State University, Russia**

Т.М. Гавристова  
ЯрГУ, Ярославль, Россия

**Marcia Kure: not just an Artist**

**Марсия Куре: не просто художница**

Marcia Kure, the Sankofa of African modernism, was born in 1970 in Kano (Nigeria). Her parents had moved to Nsukka, where she started going to art school. Thanks to Uche Okeke, the "father" of ulizm which considered to be one of the trends of contemporary African art, the system of professional training for artists was made in the University of Nigeria in Nsukka, and in 1994 M. Kure graduated from this university. Her teachers were the best: Obiora Udechukwu ("apostle of ulizm"), Olu Guibe, Chike



Okeke etc. So a “birth” of the artist had happened with her introduction to the conceptual, social – oriented art – to the “Nsukka School”.

In her youth, M. Kure studied the phenomenon of genocide and the Holocaust, the history of Biafra and Somalia. The confrontation with the authorities forced her and her husband (Chika Okeke Agula – Princeton University professor, historian and art critic) to immigrate to the United States.

The artist took correlation times and traditions, mythology, Igbo and Akan. Uli symbols, their aesthetics (conciseness, minimalism), fascinated, though she uses them in parallel with the characters of adinkra and nsibidi. Following to the U. Okeke’s theory of “natural synthesis” led her to the mixing of styles and genres. In her works, watercolor and collage are combined with borrowings from the visual traditions of hip- hop, the NOC culture (rhythms and codes) and design techniques.

At the turn of the twenty-first century M. Kure began her experiments with paper and textiles. In 2000, in Lagos her solo exhibition “Clothes as identity” was held; it was followed by “Wonderlands” (San Francisco, 2004 and 2006), “Fashionable hybrids” (New York, 2011), “Fashion” (New York, 2007) etc. Later critics and audiences saw in her next solo exhibition “Tease” (New York, 2013) a typical product of the era of post-modernism (because of the abundance of provocations and typical “citations”). It is necessary to feel her “Tease” in order to understand (and accept) the attitude of the artist, whose main idea – not only a game, but the the problems of human life existing outside of the ethno- racial and religious boundaries, in the heart of a universal culture.

**Chioma L.Enwerem**  
**Imo State University**  
**Owerri, Nigeria**

Ч.Л. Энверем  
Университет штата Имо  
Оверри, Нигерия

**Violence against Women in Selected Nigerian Video Films and Novels**  
**Насилие против женщин в отдельных нигерийских**  
**видеофильмах и романах**

One of the primary concerns of the Millennium Development Goals is to “promote gender equality and empower women”. The paper examines how certain forms of violence against women are portrayed in selected Nigerian video films and novels. Women and girls in Nigeria are still subjected to various culturally based forms of abuse, exploitation and discrimination, the most common of which include wife battering, rape and other forms of sexual violence during wars and conflict situations, female genital

mutilation, trafficking in women, and inhuman widowhood practices. The paper discusses how Nigerian dramatists and novelists present or misrepresent gender related violence in their works. It relates the discussion to the local social and cultural contexts in which these writings and films are set, and to the wider global debates about gender justice and the cultural context of human rights. The paper focuses on a representative selection of video films and novels which portray the Nigerian woman burdened in various ways with patriarchal prejudices and at times very obnoxious native laws and customs which flagrantly violate her human rights and dignity. It concludes with some comments on the adverse social consequences of violence against women, and the relevant international conventions, local legislation and other social responses that seek to redress these gender related anomalies in Nigeria. It also considers how home videos which are now widely used to dramatize these social ills can more creatively be used to promote the campaign to eliminate all forms of discrimination, abuse and violence against women.

**Jordan P. Vieira**  
**London School of Economics, UK**  
Ж.П. Виейра  
Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

**Within A Beating Drum. Performative Tactics and Gender Politics in  
the Embodied Processes of Sociocultural Transformation**

**Внутри бьющего барабана. Перформативные тактики и гендерная  
политика в процессах социокультурной трансформации**

Wokuba engoma enyo, bulyomu awulira. [When you beat the drum loudly, everyone hears.] – Luganda Proverb

This paper explores the effects of decolonization and the configuration of particular, historically constituted realities. While there have been studies conducted from a political scientific perspective on female political engagement in post-colonial Uganda, they could be supplemented with deeper insights into the mundane practice of everyday life. I accordingly utilize an anthropological perspective to examine the dialectics between state politics/formation/transformation and “on the ground” female experience vis-a-vis traditional gendered musical performance and public policy. Using drum playing and dance as symbolic and practical avenues for generating this particular analytical window, the research also draws upon folklore with a discussion of tactical agency and feminism more generally to deconstruct and reveal the multiple layers involved with embodied, performative aspects of daily life. These components all demonstrate the necessity of performance

and practice within the production and configuration of such complex phenomena as sociocultural transformations.

**Jason Nkyabonaki**  
**The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy**  
**Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**  
Дж. Нкьябонаки  
Мемориальная академия Мвалиму Ньерере  
Дар-эс-Салам, Танзания

**Women in Governance at the Central and Local Government  
Institutions: An Experience of Tanzania Женщины в  
центральных и местных органах власти: опыт  
Танзании**

This paper provides a descriptive analysis of the state of art of women’s participation in position of political, managerial and decision making following the government endorsement of the Beijing Platform (1995) of action and ratification of other series of conventions, reports and protocols, such as Dakar Platform (1994); the African Plan of Action; the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003); UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000); SADC (2005); and APRM (2009). The Participation of women has consistently been at the centre of the global agenda for the advancement of women and society at large. Significant commitments to women’s participation in governance realm have been made at the international level and national governments. It is the intention of the paper to illustrate notable evidences taped from developed and developing countries on women engagement in governance and development. Tanzania is the focal point in this analysis. Despite the premeditated exertion undertaken by responsible institutions still women situation of under representation does persist in a great deal. The patriarchy rule has sustained itself through developing glass ceilings for women participation in decision making organs. The paper concludes that women participation in decision making organs will promote development in society as Lamsa and Sintonen (2001) portray that women hold such “new” qualities as networking skills, ability to motivate others and social skills needed in contemporary societies. Therefore, patriarchy structures should be reformed if societies have to attain socio-economic and political development despite of structural and behavioral limitations.

**Virginie Diaz Pedregal**  
**Agence Française de Développement**  
**Paris, France**  
В. Диас Педрегаль  
Французское агентство развития  
Париж

**Women’s Empowerment as a Precursor to Fourth Wave  
Democratization in Predominantly-Muslim States Наделение женщин  
властью как предвестник четвертой волны демократизации в  
преимущественно мусульманских государствах**

Democratization as the independent variable has been tied to progress in women’s empowerment as the dependent variable. Nevertheless, democratization and the success of conservative Islamic parties in Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco have been linked to a setback in women’s empowerment. In Egypt following democratic elections and the rise to power of the Muslim Brotherhood, gender quotas were abolished dropping the percentage of women members of parliament from 11% to 2% in 2012 elections. In Morocco under the Islamic Justice and Development Party (PJD) the number of women cabinet ministers dropped from seven to one. This phenomenon is not limited to North Africa. In Turkey and post-Soviet Central Asian countries, Islamic leaders have called for a return to “traditional” values, raising concern that democracy, and the subsequent rise of conservative Islamic parties, may actually represent a step back for women in predominantly-Muslim states. This paper argues that the pathway to democracy in this Fourth Wave of predominantly-Muslim states will represent a distinct Islamic transition to democratic institutions. The primary distinguishing feature between Fourth Wave democratization and previous transitions is that structural democracy characterized by universal suffrage, free and fair elections, opposition inclusion, and policy shifts to elected leaders will precede the more liberal *freedom* indicators of democracy such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and certain personal integrity rights. This reversal, it will be argued is symptomatic of Islamic particularities and the relative subordinate position of women in these societies. Second, this project challenges the causal logic that democratization necessarily triggers an increase in women’s empowerment and instead reverses the paradigm to assert that in Fourth Wave democracies women’s empowerment will precede the consolidation of democratic structures with societies segueing only later to entrenched democratic institutions. This project uses a hierarchical linear and nonlinear model (HLM) to assess the impact of women’s socioeconomic, political, and personal empowerment on democratization, employing both micro- and macro-level indicators.

**Деминцева Е.Б.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва**  
**Россия**  
E. Demintseva  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Новые иммигранты во Франции: африканские няни в Париже**  
**New Immigrants in France: African Babysitters in Paris**

Африканские няни, собирающиеся в скверах, бурно обсуждающие между собой последние новости и периодически окриками своих маленьких подопечных – привычная картина для Парижа. Практически в каждом парке, сквере или же бульваре есть «уголок африканских нянь» – место, где они собираются в до- и послеобеденное время. Кто такие иммигранты-африканцы? Сегодня: многие французские исследователи пишут об изменении профиля африканской иммиграции и появлении в нем новых фигур. В Европу устремляются уже не бедные деревенские юноши: в настоящее время можно наблюдать большой поток молодых образованных людей, стремящихся начать новую жизнь на другом континенте. Еще одним изменением миграционной ситуации является большой приток в Европу африканских женщин, приезжающих в одиночестве на заработки.

Одни из основных экономических ниш, занимаемых во Франции африканками – это работа нянями и уборщицами. Часто они работают без документов, за более скромные вознаграждения, нежели те, кто трудится официально, но в сегодняшнем французском обществе, переживающим экономические проблемы, они востребованы средним классом.

**Сергеева Нина**  
**Латакия, Сирия**  
Nina Sergeeva  
Latakia, Siria

**Гендерный аспект в семейных отношениях с мужчиной**  
**арабского мира**

**The Gender Aspect of Family Relations with the Arab Man**

Считается, что за пределами России проживает порядка 20 миллионов наших соотечественников. Среди этих миллионов есть и те много тысяч, которые живут в арабоязычных странах, причем очень большая доля этих тысяч приходится на женщин, которые оказались там, выйдя замуж.

И вот в поисках своего личного семейного счастья, россиянки оказываются не просто в чужой языковой и культурной среде, но и в обще-

стве, где гендерные роли в семейных отношениях четко определены, регламентированы и не приемлют понятие равенства полов не только в устоявшемся западно-европейском понимании, но и в понимании нынешнего российского права.

Однако, при отсутствии полного совпадения в представлениях о гендерных ролях в семейных отношениях у россиянок и их арабских мужьях, все же имеется достаточно общих взглядов и традиций. Эти общие взгляды, корни которых находятся в традиционных представлениях на семью, при наличии некоторой гендерной коррекции во взглядах и поведении супругов, дают возможность создавать крепкие и счастливые семьи. В силу же того, что в таких семьях происходит успешное воспитание не только двуязычных детей, но людей, которые в потенции своей могут стать мостом культурным, общественно значимым, а значит и полезным для России, вопрос о рецептах счастливого брака с арабским мужчиной переходит из категории частного в государственный.

**Гришина Н.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Nina V. Grishina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Эмиграция африканцев в Европу как один из факторов  
разрушения традиционной семьи**  
**African Emigration to Europe as a Factor of Traditional  
Family's Destruction**

В настоящее время наблюдается беспрецедентный рост миграции в Европу из африканских стран, сопровождаемый конфликтом традиционного и современного образа жизни. При этом в первую очередь подвергается деформации один из важнейших общественных институтов – институт семьи. Он перестает существовать в первоначальном виде, как в стране исхода, так и на новом месте, в стране-реципиенте.

Миграции, ведущие, прежде всего, к расшатыванию многолетних традиций, все более снижают и роль семьи как основы общества. В недрах этого явления находят питательную почву такие явления как, например, проституция и гомосексуальные отношения.

Семьи выходцев из Африки, как и семьи переселенцев из других неевропейских стран, находятся на своеобразном распутье: для них становится невозможным вести привычный образ жизни в стране-реципиенте и в то же время отказаться полностью от своих культурных традиций в пользу общеевропейского менталитета.

На бытовом уровне семьи мигрантов сталкиваются с неприязненным отношением местного населения, с дискриминацией при приеме на

работу и откровенными проявлениями ксенофобии. На уровне законодательном до сих пор решить проблему регулирования миграции главам европейских стран на сегодняшний день так и не удалось, поэтому почва для межнациональных конфликтов не только остается, но и расширяется.

**Ильина Н.  
Университет имени  
О.Е. Кутафина  
Москва, РФ  
Nadezhda Ilyina  
O.E. Kutafin University  
Moscow, Russia**

**Портреты англоязычных писательниц Нигерии в  
социально-политическом контексте  
The Nigerian English-Language Women Writers' Portraits  
in the Socio-Political Context**

Художественная литература Нигерии на английском языке, который является языком общения ее многомиллионных народов, появилась в связи с изменением в общественном сознании и формированием новых культурных потребностей.

Общественно-политическая жизнь способствовала появлению художественной литературы и женщин-литераторов, которые решительно вошли в литературный процесс.

У каждой нигерийской писательницы существуют важные обстоятельства жизненного пути, оказавшие решающее значение для формирования их личности, на возникновение потребности самостоятельного литературного творчества.

Начало постколониального развития является значимым историческим рубежом для литературного развития; общественное сознание претерпевает к этому периоду качественные изменения. В Нигерии не менее важным рубежом, чем обретение национальной независимости (1960), стала братоубийственная гражданская война 1967–70 гг, которая до сих пор осмысливается нигерийскими литераторами, в том числе женщинами. Всех нигерийских писательниц глубоко волнует тема женских судеб в эпоху коренных социальных перемен в Африке. Они отстаивают право африканок на активное участие в общественной жизни, право на образование, на работу, на счастье в семье.

В некоторых произведениях переосмысливается взятая за основу автором схема западноевропейского «романа воспитания», где герой (или героиня) формируется как личность благодаря своему сопротивле-

нию среде, добиваясь на этом пути определенных успехов. Многие женщины-литераторы не живут в Нигерии постоянно, проживая большую часть времени в Великобритании или в США.

Таким образом, женщины-литераторы Нигерии показывают в своих произведениях Африку нашего времени, рассматриваемую в разных аспектах сегодняшней социально-политической действительности.

**Беляков В.В.**  
**ИВ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Vladimir Belyakov  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Женщины Египта: три конституции – три подхода** **Egyptian Women: Three Constitutions – Three Approaches**

Положение женщин в исламском обществе неизменно отличается своеобразием, проистекающим из религиозных канонов. Тем не менее оно весьма различно от страны к стране – от практически полного бесправия в таких традиционных обществах, как афганское или саудовское, до высокой степени равноправия с мужчинами в государствах со светскими режимами типа Сирии или Иордании. При этом подход к правам женщин определяется обычно уже в конституциях государств (там, где они есть). При смене режима и принятии новой конституции нередко меняется и отношение к женщинам. Это хорошо видно на примере Египта.

Республиканский Египет был светским государством. Последняя перед падением режима президента Мубарака в 2011 году конституция была принята в 1971 году. Статьи 9, 10 и 11 были посвящены семье и положению женщин. Статья 11 провозглашала равенство женщин с мужчинами «в политической, социальной, культурной и экономической жизни». Конституция заложила основу для достойного представительства женщин во всех сферах жизни египетского общества.

Иной подход к правам женщин был зафиксирован в конституции 2012 года, подготовленной исламистами. В ней нет статьи, провозглашающей равноправие женщин с мужчинами. В преамбуле конституции говорится лишь, что «не может быть достоинства в стране, в которой не почитают женщин». Но что такое «почитание» – не расшифровано. В целом же с приходом к власти исламистов положение женщин в Египте ухудшилось, а новая конституция подверглась критике со стороны не только активисток женского движения в Египте, но и ряда международных организаций.

За отстранением от власти 3 июля 2013 года президента-исламиста Мурси последовала отмена конституции 2012 года. В разработке новой



конституции приняли участие и активистки женских организаций. В результате статья о равноправии женщин с мужчинами была восстановлена, и в целом статьи о правах личности были приведены в соответствие с международными конвенциями.

**Мурнова Н.  
Правительство г. Москва,  
Московский Дом соотечественника,  
РФ**

Nelli Murnova  
Moscow Government, Russia

### **Кто и почему в Африке говорит по-русски? Who and Why Speaks Russian in Africa**

Более двадцати лет, с распадом СССР, положение русского языка пострадало за пределами страны. В последнее время все чаще в выступлениях руководства страны звучит озабоченность положением русского языка не только в России, но и за ее пределами. Этот вопрос плотно корреспондируется с таким важным положением, как имидж России за рубежом.

На Африканском континенте положение русского языка резко ухудшилось. Распространенность русского языка в странах Африки к югу от Сахары крайне слаба. Им в той или иной мере владеют в настоящее время не более 121 тысячи человек, в том числе около 100 тысяч выпускников советских и российских вузов (гражданских и военных) и вузов стран СНГ, а также их русскоязычные жены и часть детей, изучавших русский язык в национальной системе образования или на языковых курсах. До 1990-х годов русский язык в той или иной мере изучался почти в 40 странах, расположенных к югу от Сахары, в том числе в построенных при помощи СССР средних специальных и высших учебных заведениях, в которых работали и советские преподаватели. К настоящему времени русский язык в национальной системе образования изучается лишь в 13 странах: Всего в России в настоящее время обучаются представители 46 африканских стран. Основная часть из них занимается по долгосрочным программам дипломированных специалистов и имеет хорошие возможности не только освоить, но и усовершенствовать русский язык за несколько лет пребывания в России.

Почему учат русский язык в странах Африки сегодня? Россия по-прежнему является страной, которая вызывает интерес с точки зрения возможного сотрудничества с нею в разных областях. Многие соотечественницы и их дети видят будущее в обучении в вузах России и в возможном дальнейшем трудоустройстве здесь. Важным аспектом распро-

странения русского языка за рубежом является международное признание российских дипломов за рубежом. III Всемирный конгресс выпускников (Москва, 2012 г.) показал высокую заинтересованность представителей разных государств, разных профессиональных устремлений к тому, чтобы вместе поддержать Россию в новых условиях.

**Nemata Blyden**  
**George Washington University, USA**

Н. Блайден  
Университет им. Джорджа Вашингтона  
Вашингтон, США

**“Coming Together for Change”:  
African Women’s Organizations in the United States**

**«Выступая вместе во имя перемен»:  
организации африканских женщин в Соединенных Штатах**

In studying African women there has been a tendency to think of power in political terms i.e. government office, etc. African women have historically wielded power in different ways within their communities, recognizing that holding office is not the only way for women to effect change. This paper will focus on African women’s organizations in the United States, with particular attention to Sisters of Sierra Leone, a women’s group established in the Dallas Fort Worth Metroplex in 1998, as an example of women’s collective power, and influence on the continent. The paper will trace the evolution of this organization from a small support group for women in the DFW area, to a highly organized society whose mission has evolved to address not only the concerns of women immigrants in their locality, but to focus on charitable, benevolent and educational programs for women, children and families in Sierra Leone and the Dallas/Forth Worth community. It will highlight the activities of this group within the context of their status as immigrants. With its multi-ethnic membership, across class, and economic status, welcoming all women, this organization has evolved into significant forum for women’s empowerment in the community. An examination and analysis of these women’s groups highlight the many ways in which African women immigrants negotiate gender roles and identities in a new society while maintaining aspects of culture, traditions, and roles from the homeland. Finally the paper will argue that the SOSL case study is an example of immigrant women’s collective action on a small scale, but with significant impact, an example of women’s collective power and responsibility. I.e. taking on the responsibility and role which the state should take, and an example of women’s contribution to community building and national construction. In discussing these groups the transnational and diasporic

elements of these women's groups will emerge. The paper will take a historical approach.

**Львова Э.С.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, РФ**  
Eleonora S. Lvova  
Lomonosov Moscow State University  
Russia

**«Русские жены» в Африке (Эфиопия и Танзания)**  
**“Russian Wives” in Africa: The Cases of Ethiopia and Tanzania**

В странах Африки много женщин из бывшего СССР, вышедших замуж за африканцев. Многие из них живут там по 20–40 лет. Среди них много уроженцев Украины, Молдавии и других бывших советских республик, которые после распада СССР остались без дипломатической поддержки. Да и в разных странах континента их судьбы складываются по-разному. Эта разница особенно заметна по результатам анкетирования и интервью, собранных в 2003 г. в Танзании и в 1992 и 2006 гг. в Эфиопии.

В Танзании многие «русские» жены не завершили высшего образования, не знали языка и культуры будущих мужей. Были трудности адаптации из-за климата, непривычной пищи, традиционных семейных норм, жизни в семьях мусульман. Многие развелись. Хотя они часто встречаются – такими очагами встреч являются Российский культурный центр и Греческая православная церковь, они не организованы.

В Эфиопию женщины из СССР, как правило, прибыли после получения дипломов, нашли работу по специальности, адаптация проходила легче, главным образом потому, что большинство их мужей – христиане. Хотя есть случаи разводов, но в большинстве своем браки прочные и длительные. Дети учатся в школе при посольстве России, создана Ассоциация российских женщин-жен африканцев, которая тесно сотрудничает с Российским культурным центром, проводится совместная работа по обучению русскому языку, проведении праздников.

**Садовская Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Lyubov M. Sadovskaya  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Гендер и власть в Кот-д'Ивуаре: Алассан и Доминик Уаттары**  
**Gender and Power in Côte d'Ivoire: Alassane and Dominique Ouattaras**

Зарубежные и отечественные ученые пришли к выводу, что глубокое изучение проблемы гендерных отношений является одним из важнейших элементов осмысления не только далекого прошлого Африки, но и современных явлений ее социально-политического развития. По их мнению, нынешнее состояние этих отношений характеризуется активизацией процесса восстановления паритета в отношениях господства/подчинения между мужчиной и женщиной.

В докладе анализируется роль, которую сыграла Доминик Уаттара в становлении государственно-политической карьеры своего мужа – действующего ныне президента Кот-д'Ивуара Алассана Уаттары, официально вступившего в эту должность в мае 2011 г. Очень часто приближение к политической арене пробуждает в супругах известных государственных деятелей желание сыграть важную роль в судьбе своего мужа. Доминик не была исключением. Во французской прессе даже писали, что именно она «открыла доступ к власти» и привела в большую политику Алассана.

В отличие от супруги бывшего президента Кот-д'Ивуара Л. Гбагбо – Симоны, которая была достаточно влиятельной фигурой в политических кругах своей страны, вторым человеком в Ивуарийском народном фронте (ИНФ), – Доминик не участвовала напрямую в политике, но была способна оказывать влияние на правящие круги в стране еще в эпоху Уфуэ-Буанье. В 1990 г. не без ее участия ивуарийский президент пригласил Алассана на работу в правительство, а потом утвердил его в должности премьер-министра. После смерти в 1993 г. Уфуэ-Буаньи он оставляет пост и уезжает из страны. Но А. Уаттара не порывает связи с оппозиционным режиму А. Бедье партией – Объединение республиканцев. По возвращении в страну члены этой организации выдвигают его кандидатуру на пост президента. Но из-за поправок в электоральном кодексе, он не смог участвовать в выборах 2000 г. По результатам голосования президентом стал лидер ИНФ – Лоран Гбагбо, который находился на этом посту до конца 2010 г. Целое десятилетие в стране шло противостояние политических сил, поддерживающих, с одной стороны, действовавшего президента, с другой – А. Уаттару. После длительной политической борьбы за власть в стране, которая в 2002 г. переросла в

гражданскую войну, длившуюся три года, в 2010 г. власть перешла к А. Уаттаре. За три года пребывания на президентском посту ему удалось стабилизировать политическую ситуацию в стране, заново наладить отношения с Францией и с Европейским сообществом. А. Уаттара пользуется большой поддержкой африканских политиков: его избрали председателем ЭКОВАС. Во всех этих успехах есть большая заслуга его жены – Доминик.

История их отношений доказывает, как в Африке кардинально изменяется взгляд на место и роль женщины в общественно-политической жизни, в том числе и взгляд мужчин-политиков на нее.

**Тамара Айо**  
**Университет**  
**Абиджан, Кот-д’Ивуар**  
Tamara Ayo  
University of Abijan, Côte d’Ivoire

**«Ж е н щ и н а, с м ы с л е ё ж и з н и»**  
**“The Woman, the Meaning of Her Life”**

Одна из выдающихся женщин современного Кот-д’Ивуар Кристиан Битти – Куйяте, ивуарийка родилась ещё до получения независимости. Уроженка юга страны, католичка, замужем за ивуарийцем с севера страны, мусульманином, мать троих детей. Нотариус, бывший президент нотариальной Палаты Кот-д’Ивуара, она продолжает, наряду со своей профессиональной деятельностью, преподавать в Университете Кокоди – Абиджан. Кристиан Битти с раннего возраста интересуется социальными вопросами, принимает участие в различных социальных и благотворительных организациях. В настоящее время она президент неправительственных организаций Кот-д’Ивуара, непреходящий секретарь и исполнительный советник Интернационального союза нотариусов, основатель и активный член ассоциации женщин юристов Кот-д’Ивуара и других женских ассоциаций страны. Автор двух книг в области права коммерческих организаций, а также книги (Абиджан, 2012), где Кристиан Битти описывает свой сложный жизненный, полный препятствий, путь. Своей жизнью она доказала, что у женщин имеются неисчерпаемые возможности для их преодоления. В ней она делится своим пониманием смысла жизни женщины, открывающий миру ее неожиданные способности. «В большинстве африканских стран и, особенно в Кот-д’Ивуаре, ещё задолго до получения страной независимости, женщины боролись наряду с мужьями за благополучие семьи, деревни и своей любимой страны. В деревнях они, не разгибая спины, были заняты хозяйством с раннего утра до позднего вечера. Без отдыха, без каких-либо развлечений, иначе соседи осудят. В городе их ситуация

была полегче. После получения страной независимости, женщины стали самой активной составной в экономической, политической, культурной и социальной жизни страны, а также в борьбе и за независимость страны и за её безопасность»

**Крылова Н.Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia L. Krylova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Афро-россияне: загадки антропоэстетических и социальных предпочтений**  
**Afro-Russians: The Riddles of Anthro-Esthetic and Social Preferences**

Доклад посвящен рассмотрению предпочтений эталонов красоты, их поиску в группах этно- и расово-смешанных семей и в среде детей-метисов, а также проблемам индивидуального и группового отношения к лицам, наделенным контрастным антропологическим комплексом, эталона красоты как в отношении женщин, так и в отношении мужчин. Важность изучения такого аспекта заключается в том, что внешность зачастую может выражать более тонкие уровни измерения человеческой идентичности, нежели сознательные ментальные акты.

Источником инорасовой примеси в изучаемых расовых брачных группах, чаще всего оказывается, мужчина (а позже отец ребенка), обеспечивая, таким образом, определенный (гипогамный) тип брака, в котором женщина – белая, а мужчина – черный.

Эстетическая мотивация представляет собой наиболее сложный вид восприятия, как форма оценки эстетических свойств реальных объектов. В то же время для формирования эстетического идеала личности, избирающей в супруги представителя другой расы, не менее значим социальный контекст – те установления, правила, кодексы, которые преобладают в формирующем его (ее) обществе.

Обладая собственными антропологическими признаками, не безразличны к специфике внешности не только взрослые, но и дети, причем воспринимается она в силу возрастных особенностей по-разному, но в основном это антропоэстетическая тяга к партнеру европеоидного типа. Не исключено, что выбор такого супруга для молодых метисов – это не просто предпочтительный морфотип, а еще и социально значимый посредник, с помощью которого, возможно, произойдет ббльшая, чем сегодня, интеграция в среду обитания, слияния с ней молодого метиса.

В то же время тезис о предпочтительном брачном партнере в целом, быть может, более других нуждается как в комментариях генетиков и социобиологов, так и в более продолжительной проверке временем.

Татаровская И.Г.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ  
Irina G. Tatarovskaya  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Женские символы бытия в мифологии Тропической и  
Южной Африки**  
**Female Symbols of Being in Mythologies in Tropical and  
Southern Africa**

*Символ* в мифологическом сознании – это особая форма единства чувственного и абстрактно-сверхчувственного познания, выраженная не в понятиях и других формах мысли, а в виде единства чувственного образа и смысла, содержащихся в мифе.

В *символе* на первый план выходит отдельный эмпирически существующий предмет, который вызывает в нашем сознании одновременно восприятие этого же предмета и вместе с тем связывает этот предмет с чем-то другим, более общим, существенным, относящимся к сверхчувственному, абстрактному, теоретическому уровню познания.

Женские символы бытия в мифологии Тропической и Южной Африки представлены следующими первоэлементами – *небо, земля, вода*.

*Небо* выступает в качестве первоэлемента и творца мироздания. Оно символизирует бессмертие, благополучие и счастье. Иногда небо является женским началом, но чаще оно – мужское.

Антиподом *небу* выступает *земля*. Традиционно она выделяется как одна из основных стихий мироздания. Ассоциируется с женским началом. Она – носительница действенного начала. Символизирует плодородие, а также место скорби, где человека ожидают разные тяжелые испытания. Африканцы рассматривают землю как женское божество, которая является матерью всех живых существ.

*Вода* в мифологии народов Тропической и Южной Африки считается одной из главных стихий вселенной. Она выступает в качестве универсального символа во всех мировых традициях. Вода воспринималась древними как стихия, противостоящая огню. По свидетельству мифов, она обладает великой очистительной силой. В африканской мифологии вода символизирует женское начало. Женские жертвенники, женские алтари часто сооружались у рек или озер.

**Жерлицына Н.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia A. Zherlitsyna  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Семейный клан экс-президента Туниса Бен Али:  
20 лет коррупции и nepотизма**  
**Family Clan of the Ex-President of Tunisia Ben-Ali:  
20 Years of Corruption and Nepotism**

7 ноября 1987 года закончилось 30-тилетнее пребывание у власти в Тунисе Хабиба Бургибы. «Бескровный переворот» возглавил Зин аль-Абидин бен Али, находившийся к этому моменту на посту премьер-министра чуть более месяца. Опираясь на поддержку военных Бен Али объявил о взятии на себя функций президента. За последующие 24 года правления отношение граждан Туниса к этому политическому деятелю поменялось диаметрально. В 1987 г. он был «Человеком перемен», на которого возлагали надежды на окончание застоя и коренную перестройку (в те времена, по аналогии с происходящими в СССР событиями, в Тунисе возник термин «зинестройка»).

Тунисская «перестройка» 90-х годов закончилась установлением все той же системы доминирующей партии, демократичной только с фасада. Политическая стабильность и гражданский мир в Тунисе подспудно подразумевали авторитарные тенденции во власти, культ личности Бен Али, усиление роли спецслужб, зажим гласности и расцвет цензуры, наличие узников совести. Протестный взрыв, сотрясший Тунис в начале 2011 г., смел прогнанный, коррумпированный режим и заставил позорно бежать из страны Бен Али и его семью.

Весьма показателен тот факт, что официальная версия биографии Бен Али, существовавшая все 24 года его правления, существенно отличается от неофициальных сведений, которые начали обнародоваться в 2011 г. Неприглядный политический портрет фактического соправителя Бен Али, его жены Лейлы был обрисован французскими публицистами еще раньше – в 2009 г. в книге «Правительница Карфагена», запрещенной в Тунисе при прежнем режиме.



**Ксенофонтова Н.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia A. Ksenofontova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Африканская женщина. Жизнь и судьба в историческом дискурсе**  
**The African Woman. Life and Fate in the Historical Discourse**

На протяжении всей долгой истории существования африканских цивилизаций представительницы женской половины населения, несмотря на свое зависимое положение в семье и в обществе, смогли проявить значительную активность и добиться лидирующих позиций в социальной, политической, духовной и семейно-родовых сферах жизни. Они находили и находят различные пути и методы, помогающие им преодолеть социальную несправедливость, закрепленную традиционными обычаями и моралью.

Автор доклада, рассматривая африканскую историю с первобытных времен и эпохи египетских фараонов до середины XIX в., приводит доказательства того, как африканки, проявляя свой незаурядный ум, способности, волю, организаторские таланты, становились во главе династий и соправительницами государств (Древний Египет, Нубия, Мономотана, Ашанти, Судан, Орес, Кано, Ангола), нередко ограничивая власть фараонов, королей, верховных вождей и принуждая их к снятию своих властных полномочий.

Самым ярким примером стала личность *Лукокеши* – сестры правителя государства, образованного этносом лунда Анголы, – Муато Ямве. Здесь большую роль сыграли обычаи матрилинейного счета родства, сохранявшегося многие века во многих районах Африки.

Родство по матери или по сестре для многих африканских правительей прошлого было столь значительным, что в большинстве случаев, имя, титул, талисман женских родственниц, стоящих во главе клана или государства, часто превращался в титулатуру царской власти для мужских наследников и для обладателей престола.

**Найденова Н.**  
**РУДН, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia Naydyonova  
Российский University дружбы народов  
Moscow, Russia

**Эволюция женских образов в романах франкоязычных писателей  
стран Африки южнее Сахары**  
**Evolution of Women's Images in the Novels by Sub-Saharan African  
Francophone Writers**

На современном этапе франкофонная африканская литература переживает период бурного развития, и писатели-выходцы из стран данного региона обретают признание далеко за пределами родного континента. Так, например, в 2012г. премия Ренодо была присуждена рундийской романистке С. Мукасонга. Предтечей зарождения и развития африканской женской литературы в 1970–1980-е гг. стали романы А. Кейта, Н. Диалло, А. Тиам, М. Ба, в которых затрагиваются такие насущные вопросы, как бесправное положение женщины в патриархальном обществе, обрезание, вынужденный брак и полигамия, унижения, которым подвергаются бесплодные и разведенные женщины. Подобная проблематика поднимается и в произведениях авторов-мужчин, которые намного более явно осуждают средневековые обычаи, господствующие в традиционной среде (А. Курума, У. Сембен).

Одной из самых ярких фигур современной африканской женской литературы является камерунская писательница К. Бейяла, в произведениях которой на первый план выходит женщина, успешно борющаяся за свои права в маскулинном обществе. Новаторство писательницы проявляется также в коренном пересмотре образа матери, который до этого идеализировался в африканской литературе.

Середина 1990-х гг. отмечена активным развитием мигрантского письма. Нарративное пространство перемещается из Африки в Европу, а в качестве тематической доминанты на первый план выходит поиск идентичности в условиях культурного дуализма и способность эмигрантов найти свое место в принимающем обществе. Анализ гендерного аспекта художественного дискурса позволяет сделать вывод о том, что женские персонажи демонстрируют гораздо более ярко выраженную способность к адаптации и самореализации в новых условиях, в то время как герои-мужчины страдают от внутренней нестабильности, выливающейся в кризис личностной идентичности.

В борьбе за свои права африканские женщины вынуждены идти не только против кланового могущества, но и против государства, поощряющего сложившиеся обычаи и гендерные стереотипы. Яркое описа-

ние подобного противостояния содержится в романе конголезского писателя Э. Донгалы «Групповой снимок на берегу реки», где женщины, отстаивая свои интересы, становятся акторами социально-политической жизни. Таким образом, в литературных текстах отражается трансформация гендерных ролей в современном африканском обществе.

**Прохогина С.**  
**ИВ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Svetlana V. Prozhogina  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Марокко Малики Уфкир** **Morocco of Malika Ufkir**

Очевидно, что современная марокканская литература на всем протяжении последней половины XX столетия и первых десятилетий XXI отличается резким социально-политическим протестом и остро-реалистическим быто-и нравописанием, хотя и обретающим порой метафорическое обобщение (творчество Д. Шрайби, Т. Бенджеллуна, М. Хайреддина, А. Катиби, А. Серхана и мн. др.)

Документальные свидетельства Малики Уфкир, написанные ею после побега с каторги, (где она с семьей провела пятнадцать лет – ее отца генерала Уфкира обвинили в заговоре против короля Хасана II и казнили) продолжают эту традицию и органично вплетаются в цепь предыдущих, синхронных и последующих художественных повествований, создающих особую картину жизни Марокко в постколониальную эпоху.

Рассматриваемые книги М. Уфкир «Узница» (M. Oufkir, «La prisonniere», P. 1999) и «Чужая» («L'étrangère» 2006 г.) придают этой картине жизни специфически психологическую глубину, ибо созданы на основе личного опыта, исполненного трагического разлада между жизнью, прожитой М. Уфкир во дворце короля, в качестве «принцессы» (она была – при живом отце – «удочерена» королем, будучи любимой подругой его родной дочери), и той страшной реальностью, которую пришлось пережить ей на каторге, а потом, после побега и открывшейся ей реальностью существования ее соотечественников (и особенно соотечественниц) в условия резких социальных контрастов и почти неразрешенных историей противоречиях между Верховной властью и Обществом. Увиденная М. Уфкир нищета народа и изуродованные еще устойчивыми средневековыми традициями картина жизни (особенно женщин) определили остроту «прозрения» и его боль.

Это «прозрение» привело и к возникновению у М. Уфкир некоего синдрома «посторонности», «чуждости» всему окружающему и жела-

нию покинуть родную страну, хотя и в выбранной почти сорокалетней женщиной Франции, жизнь оказалась не оправдавшей ее всех надежд на Свободу.

Итогом всего пережитого становится, как личностная освобожденность автора книг, так и почти обреченность на вечное скитательство, в поисках «последнего причала», хотя научившаяся «заново жить», М. Уфкир пытается сформулировать свою «устойчивую», универсальную формулу жизни, где главным элементом становится умение людей избавиться от ощущения «чуждости» друг другу и «открыться навстречу- чуДругому», различая в нем только исток Добра и способность избавления от Зла жизни.

**Сухов Н.**

**Россотрудничество, Москва, РФ**

Nikolay V. Sukhov

Россотрудничество, Moscow, Russia

### **Соотечественники в арабских странах и православие**

#### **(на примере Марокко)**

#### **Compatriots in the Arab Countries and Orthodox Christianity:**

#### **The Case of Morocco**

События, произошедшие весной-летом 2012 года вокруг православной церкви Успения Божией Матери в Касабланке (угроза сноса, попытка незаконной продажи имущества храма и т.п.), уже сейчас можно рассматривать как важную веху в истории современной русскоязычной общины Марокко. Они дают богатую пищу для обсуждения некоторых аспектов адаптации соотечественников за рубежом: социально-экономического, антропологического, историко-культурного, конфессионального. В докладе особое внимание уделяется двум последним аспектам, ибо именно обращение к православной церкви стало спасительным моментом для определенной части эмигрантов из России и СНГ в процессе «поиска Себя» в ином культурном пространстве, что и проявилось в ходе описываемых событий.

Сообщество русскоязычных соотечественниц в Марокко разнородно по своему отношению к религии. Многие сохранили советские идеалы и принципы устройства своей жизни, некоторые формально приняли ислам, другие стали искренними мусульманками. Большинство из них вовсе необязательно были религиозны на Родине, их опыт церковной жизни там был весьма ограничен. Однако когда весть о продаже церкви разнеслась по сети интернет, они смогли самоорганизоваться и восстановить официальный приход Успенской церкви в Касабланке, что позволило обратиться к марокканским властям с иском о признании сделки

недействительной. Сеть «фейсбук» оказалась не только инструментом свержения диктаторов в арабском мире, но и средством объединения русскоязычных жителей Марокко, которым небезразлична судьба храма. Кульминацией борьбы за храм стала демонстрация, состоявшаяся 4 июня у стен Успенского храма. Среди её участников были «старые» и «новые» русские эмигранты, работающие в Марокко русские специалисты, дипломатические работники России и Украины, марокканские выпускники советских и российских вузов, православные и протестанты, мусульмане и атеисты. Манифестация получила широкий резонанс в марокканских и российских СМИ. Это заставило марокканские власти принять меры по охране территории церкви и активизировать следствие по делу.

**Хохолькова Н.**  
**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**  
Nadezhda Khokholkova  
P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University  
Russia

**«Black is beautiful!»: стиль жизни или эталон красоты?**

**«Black is beautiful!»: A Lifestyle or a Standard of Beauty?**

Понятие «красота» в любую эпоху было предметом споров, а эстетика – областью столкновения взглядов и интересов. Поиски эталона красоты свидетельствуют о невозможности установления точных, универсальных и окончательных стандартов. Каждому этносу свойственны собственные эстетические представления и предпочтения, которые трансформируются во времени.

Женская красота, вдохновляющая и вызывающая восхищение, всегда являлась одной из самых обсуждаемых тем. Каждая этнокультурная общность предлагала и отстаивала свой идеальный образ, которому, в надежде на достижение совершенства, женщины стремились подражать.

Афроцентристский эталон женской красоты, претендующий на то, чтобы стать универсальным для всего чернокожего сообщества, складывался на протяжении второй половины XX века (в процессе суверенизации Африки; в ходе борьбы за права американских негров). Он был призван тиражировать историко-эстетический опыт Африки и ее достижений. Поиск идеальных параметров происходил на основе переосмысления прошлого, его культуры и традиций.

Этническое многообразие Африки обусловило различные трактовки «красоты по-африкански»: то, что считается красивым на юге, может казаться уродливым на севере, и наоборот. Перед американскими афроцентристами (сторонниками М.К. Асанте) стояла сложная задача: от-

фильтровать лучшее (идеальные физические пропорции тела и лица, причёски, украшения) на пути создания эталона – чернокожей Мадонны. Желание изменить облик (осветлить кожу, покрасить или выпрямить волосы), навязанное «белым миром», должно было уйти в прошлое. Установка «My blackness is beautiful!» стала частью концепции афроцентризма.

**Рыбалкина И.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Inna G. Rybalkina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Вангари Маатаи** **Wangari Maatai**

Вангари Маатаи – кенийский эколог, профессор, лауреат Нобелевской премии мира (2004) – родилась 1 апреля 1940 г. в центральной Кении, получила образование в Кении, США и Германии, стала первой африканской женщиной доктором наук, профессором, лауреатом Нобелевской премии и первым в мире экологом, удостоенным этой престижной премии.

Маатаи впервые в 1976 г. выдвинула идею массовой посадки деревьев в рамках борьбы с вырубкой лесов Кении. Она стала инициатором и главным вдохновителем основанного в 1977 г. общественного движения «Зеленый пояс» («Green Belt Movement»), позже получившего также известность как «Зеленое движение Маатаи». В 1986 г. оно вышло за пределы Кении и превратилось в Панафриканскую сеть по посадке деревьев во многих странах континента. 27 лет участники Движения организуют питомники для выращивания саженцев, которые потом бесплатно передают всем желающим. Ее организации оказывают поддержку частные фонды из США, а также правительства Австралии и Нидерландов. Маатаи трижды подвергалась нападениям и избиениям.

В 1997 г. кандидатура Маатаи выдвигалась Либеральной партией Кении на президентских выборах, однако позже была снята. В 2002 г. она избирается в парламент Кении, убедительно победив конкурента – кандидата от правящей партии – и набрав 98% голосов. В январе 2003 г. она была назначена на пост заместителя министра окружающей среды Кении.

В конце 2004 г. ей была присуждена Нобелевская премия мира. «Маатаи выступает на переднем крае борьбы за экологически ориентированное социальное, экономическое и культурное развитие в Кении и Африке в целом. Она обладает целостным подходом к проблемам устойчивого развития, который включает в себя рассмотрение вопросов демократии, прав человека и прав женщин.

**Фахрутдинова Н.  
ИАФР, Москва, РФ**  
Nailya Z. Fakhrutdinova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Крис Хани – политик и человек**  
**Chris Khani as Politician and Personality**

Гендерная проблема возникает в жизни каждого человека в процессе его социализации, становлении личностных характеристик. С усложнением информационной среды обитания, осложнением жизненных условий происходит концентрация тех гендерных характеристик, которые востребованы временем. Изучение жизни выдающихся людей, наблюдение за проявлением их личностных приоритетов позволяют осознать формирование социально зрелой личности.

Крис Хани, южноафриканский революционер, – фигура, обладающая практически полным набором истинной маскулинности: храбрость, сила, стремление защищать тех, кто слабее, беспощадность к врагам и т.д. Работая с ним и его семьей в качестве переводчика во время его приезда в Москву, я ощутила воздействие этого человека на других людей: на меня, референтов ЦК КПСС, политиков из других стран и т.д. Привлекали его обаяние, эрудиций, знание реалий политического противостояния, убежденность в необходимости вооруженной борьбы и снисходительность к слабости любого вида со стороны людей. Он отличался глубоким пониманием всего, с чем он сталкивался у нас: не только нерадивость чиновников, но и социальное неравенство, дефицит продуктов в ресторане гостиницы и т.п. Он неизменно повторял: «Неравенства не будет, недостатки исчезнут по мере строительства коммунизма, сейчас нет возможности все сделать для всех. Крис был истинным коммунистом. Достижение равных возможностей для всех – было его мечтой.

Урожденный Мартин Тембисил Хани родился в 1942 г. в Кофимбабе, Транскей. Он прожил короткую жизнь и был застрелен на пороге собственного дома весной 1993 г. Но он успел многое: был секретарем Компартии ЮАР, членом Национального исполкома АНК, начальником штаба Умконто ве сизве (Колье нации), которая приняла на себя основной груз борьбы с апартеидом.

В народе и в истории он запомнился под именем Крис Хани – кумир и наставник бойцов, реальный политикой, понимающий необходимость мирных переговоров с апартеидом. В течение трех долгих лет изнурительных переговоров между расистами и АНК его голос был решающим, сдерживающим фактором.

**Мосейко А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Aida N. Moseyko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Женщины в культуре и истории Мадагаскара** **Women in Culture and History of Madagascar**

Одной из особенностей культуры Мадагаскара, где большое развитие получило индивидуальное начало, является индивидуализация взаимоотношений полов и отношения к женщине, которое традиционно уважительно, даже почитательно. В народных представлениях, отраженных в малагасийском фольклоре, женщина наделена высокими качествами – мудростью, осмотрительностью, трудолюбием, храбростью, терпением и, в то же время, прелестью, нежностью и преданностью. Большое место в жизни малагасийца занимает любовь – любовь мужчины и женщины, родителей и детей, любовь к страшим и предкам. О верной любви слагаются стихи, романы и поэмы.

Одной из основополагающих ценностей в малагасийской культуре является ценность семьи, брака. «Самое большое счастье – брак по любви», – учили предки. Очень важна в малагасийской семье роль женщины – сметливая, энергичная, она, как правило, вершит все семейные дела.

Веками формировавшееся отношение к женщине, высокая оценка ее достоинств определили социальную роль женщин, их место в истории Мадагаскара – в прошлом и настоящем.

Среди правителей Мадагаскара было немало королей, оставивших след в народной памяти как легендарные личности, принимавшие судьбоносные решения, определившие вехи истории.

Одной из таких личностей для народа сакалава была королева Ндрамандикаавави, совершившая акт самопожертвования ради блага своего народа. Жертва королевы символизирует в народной мифологии новый этап в течении времени, возникновение государства и нового образа правления.

Знаменательной датой, которую историки считают началом существования малагасийской монархии, было в государстве Имерина правление королевы Рангиты (1500–1520 гг.). Она приняла назревшее политическое решение, установив два принципа правления: единоличную власть и наследование по праву первородства, что способствовало укреплению власти в условиях междоусобицы и формированию сильного государства.

В истории XIX века значительный след оставила малагасийская королева Ранавалуна I. Основой ее политического курса было сохранение



и защита от западных посягательств малагасийской культуры, ее ценностей, малагасийского духа, а тем самым и независимости страны. Защищая страну от растущего западного влияния, она была вынуждена ограничить просвещение и распространение христианства.

После установления колониального режима и падения монархии закончилось время королей, но не закончилось участие малагасийских женщин в жизни страны, их роль в новой истории. Появились новые героини, деятельницы общественных и религиозных движений. Одной из героинь национально-освободительного движения была Жизель Рабесахала, генеральный секретарь левой партии АКФМ, с 1976 г. – министр по вопросам искусства и революционной культуры.

Период независимого развития укрепил традиционное для Мадагаскара уважение к женщине. В современном Мадагаскаре женщин можно встретить в любой сфере деятельности – это женщины-дипломаты, государственные деятели, врачи, ученые, писательницы и пасторы.

**Chioma L. Enwerem**  
**Imo State University**  
**Owerri, Nigeria**

Ч.Л. Энверем  
Университет штата Имо  
Оверри, Нигерия

**Women and Governance in Pre-Colonial and Post-Colonial Nigeria:  
Comparative Study of Akachi Adimora-Ezigbo's Trilogy and  
Sefi Atta's Two Novels**

**Женщины и управление в доколониальной и постколониальной  
Нигерии: сравнительное исследование трилогии  
Акачи Адиморы-Эзигбо и двух романов Сефи Атты**

The status and rights of women are central to the progress and direction of modernization and social change in Africa. In Nigeria, many women played prominent roles in the politics of the colonial and early independence periods. The contributions of these women pioneers have continued to influence the post-colonial movements for the full participation and representation of women in Nigerian politics, governance, economic and social development. The study examines in detail the roles which women played in governance and public affairs in the pre-colonial period, using as case studies Akachi Adimora- Ezigbo's trilogy-The Last of the Strong Ones(1996), House of Symbols(2001) and Children of the Eagle(2005). Sefi Atta's novels – Everything Good Will Come(2005), and Swallow(2008) are used to discuss the agitation for modernization and participation in govern-

ance by women in the post-colonial period. Ezigbo's trilogy indicates intermeddling of fiction and fact. She imaginatively reconstructs the history of Uga community in the Eastern part of Nigeria, to bring to present, the position of women in socio-political pre-colonial Igbo society. Sefi Atta's two novels present dissatisfied women of post-colonial era agitating for better representation of women in governance. The study will, through these works, consider the social implications of the ideologies of these authors for contemporary Nigeria. It tries to review and redirect contemporary discourse on the "femme fatale" image of women, and to stress the need for cultural change that would bring the Nigerian society and its negative attitudes to women in line with the norms and values of the modern world regarding gender justice and women empowerment.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-7**  
**Управление и национальное строительство в Африке**  
**в переходный период**  
**Governance and Nation Building in Transitional Africa**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Peter Adebayo,**  
**(University of Ilorin, Nigeria)**

The aim of this panel is to initiate discussions on the various problems that have continued to bedevil the process of good governance and nation building in Africa. Hitherto, African countries have after the attainment of independence in 1960 been plagued by the series of problems such as leadership crises, ethno-religious crises, civil wars, boundary and communal disputes, refugees, etc. that have continued to militate against the issue of nation building in Africa. Indeed, the problem have further been exacerbated by other issues such as terrorism in some countries such as Nigeria, Mali, Somalia etc., credibility of elections leading election disputes as recently in Kenya, authoritarianism, democratic governance/civil rule and coup d'état as in Central African Republic. The various papers employ both inter and multidisciplinary approaches cum historical perspective in their analysis respectively. The first paper discusses the imperatives good governance and sustainable democracy in Nigeria while the second paper discusses the impact of leadership and governance on nation building in 21<sup>st</sup> century Africa.

**Emmanuel O.Ojo**  
**Lagos State University, Nigeria**  
Э.О. Оджо  
Университет штата Лагоса  
Нигерия

**The Imperatives of Good Governance and Sustainable Democracy**  
**in Nigeria**

**Императивы надлежащего управления и устойчивой демократии**  
**в Нигерии**

With Nigeria's tortuous democratic transition to the fourth republic on May 29, 1999 hopes were high once again about the possibility of the sustenance of democratic values in the country. However, so far, the snag is, the presence of civilian government but complete absence of good governance in all its ramifications. What a contradiction sort of? In the extant literature on democracy generally, without elements of good governance, the

polity cannot claim to be democratic. Exploring the nexus between good governance and democratic virtues, the UNDP in its 1997 reports came up with a catalogue of what it takes to sustain democracy. Of the lots, good governance features prominently. However, beyond mere theoretical postulations, this paper shall conceptualise good governance as 'governmental efficiency' in all its ramifications. To achieve this, the paper has been divided into a number of sections. With an introductory overview, the paper conceptualises democratic consolidation and good governance forming the theoretical anchor for the paper in part two. The third section takes a critical view of the daunting challenges facing Nigeria which perhaps rob it of the status of a state to be classified as one with good governance. The final part of the paper contains a number of policy options for the nascent democracy.

**Peter Adebayo**  
**University of Ilorin, Nigeria**  
П. Адебайо  
Университет Илорина, Нигерия

### **The Impact of Leadership and Governance on Nation Building in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Africa**

#### **Влияние лидерства и управления на строительство нации в Африке в XXI веке**

Since the attainment of independence by most African countries in 1960- regarded as the golden year of Africa the problem of leadership and issue of good governance have continued to have a devastating impact on nation building in Africa. This paper discusses in addition to the problems of leadership and good governance other critical issues of ethnicity, religious crises, boundary-border disputes, election disputes, terrorism etc that continues to have deteriorating effect on the process of nation building in Africa especially in this second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The methodology for this paper is based on a multidisciplinary approach and historical perspective.

**Urszula Róg**  
**Jagiellonian University, Krakow**  
**Poland**  
У. Рог  
Ягеллонский университет,  
Краков, Польша

**Building a National Identity after Genocide in Rwanda as a Challenge  
of Reconciliation Process**

**Создание национальной идентичности после геноцида в Руанде  
как вызов процесса примирения**

The aim of these paper is considering about building national identity in Rwanda after genocide. Genocide, which took place in Rwanda in 1994 the resulted in the systematic massacre of up to 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in less than 100 days and destroyed completely the social structure and social ties.

The new nation without ethnic divisions is an answer of the Rwandan government to the challenges of reconciliation after genocide. Before 1994 Rwandan society was divided along ethnic lines. After genocide, according Rwandan Constitution from 2003, officially ethnicity doesn't plays the role in public discourse.

Analyzing the Rwandan politics, I will try present how in post-genocide Rwanda government build a new national identity. Today Rwandan society are survivors and killers. Besides, many refugees returned to Rwanda from neighboring countries. It's shows that is not easy build national identity, especially when is based on tragic history. This process provide many challenges and risks but is necessary in reconciliation process in Rwanda.

**Mavenyengwa Gigias**  
**University of Venda**  
**South Africa**  
М. Гигиас  
Университет Венды  
Тохоянду, ЮАР

**National Healing as a Post Crisis Reconstruction Initiative in  
Zimbabwe: Opportunities and Challenges Национальное исцеление  
как инициатива посткризисной рекон- струкции в Зимбабве:  
возможности и вызовы**

The history of Zimbabwe since independence is overwhelmingly overshadowed by violence that has characterized the socio-economic and political life of its people. The determination to achieve and attain

sustainable peace and development has been a great challenge to Zimbabwe due to lack of transparency in the core issues of governance such as rule of law, human rights protection, democracy and emancipation. The political events in the years preceding 2000 have created and maintained serious humanitarian crisis in the country. Since the sporadic and violent land reform that was punctuated by the referendum and elections of 2000, March 2002, March 2005 as well as the “Operation Murambatsvina” of 2005 which was a nationwide cleaning campaign to remove illegal buildings and people according to the ruling party. However to the ordinary person and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and human rights observers this was the worst human rights violation as it infringed on the principle of the right to health, shelter, living, employment and independence. Operation Murambatsvina displaced thousands of people, left others homeless and even destroyed their way of life. With such experiences being faced throughout the years in Zimbabwe there is a dire need of healing and reconciliation among the people. The paper therefore intends to focus on “National healing as a post crisis reconstruction initiative in Zimbabwe: opportunities and challenges”.

**Emily Jean Anderson**

**London School of Economics, UK**

Э.Дж. Андерсон

Лондонская школа экономики

Великобритания

**Taxation and State Building in Post-Conflict Angola and Mozambique**  
**Налогообложение и строительство государства в постконфликтных**  
**Анголе и Мозамбике**

Given that fair and well-functioning taxation plays a redistributive role in society, fiscal reform provides a critical means for fast-growing yet persistently underdeveloped countries such as Angola and Mozambique to address the disconnection between macroeconomic achievements and equitable growth. This paper analyses tax reforms adopted in post-conflict Angola and Mozambique and assesses why, despite demonstrable political will, both governments have struggled to establish broad-based taxation, while recent reforms have not achieved their intended state-strengthening results.

Drawing on data collection and government interviews from both countries, the paper argues that the main impediments to establishing effective taxation are rooted in the dominance of oil production and foreign aid in the respective economies of Angola and Mozambique. The analysis compares the impacts of oil and aid on revenue collection processes, and particularly on the flow of public finances between state and society. It

suggests that these autonomous revenue streams have disconnected state finances from society, with the effect of disrupting the link between the imperatives of revenue generation and redistribution. The paper aims to contribute to debate about the influence of income derived from aid and oil on the movement and distribution of public finances within post-conflict African polities.

**Elena Doroshenko**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Е.И. Дорошенко  
Институт востоковедения  
Москва, Россия

### **Main Challenges to Governance and Nation Building in Libya**

#### **Главные угрозы управлению строительству нации в Ливии**

The major sign of transition from dictatorship to democracy in a number of North African countries, as initially presented, is the Arab Spring. The common issue resulting from such an abrupt regime change is the overall political and social instability in the region, the current situation in Libya being the most obvious case.

Now the most serious challenge to the nation-building process there is the lack of political and social unity. Thus, separatist tendencies in the country's East and South put the provinces of Cyrenaica and Fezzan in an outright opposition with the central government in Tripoli.

The reasons for this are numerous.

Ideologically, the new government failed to bring the population fully on its side, even by exploiting the initial idea of unified resistance against the common enemy ('degaddafiation'); it also failed to prove that the idea of democracy transcended the existing tribal and other social conflicts. These failures resulted in the actual crisis of power in Libya, with ex-rebels groups freely acting on their own, adding to the political isolation of the government.

As long as the state security is virtually non-existent, no real political debate can begin in Libya; naturally, people, when forced to protect their own lives, can think least of any political process. Yet, even the Egyptian scenario with the Army intervening against the dysfunctional government is very unlikely in Libya, where the Army of the previous regime was destroyed by NATO and rebel forces.

The major outcome of the "political isolation law" was depriving the current government of competent members with the much-needed political knowledge and experience.

Unfortunately, closing the door on its past, Libyan politicians shut it on the country's future. Libya as a state does not have a very long tradition of governance; it got its independence as late as 1951, and King Idris's rule, under which all political parties were eventually banned, can hardly be considered as a model for democratization.

Ironically, by now the most "democratic" document in Libyan history is the *Green Book*; objective reassessment of some of its points concerning the governmental system, could eventually produce a more viable set of democratic institutions.

**Kahar Wahab Sarumi**  
**National Open University of Nigeria**

К.В. Саруми  
Национальный открытый университет Нигерии  
Ларос

**Who Will Save Nigeria?: on Writing and the Writer's  
Role in Securing the Nation**

**Кто спасет Нигерию? О литературном труде и  
роли писателя в укреплении нации**

How might writers use the art of writing to stoke up the consciousness of the Nigerian public to the nation's security challenges? How might authors deploy the writing skill to channel a way out of the nation's security dilemmas in order for her to reach Platonic Nirvana, which is said to be the desire of nation states and political entities? In other words, how can writers help solve the socio-political, economic, and security crises in which the nation is stuck? Should writers occupy the position of passive witnesses or take up active roles through the medium of writing in order to effect change? Should they tell the truth and be damned or tell lies and be done for? These questions are premised against the current state of insecurity currently bedeviling Nigeria as a nation and the consequent negative image it continues to suffer on the local and foreign media. The paper is equally hinged on the assumption that writing as an art is a plausible means through which safety and security could be promoted especially in a crumbling nation such as Nigeria. The paper derives its discussion from such writers as Edward Said, Najib Mahfuz, Christopher Okigbo, Maman Jiya Vatsa and Ken Saro-Wiwa to mention but a few.



**Does the Public Sector need a Social and Ethics Committee as part of Governance?**

**Нуждается ли государственный сектор в общественном и этическом комитете как части системы управления?**

National and provincial government of the Republic of South Africa incurred R24 724 million unauthorised, irregular and fruitless and wasteful expenditure for the 2012/13 year. The Auditor-General of South Africa in his consolidated general report on national and provincial audit outcomes, identified one of the three root causes of poor audit outcomes and a weak control environment to be the lack of consequences for poor performance and transgressions. Legislation, already adopted almost fifteen years ago, requires that such cases should be investigated and steps taken in response. Twenty percent of public entities audited had findings of non-compliance to the requirement to investigate and twelve percent did not comply with the requirement to take disciplinary action against officials.

The King Code of Governance Principles for South Africa 2009 and the King Report on Governance for South Africa 2009, also applicable to the public sector, provides for “effective leadership based on an ethical foundation”. The exploratory research attempts to find answers to the research problem of what is necessary to establish a culture of ethical behavior which is binding to all civil servants. As part of the initial research the various initiatives to imbed ethical behavior, from the time South Africa became a democracy, are reflected on. Recent development in the private sector requires of certain private companies to establish social and ethical committees. The research investigates the viability of implementing this initiative in the public sector to contribute towards ethical behavior in the public sector.

**Kunirum Osia**  
**Coppin State University**  
**USA**

К. Осиа  
Университет штата Коппин  
Балтимор, США

**Africa and the Agony of Development in the Era of Globalization**  
**Африка и агония развития в эру глобализации**

While not advocating anthropological sense of equity in a world of unequal development, why does inequality still persist despite the often touted benefits of globalization? There are conceptual ambiguities, differences as to how data have been interpreted and assumptions made in measurement about development inequality. There are concerns about methods in some studies and lack of clarity about how inequality is aggregated in cross-country data sets for defining the level of inequality or other covariates.

Why has the western development model failed to transform Africa since the dawn of independence? What factors impede the germination of effects of globalization in Africa? Africa is still at an unequal level of economic and political development vis-à-vis the industrialized countries that support globalization.

This paper will attempt to examine these questions and hypothesize that, since Africa development problems are multiple, solutions to them cannot be realized by the imposition of or experimentations with, frequently conflicting models of development. The claims of globalization appear to be abstractions merely celebrated, but yet to bear fruit in Africa. Looking at the landscape of political and economic developments in the world, Africa not only lags far behind, but it seems as if it stands still while evolution marks the passing of physical time.

Our method will rely on content analysis of available data on globalization, politico-economic development and governance – as it relates to leadership characteristics. Although there are many critical elements that cause this observed developmental imbalance in Africa: natural cause, man-made cause et cetera; this paper will focus on governance and globalization to expose the structural and institutional settings that neutralize efforts for political and economic development of Africa.

We will conclude that to solve Africa's development problems, efforts must be multidimensional, which includes, *inter alia*, improved infrastructural, institutional, enabling political and social environments.

**Ahmed Rhazaoui**  
**Al Akhawayn University**  
**Ifrane, Morocco**  
А. Разауи  
Университет аль-Ахавайн  
Ифран, Марокко

**The Search for Good Governance in Africa**  
**Поиск надлежащего управления в Африке**

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the independence of many African countries constitutes a milestone and a unique opportunity to take stock of the achievements, challenges and future prospects of the continent's development. It is also an opportunity to examine the prescriptions offered by Africa's partners to move the continent toward their preferred models of development. In particular, the call for good governance as a prerequisite for development aid needs to be clarified together with the ideological and political reasons which led donors to place it at the top of their agenda.

The paper examines the evolution of the search for good governance as a prerequisite for development through the decades following independence. By reviewing the achievements and pitfalls that characterized Africa's efforts to find a sustainable path to development, the paper looks at the various ideological guideposts that inspired and guided Africa's leaders in the early years of independence, followed by the subsequent development strategies, their achievements and limitations through the Cold War era and beyond.

A key focus of the analysis is the role played by Africa's partners in determining or influencing these strategies and the motivations behind these influences. By addressing the question of what determines Africa's development agenda of governance, the paper analyzes the recent shift of the donors' agenda from from "good" to "democratic" governance. In light of the record of the externally inspired agendas, the paper turns to an examination of the merits of Africa's own development and governance agenda in the changing context of globalization and its impact.

**Lekan Balogun**  
**Victoria University of Wellington**  
**New Zealand**

Л. Балогун  
Веллингтонский Университет Виктории  
Новая Зеландия

**Pains of “Recolonization” and “Indigenous Colonialism”:  
Shakespeare’s Legacy?**

**Ужасы «реколонизации» и «местного колониализма»:  
шекспировское наследие?**

In Nigeria today, much as in the rest of the African continent, nothing sells more than the news of ethnic and minority bloody clashes, religious fundamentalist uprising among other local insurgencies in the guise of kidnapping, ritual murder etc, the Boko Haram phenomenon, the continuing bloody discontent and uprising in Egypt, not to talk of Darfur, Libya before and after Gaddafi among other related brutalities. Nothing shocks more than the insensitivity and insincerity of successive leadership the nation and continent have been blessed(?) with. What obtains, are societies fraught with imbalance, the root cause of which is colonial (mis) arrangement and the eruption of greed from native political machinery, who find it a sport to plunder at will. The adaptation of Shakespeare’s texts has afforded Third World writers the opportunity to engage in a dialogue with their societies against the backdrop of the Bard’s oeuvre and its global capacity to be utilized to dilate on specific postcolonial reality. This paper examines the role of the writer as the conscience of the people in a world taken over by irrationality. It also poses the question of complicity by the oppressed masses in the continued plunder of their resources and their own impoverishment.

**Josef Patrik Johansson**  
**Umeå University, Sweden**  
Й.П. Йоханссон  
Университет Умеа, Швеция

**Tracing Resilience: Setbacks and Recovery in African Peace Building**  
**Прослеживая устойчивость:**

**регресс и регенерация в утверждении мира в Африке**

Post-war peace building is a delicate undertaking, and even the most promising process will face challenges and setbacks, purposeful as well as accidental. Examples include residual violence, coups d’états, terrorist attacks, delays of implementation, disagreement over what has been agreed, etc. Sometimes these challenges derail a peace building process, but in other

cases they are overcome allowing the process to continue more or less unaffected. The ability to withstand challenges should be an important indicator of the quality of peace and the success of post-war peace building, and is now entering the conceptualization of peace and peace building in the form of “resilience.”

This paper develops an analytical framework of resilient peace based on the ability of societies to withstand challenges of three different types: violent challenges, political challenges, and social challenges. The paper adopts a systems approach to peace building, using thresholds and adaptive cycles to understand how various challenges and the responses to them affect the development of resilience over time. The analytical framework is applied to three cases in Africa – Liberia, Mozambique and Rwanda – in order to analyze the resilience of the peace built in the three cases as well as to evaluate the usefulness of the analytical framework.

**Susan Dobson**

**University of South Australia**

С. Добсон

Университет Южной Австралии

Саут-Брайтон

**Evaluating Post-Conflict Statebuilding and the Role of Emerging Hybrid Post-Conflict State building Models**  
**Строительство государства в постконфликтной ситуации и роль возникающих гибридных моделей постконфликтного государственного строительства**

Externally driven neo-liberal policies dominated by the liberal peace agenda have proliferated across Africa since the end of the Cold War, particularly in post-conflict environments. In retrospect, this has often preserved pre-existing social and political divisions contrary to liberal intent. My research explores the emerging hybridized post-conflict state building models put forward by leaders in the field. These models call for a deeper engagement with grassroots post-conflict populations, but I argue that they remain fundamentally reliant on western-centric institutionalized statebuilding. This perpetuates externally driven political impositions in post-conflict environments which are often irrelevant and enjoy little rapport with the local domain. This paper critically examines the emerging hybridized statebuilding models put forward, and applies them to Rwanda’s post-conflict statebuilding process over the past two decades. My paper explores how Rwanda has in the wake of violent conflict, implemented state-centric political strategies to address a deeply divided state which has underpinned a political liberalization coveted by the liberal peace agenda. My paper argues

that the hybridized post-conflict statebuilding process needs to be more contextualized through greater autonomy, relegating external influence largely to financial support. This paper concludes that successful post-conflict statebuilding is based upon locally conceived and implemented ideals which through external financial conditionality remain loosely aligned to traditional liberal policies.

**Aslam Khan**

**Yobe State University, Nigeria**

А. Хан

Университет штата Йобе

Даматуру, Нигерия

### **The Problem of Ethnicity and Nation Building: A Case Study of Nigeria**

#### **Проблема этничности и строительство нации: пример Нигерии**

Nation building is a social process which combines different cultures, civil society and various ethnic and social groups result in a viable national development. The evolution of a City-States starts from the Greek political philosophy gave the birth to a nation. The making of China from the warring kingdoms, the Italian City-State into a nation, the German Zollverein customs union into a nation, the making of India from different princely states to a nation took a long drive. Nation building needs not only an effective political leadership but a successful economic process and representation of different societies having different cultures, rituals and customs.

Nigeria is a nation with more than three hundred diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Interfaced with religion and class, ethnicity is a compelling reality in the Nigerian federal equation. The federal system of governance and the representation of different states according to their wealth and the north-south divide is also a cause of concern. The unequal distribution of wealth, fight for the resources and ethnic cleansing, group interest, spread of terrorism and corruption is the reality of the present Nigerian State. The oligarchic existence in social and political arena makes this nation more dangerous and conflict prone. An attempt will be taken to highlight these problems critically in this paper.

**Nwachukwu J. Obiakor**  
**Nnamdi Azikiwe University**  
**Awka, Nigeria**  
Н.Дж. Обиакор  
Университет им. Ннамди Азикиве  
Авка, Нигерия

### **Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Nation Building in Nigeria**

#### **Этно-религиозные конфликты и строительство нации в Нигерии**

The dream of building a stable nation has eluded Nigeria. This is perhaps as a result of persistent ethnic and religion-oriented conflicts that bedevil Nigeria. This situation is rooted in colonialism, in the sense that the fusion and amalgamation of the peoples and groups that make up Nigeria watered the ground for religious and ethnic chauvinism. Nigeria, emerging from independence in 1960 was faced with the task of managing the prevalent ethnic and religious sentiments that characterized post-independence Nigeria. This paper examines some of the numerous conflicts with ethnic and religious colorations that had threatened the corporate existence, unity and stability of the country. The researchers employed the social integration theory of nation building as well as the structural, relational and systemic theories of conflict. This exposed the extent of harm these intractable conflicts have done the nation building efforts of the country. This paper proffers possible solutions that could be employed in managing recurrent conflicts in the country, and thus promotes the spirit of nationalism which is the foundation for developing a plural society like Nigeria

**J. D. Gwamna**  
**Nasarawa State University**  
**Keffi, Nigeria**  
Дж. Д. Гвамна  
Университет штата Насарава  
Кеффи, Нигерия

### **Religion, Good Governance and the Imperatives of Nation Building in Nigeria**

#### **Религия, надлежащее управление и императивы строительства нации в Нигерии**

Nigeria has been acclaimed as the most religious nation in the world. Religion seems to permeate both private and public space in people's lives and has manifested in various public religious symbols and faith vocabulary. The religious affirmations and public proclamations indicate the potentials of

rich resources that religion possesses that could be harnessed towards good governance and nation building in Nigeria. This paper provides examples from Christian and Muslim efforts towards promoting good governance and nation building through its programs and projects in the education sector, health, rural development, advocacy and peaceful co-existence. A critical analysis, conclusion and recommendations are drawn from practicable models that need to be sustained towards building a culture of good governance as hallmark of any modern state such as Nigeria.



## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-8**

### **Hot Minerals in African Hot Spots: The Transformation of African Societies in Mineral Rich Regions**

**«Горячие минералы» в африканских «горячих точках»:  
трансформация африканских обществ в регионах, богатых  
минеральными ресурсами**

**Руководитель / Convener: Charles Ezeagwu  
(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain)**

Since the onset of mineral exploitation in commercial quantities in many parts of Africa traditional African society and politics have experienced a lot of transformation. There is a huge discrepancy between what African society and politics used to be fifty years ago and what it has been since the last decade. The discovery of rich deposits of minerals in various parts of the continent was initially considered to be a doorstep to stepping out of poverty by many Africans, but, unfortunately, after more than half a century of mineral exploitation in various African countries, the economic benefits of this adventure are yet to be seen. As a matter of fact, mineral rich regions have turned out to be the epicenters of armed conflicts, environmental degradation and abject poverty in the continent. Scholars have tried to explain this socio-political and economic contradiction using theories such the resource curse, greed and grievance, barbarism, underdevelopment, neocolonialism, etc. This panel studies how mineral exploitation has affected society, politics and economy in various regions of the continent. Case studies from individual countries are welcomed, as well as comparative studies of the situation in various countries. Each study is expected to make a critical analysis to show how mineral exploitation has affected society and politics in the region of study and also suggest adequate theories that can be used to explain the resultant sociopolitical situation. Papers which would address some of these and other similar questions are welcomed: Why has the socio-political situation in many mineral rich African states degenerated into chaos, armed rebellions and conflicts? Are natural resource deposits really a curse to countries like the Angola, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, etc. Is it possible that the deposits of diamond, gold, coltan (tantalum), crude oil, tin, tungsten, etc., buried thousands of miles beneath the earth could be a curse to human beings living above them or is it better to find a more profound and critical approach to explaining the causes of perpetual armed conflicts in African mineral rich regions. Who are the actors responsible for the transformation of mineral rich

African states into conflict and war zones? Are there examples of places where the exploitation of mineral resources has given rise to a positive transformation of society and politics? This panel plays down the role of passive mineral resources buried underneath the earth and emphasizes the role of active human actors – such as governments, multinational mineral exploitation companies, national and transnational gangs, etc., – in the transformation of society and politics in African mineral rich zones.

**Dominik Kopiński,**

**Andrzej Polus**

**University of Wrocław, Poland**

**Ian Taylor,**

**University of St Andrew**

Д. Копиньски, А. Полус

Университет Вроцлава, Польша

Й. Тэйлор

Университет св. Андрея

Файф, Великобритания

### **Diamonds, Institutions and Causality: Botswana Success Story or a Resource Trap**

#### **Алмазы, институты и причинность: ботсванская история успеха или ресурсная ловушка**

In the growing body of the resource curse literature, Botswana is conventionally held as a success story and the evidence that the curse is in fact a shaky and by no means an across the board concept. The problem is that the resource curse, as a both economic and political phenomenon, is often investigated and presented in a binary fashion, namely the existing body of evidence is split into countries that have escaped the curse and those who succumbed to it.

Our argument in this paper is twofold. First, we argue that to explain the relative success of Botswana one needs to employ a concept that integrates two dimensions – institutional quality and the type of resource – and more importantly, dynamic interactions between those two. The country's indigenous institutions, as argued by some scholars, may certainly informed a successful take off, but this was the specific type of the resource (kimberlite diamonds) that eventually not only provided a stable platform on which the country prospered but facilitated further strengthening of institutions, thus creating a virtuous circle. Therefore, as opposed to many authors who claim that minerals lead to institutional decay, we argue that causality in this case would run from the type of resource to better institutions. This is not only characteristics of kimberlite diamonds as a

resource (we employ factors such as transportability, obstructability, lootability and conflictability) but also the way the international diamond market works (relative price stability, inverse demand-price relation, powerful popular image of diamonds etc.), may have contributed to better institutions. The other argument pertains to the alleged success of Botswana and escaping the resource curse. What does it mean to escape the curse and how to measure the rate of success? Even though Botswana has not suffered the most disturbing effects

of a mineral-led growth evidenced in many parts of Africa, we argue that the country is in fact trapped, but in a higher-level equilibrium. The resource curse manifests itself mainly through an inability to lessen dependence on diamonds, further export diversification and reduce high income inequality.

**Sara Duarte Soares Ferreira**

**SOCIUS**

**Lisbon, Portugal**

С.Д. Соареш Феррейра

Центр социоэкономических и организационных исследований

Лиссабон, Португалия

### **The Boom of Oil and Gas Corporations and the Socio-economic Transformation in**

**Mozambique: the Creation of Socially Responsible Speech behind a Tax**

**Взлет нефтяных и газовых корпораций и социоэкономическая**

**трансформация в Мозамбике: социальная ответственность и**

**налогообложение**

Overtime, the companies of oil and gas have established themselves in the African continent and embraced a presence unavoidable in cooperation framework for local development. However, this presence has often been guided by lack of transparency, social conflicts, environmental degradation and decoupling with the local community. With the recent discovery of extractives resources in Mozambique and the rising of foreign companies, the country has reached an impressive economic growth (World Bank), however, remains with one of the lowest HDI (UNDP, 2012), demonstrating the adverse effects that natural resources have in the development of the countries (“Dutch Disease”). The phenomenon of the private sector has actor of development and with the policies of tax benefits reduction, could become a crucial element for the development of the populations, reducing the external dependency, nevertheless, reality has been diverging from the expected. Based on the case study of Galp Energia and integrated on the issue of sustainability policies, the research tried to understand the line that separates

the legally required and the voluntary nature of the actions of social responsibility in that specific context, including the ethical discourse in the company's sustainability reports. In this sense, the present research examined (i) the impact of megaprojects in social-economic development of the country, (ii) the exploitation contracts between the consortium and the government and the confidential clauses, specifically the Article 18–6 (c), which provides the payment of an annual amount for projects of social support, and (iii) how they manage and articulate with the other actors and the procedure of a tax aggregating in the speech of the sustainable business. Was expected that the results would contribute to go further on the issues about the discrepancies of the actions of social responsibility and the actual impacts that the extractive companies have on social-economic development of the local communities.

**Ogundiya Ilufeye Sarafa**  
**Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto**  
**Nigeria**  
О.И. Сарафа  
Университет им. Османа дан Фодио  
Сокото, Нигерия

**The Politics of Oil and the Crisis in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria:  
Theoretical  
Perspectives and Implications for Other Oil Producing States in Africa**  
**Нефтяная политика и кризис в регионе дельты Нигера в Нигерии:  
теоретические перспективы и последствия для других нефтедобы-  
вающих государств Африки**

The Niger Delta crisis has complicated and multifarious social and political dimensions. This complexity has attracted the attention of scholars of different orientations, journalist and professional of diverse inclinations. Therefore, different approaches and theoretical frameworks have been adopted in the explanation of the politics of oil and the seemingly irresolute crisis in the oil-rich Niger Delta region. This paper attempts to examine different theoretical perspectives including theory of colonial conquest; internal colonialism paradigm; ethnic theories; resource curse theory, defective federalism paradigm and the geography of terrorism and terror of geography thesis among others. Beyond this, the paper draws the implications of Nigeria scenario for other oil producing states in Africa, determines the preponderant paradigm, and pinpoints the existing gaps in the literature.

**Charles Ezeagwu**  
**Universidad Autónoma de Madrid**  
**Spain**

Ч. Эзеагву  
Автономный университет Мадрида  
Испания

**Democratic Republic of the Congo before and after Mineral Exploration**  
**Демократическая Республика Конго до и после разведки полезных**  
**ископаемых**

As one of the countries on earth with the greatest amount of mineral deposits, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been a centre of attraction for many mineral hungry explorers. The explorers and their activities have inevitably affected and changed the society that was existing prior to their arrival. By using the major indicators of socio-political and economic growth to measure change and by applying the noted differences to the views of academic literature on the subject, it would be possible to find out how best to explain the impacts of natural resource exploration on society and politics in the DRC. Knowing that the consequences of mineral exploration could be constructive or destructive on any given society, this paper makes a comparative study of the socio-political and economic situation of the DRC before and after mineral exploration.

**Dominik Kopiński,**  
**Andrzej Polus,**  
**Wojciech Tycholiz**  
**University of Wroclaw,**  
**Poland**

Д. Копиньски, А. Полус, В. Тыхолиц  
Университет Вроцлава, Польша

**Ready or not – when an African Country becomes a**  
**Successful Oil Producer? The Case Study of Namibia**

**Готова или нет: когда африканская страна становится успешным**  
**нефтепроизводителем? Пример Намибии**

The objective of this paper is to assess whether Namibia is ready or not for oil exploration and oil revenues management. Although there are no proven oil reserves the geological estimates suggests that Namibia may possess as much as 11 billion barrels of crude oil. If the numbers were correct, Namibia would seat on the second largest oil reserves in Sub-Saharan Africa after Nigeria. It is, by no means, self-evident that these estimates turn into actual commercial volumes; in fact the numbers that have gone viral in the recent years may be seriously flawed.

Nonetheless, considering geological features of seabed rocks (geologically similar to the Brazilian and Angolan shores) and first promising, yet still noncommercial, discoveries, there is a good chance that in the foreseeable future Namibia will end up producing oil. Oil discovery is usually connected with both positive and negative aspects. The major positive aspects associated with oil pumping are: FDI inflow, increase of the revenues available to the government, diversification of the economic production. In terms of Sub-Saharan Africa, negative aspects of the natural resource management are usually referred to so called “resource curse”. The idea of the resource curse originates from economics, but currently it is associated with economic, political, social and even geographical aspects. The natural resource curse hypothesis exists in the discourse at least from 1993, when its economic dimension was described by Richard Auty. At the beginning the (mainly economic) discourse focused on the issues of price volatility and Dutch disease and the rentier state phenomenon. Then, some analysts began to study the correlation between democratization and political stability and the mining of certain minerals. The next wave of literature was devoted to the correlations between conflicts and various natural resources and the transparency of the mineral revenues management and developing state’s capacity to deal with multinational extractive corporations. The other issues that have been raised in the discourse were: the strength and influence of the local and international civil society organizations, location of mines, transparency of the revenues management, the impact of ethnic heterogeneity on the resource curse, and most recently the timing of the resource discovery. Despite two decades of extensive empirical research the debate on the resource curse remains inconclusive. There is an ongoing discussion on the metathoretical level concerning the issue which dimensions of the natural resource curse are structural in nature, and whether there is a pool of actions that should be undertaken by developing countries in the first place, to avoid the notorious resource curse? Finding answer to this question was the main motivation to undertake research on Namibia and its readiness for oil extraction. We are arguing that in terms of Namibia various dimensions of natural resource curse are structural in its nature.

This paper is based primarily on a field study conducted in Windhoek in September 2013, supported by extensive desk research and a survey of literature.

**Mamadou Diouma Bah**  
**The University of Waikato**  
**New Zealand**  
М.Д. Бах  
Университет Ваикато  
Хэмильтон, Новая Зеландия

**Mining for Peace: Diamonds, Bauxite, Iron-ore and Political Stability  
in Guinea**

**Добывая мир: алмазы, бокситы, железная руда и политическая  
стабильность в Гвинее**

This paper explores the relationship between mineral resources and conflict management in Guinea. Recent literature on theories of contemporary civil wars identifies the presence of abundant natural resources, combined with extreme poverty as significant trigger of civil war and/or armed conflicts. These studies conclude that since the early 1990s, this combination contributed to the outbreak of large-scale violent civil conflicts in a number of countries in West Africa. In Guinea however, despite being endowed with vast natural resources and remaining under extreme poverty, the state has managed to avoid descending into civil war and or armed conflicts since independence. This gives rise to the question of why the presence of abundant natural resources coupled with extreme poverty among most Guineans has failed to be associated with the onset of large-scale violence in the country. The study examines the situation of Guinea and identifies mitigating factors that have contributed to political stability instead of igniting armed conflict. It concludes that measures taken by Guinea and its international partners mitigated the security threats posed by these resources, while keeping most Guineans under abject poverty. This is in contrast to findings in recent quantitative studies whereby a combination of extreme poverty and natural resource abundance is strongly associated with the onset of armed conflicts in West African nations.

**Adesanya Olusegun Paul**  
**Afe Babalola University Ado-Ekiti (ABUAD)**

**Ekiti, Nigeria**

О. П. Адесанья

Университет им. Афе Бабалолы

Адо-Экити, Нигерия

**Alternating the Paradigm of Oblivion? Oil and the 21 Century  
Scramble for Africa**

**Переменная парадигма забвения? Нефть и схватка за  
Африку в XXI веке**

It is axiomatic that Africa is presently the epicenter of the 21st century scramble by extracontinental powers; which are being celebrated for, in one way or the other, assisting Africa out of oblivion in global affairs, particularly after the Cold War. The major reason for this act being the extra-African desires for some bits of the mineral resources with which the continent is endowed and the continent's market. This experience is already making the continent to feel extra-important in and/or to global politics, thus acting like a pigmy that thinks himself a giant.

Without much ado, oil is at the front burner of the current scramble; and extant literature has claimed that the deepening presence and interests of extra-regional powers portend good omen for the continent. As such, there are claims that certain African units witnessing about 7% GDP growth on annual basis.

Beyond this however, are certain nefarious happenings, which to a large extent, are the concomitants of or are deepened by the 21st century scramble for Africa. In view of this, the study seeks to understand the prevailing groundswell of anomie before the current scramble; analyse the scramble so as to expose the hidden menu of desires, both of the major powers and their multinational companies; and to investigate the unfolding attendants that are entrenching Africa's feet in the quagmire of crisis.



**Toyin Oluwaremilekun Oluwaniyi**  
**Redeemer's University, Nigeria**

Т. О. Олуваиньи  
Университет Спасителя  
Мове, Нигерия

**Natural Resource and Conflict in Africa: Resource Curse or  
Governance Curse?**

**Природные ресурсы и конфликт в Африке: ресурсное проклятие  
или проклятие управления?**

Is it natural to have conflicts in resource-rich countries or is it a peculiar phenomenon in Africa? Generally, natural resources are all non-artificial products situated on or beneath the soil, which can be extracted, harvested or used and whose extraction, harvest or usage generates income or serves other functional purposes in benefitting mankind. Rather than serve this ultimate purpose, discovery and exploration as well as harvesting of the resources have deeply immiserated Africa into deep poverty, frustration and violent conflicts as cases of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo to mention but a few. Unfortunately, resource deals in developing countries always target poor masses who live off land for survival. Often deprived of their survival rights, they are further isolated from participating in decision making, therefore, building conflict process. But while several scholars have argued that violent conflicts are a common phenomenon in abundantly natural resource-rich areas (paradox of plenty or resource curse), research on Botswana and Indonesia counter this theory. Others have argued that issues of greed and grievance are at the heart of resource conflicts. This paper analyses these major arguments and argue that the political economy of the quantity and quality of resource availability, coupled with the inability of governments to diversify the economy owing to excess revenue flow from mono-resource and the intensive competition over the resource, and corruption within the elite group account for the crises and conflicts in resource-rich countries in Africa.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-9

### Законность и развитие в современной Африке Justice and Development in Contemporary Africa

**Руководитель: д.э.н., проф. Леонид Леонидович Фитуни**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва)**  
**Convener: Prof. Dr. Leonid L. Fituni**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

This panel seeks to address a number of key issues relating to justice in the broad context of African development. The discussion of these issues is primarily from the perspective of legal justice, but it properly comprehends relevant social, economic and political considerations. The panel focuses on a variety of broad areas: the institutions and instruments of justice in Africa; interconnection between local legal environments and development; specific legal issues in African development such as stability, security, integrity, human rights and the environment; stability in financial systems; governance and transparency; the control of corruption; serious crime, and other destabilising factors including terrorism. The panel will also research the newly discovered potential of the emerging powers (viz. BRICS) for the delivery of justice and development in Africa.

**Фитуни Л.Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Leonid L. Fituni  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Африка в системе глобального управления: между справедливостью и правом**

#### **Africa in the System of Global Governance: Between Justice and Law**

Формирование новой модели мирового экономического развития (ММЭР) и ход эволюции мировых цивилизационных ареалов, включая африканский, в современных условиях испытывают нарастающее воздействие процессов, относящихся к категории глобального управления (ГУ). Представляет интерес вопрос о том, какое место в ГУ принадлежит странам и регионам, традиционно считающимся отсталыми и бедными, и какая роль отводится им в структуре вновь создаваемых и устанавливаемых правил, норм и институтов. Несомненно, что страны Африки являются едва ли не наиболее яркими представителями данной группы государств.

Можно выделить пять ключевых областей ГУ, критически важных для Африки. Это – проблематика управления мировой экономикой, финансовыми аспектами глобализации и борьбой с глобальной бедностью; политическое и институциональное управление (включая институты власти); комплекс проблем войны и мира, безопасности и урегулирования конфликтов; проблемы климата и защиты окружающей среды; глобальное управление в области информации, коммуникаций, образования и науки. Каждая из названных областей распадается на довольно большое число более узких направлений ГУ, значимость части из которых для стран Африки более актуальна и важна, чем других.

Правовая составляющая является едва ли не главной во всем дискурсе глобального управления. Коллективные санкции – силовые, финансовые, дипломатические – с целью добиться результатов, относимых многими мировыми державами к разряду задач глобального управления, в отношении стран Африки применяются чаще, чем к каким либо другим членам международного сообщества. В XXI в. они в различных формах – широко или точно, к стране в целом или в отношении ее частей, к ее лидерам или каким-то политическим силам – применялись к Ливии, Зимбабве, Руанде, ДРК, Сомали, Судану, Кот-д'Ивуару, Тунису, Египту, Гвинее-Бисау, Мали, ЦАР, Эритрее, Кении,

Место и роль Африки в системе глобального управления XXI века будет в значительной мере характеризоваться дуализмом. С одной стороны, процессы глобализации и тенденции развития глобальной экономики в условиях формирования ММЭР будут, несомненно, открывать и уже открывают перед странами континента новые возможности. С другой, институциональные основы этой новой мировой системы закладываются уже сегодня, когда Африка еще не достаточно сильна, чтобы эффективно обеспечивать себе в формирующейся системе ГУ выгодные и перспективные позиции.

Несмотря на некоторые сегодняшние успехи и многообещающее светлое будущее Африке в этой диалектической паре пока что готовится судьба «управляемого». Африка запаздывает, и скорее всего уже опоздала, к началу закладки фундамента новой формирующейся сейчас системы ГУ.

**Роль этнических диаспор и мигрантов в формировании условий  
для финансирования международного терроризма**  
**The Role of Ethnic Diasporas and Migrants in Creating Conditions  
for the Financing of International Terrorism**

Среди разнообразных факторов, способствующих созданию условий благоприятных для финансирования террористической деятельности не последнюю роль играют финансовые потоки, возникающие в связи с международной и внутренней миграцией рабочей силы.

Возможность использования каналов перевода денег мигрантов для финансирования терроризма связана с рядом причин:

1. Даже в случае перевода денег по официальным каналам, большая численность мигрантов и высокая частота переводов затрудняют контроль за ними со стороны соответствующих органов. Деньги мигрантов поступают их родственникам, и проследить их дальнейшее использование не представляется возможным.

2. Суммы, переводимые мигрантом, как правило, небольшие, что также затрудняет контроль за их использованием со стороны как финансовых, так и правоохранительных органов.

3. Большая часть денег мигрантов все еще переводится по неофициальным каналам, к которым прибегают как нелегальные, так и значительная часть легальных мигрантов, пытающихся экономить на издержках по оплате переводов.

4. Поскольку значительную часть мигрантов составляют нелегалы, их положение бывает крайне уязвимым. В этих условиях, используя факторы давления и запугивания, существует возможность их вовлечения в противоправные действия, в том числе для переправки с их помощью денежных средств, которые в дальнейшем могут быть использованы в преступных целях.

5. В ходе миграции происходит формирование так называемых «иноземных» этнических анклавов, которые носят все более закрытый характер, игнорируют законы страны размещения и оказывают давление на членов своей общины, требуя подчинения и выполнения соответствующих обязательств, в том числе и финансовых.

Задача соответствующих институтов сводится не просто к запрещению неформальных денежных переводов, а к выработке таких механизмов, которые бы минимизировали возможность их использования

для финансирования террористической деятельности. **Попытки жесткого регулирования неофициальной финансовой системы способны не только изменить характеристики бизнеса, которые сделали его популярным, но могут также загнать его в подполье.** Задача банковских институтов – сделать формальные каналы перевода денежных средств, которые, безусловно, лучше поддаются контролю, такими же дешевыми и эффективными, как и неформальные.

**Chizu Nakajima**  
**University of Cambridge**  
**London Metropolitan Business School, UK**  
Ч. Накаджима  
Кембриджский университет  
Великобритания

### **Does one Size Fit all? – Developments in Corporate Governance Theory and Practice and Challenges ahead**

#### **Подходит ли один размер для всех? Новации в теории и практике корпоративного управления и грядущие вызовы**

This paper examines the role of corporate governance as an institution for the establishment and maintenance of the rule of law generally and more specifically in the context of African economies. The paper first explores the theoretical development and different models of corporate governance and their rationales and justification. It then goes on to examine the process of standardisation through various initiatives launched by inter-governmental organisations and to critically analyse the appropriateness of any models that are created as a result of such a process for African businesses. The paper also examines the role of transparency and some of the unintended consequences experienced in advanced economies and the lessons learnt from such unintended consequences that have not only impacted negatively on economic growth but market stability. It also explores the increasing importance of the role that corporations originated in BRICS countries play in the globalised world of business and financial markets and, more specifically in the development of corporate governance regulation, both formal and informal, and the evolution of corporate governance theory and practice. It concludes with a forward looking view of the challenges that businesses face in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century as a result of the paradigm shift from the sole focus on economic concerns to wider societal expectations and the resulting developments in corporate governance theory and practice.

**Сапунцов А.Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
A.L. Sapuntsov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Правовое регулирование социальной ответственности  
транснациональных корпораций в развивающихся странах  
(на примере Нигерии)**

**Legal Regulation of Transnational Corporations' Social Responsibility  
in Developing Countries: The Case of Nigeria**

В соответствии с концепцией корпоративной социальной ответственности (КСО) частные фирмы организуют бизнес с учетом общественных интересов, т.е. добровольно принимают на себя обязательства, прямо не установленные законом: в интересах местных сообществ реализуют проекты в сфере образования, культурно-просветительской деятельности и защиты окружающей среды, а также обеспечивают благоприятные условия труда, справедливые экономические отношения с контрагентами, раскрытие информации и т.д. Однако крупные транснациональные корпорации (ТНК), применяя концепцию КСО в экономике развивающихся стран, зачастую подвергаются критике.

Анахроничные и слабо детализированные нормы права развивающихся стран, недофинансирование производства общественных благ и неадекватное социальное обеспечение позволяют ТНК лишь частично соблюдать в этих регионах стандарты КСО своих стран базирования, но при этом реализовывать ангажированные гуманитарные проекты, например, в Африке. Объем добровольно принятых на себя общественных обязательств определяется исходя из выгод для имиджа ТНК на местном рынке, а не императивами общественного развития. Более того, отдельные ТНК развивающихся стран Азии и Южной Америки, организующие бизнес в Африке, не располагают должным уровнем собственной КСО, что также не содействует реализации общественных целей.

Эволюционный характер формирования правовых норм, а также многочисленность источников права, регламентирующих проблематику КСО, затрудняют более широкую реализацию концепции КСО филиалами ТНК в странах Африки. В Нигерии для форсированного решения данной проблемы был предложен новый подход, в соответствии с которым в 2008 г. был подготовлен проект отдельного закона о КСО. В соответствии с законопроектом предполагалось учредить государственную комиссию по КСО, расширить перечень стейкхолдеров фирмы (за счет работников, профсоюзов, инвесторов, потребителей, общин, на

территории которых осуществляется деятельность, и т.д.), разработать и утвердить обязательные стандарты КСО, проводить мониторинг трудовых отношений в компаниях и условий закупки сырья, а также обязать фирмы расходовать не менее 3,5% годового дохода на благотворительность, ежегодно публиковать отчеты о воздействии экономической деятельности на окружающую среду и социальную сферу. Предполагалось налагать на фирму штраф в размере 2% от годовой прибыли за первое нарушение стандартов КСО (за последующее – не менее 3,5%), приостанавливать ее деятельность, а должностных лиц, преднамеренно допустивших нарушения, приговаривать минимум к 6 месяцам тюремного заключения.

Рассмотренный законопроект был отклонен вследствие существенных коллизий с другими законами Нигерии (поправки в которые не были подготовлены), неточных юридических формулировок и политических противоречий в ходе обсуждения, связанных с участием предпринимательского лобби. Однако методология данного подхода, основанная на включении элементов передовых стандартов КСО в национальное законодательство, получила определенное развитие в корпоративном праве ряда развивающихся стран (например, в Индонезии и Индии), тем самым обеспечив основу для перехода добровольных партнерских отношений между бизнесом и обществом на новый уровень.

**Беккин Р.И.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
R.I. Bekkin  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Роль мусульманских правоведов в формировании современного мусульманского права**

**(на примере деятельности шариатских советов)**

#### **The Role of Muslim Jurists in the Formation of Contemporary Muslim Law: The Case of Sharia Councils' Activities**

Мусульманское (исламское) право называют правом юристов. Роль правоведов наиболее ярко проявляется в формировании норм и принципов современного исламского финансового права. В качестве организационной структуры, на базе которой формулируются решения мусульманских юристов, выступают шариатские советы – специализированные органы при исламских финансовых институтах (банках, страховых компаниях и др.), осуществляющие контроль и надзор за соблюдением принципов шариата. Члены шариатских советов представляют собой обособленную, закрытую группу специалистов, влияющих на

принятие решений на рынке исламских финансов. Позиция мусульманских юристов учитывается при внесении изменений и дополнений в финансовое законодательство ряда стран.

**Прудникова Ю.О.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Yu.O. Prudnikova

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

### **Правовое регулирование исламских финансовых институтов в Судане**

#### **Legal Regulation of Islamic Financial Institutions in Sudan**

Судан является страной, где в начале 1990-х были проведены реформы по исламизации финансовой системы. В итоге, в стране была учреждена (в терминологии Р.И. Беккина) монистическая модель исламской экономики. Однако мусульманское право не является единственной правовой системой в стране, взаимодействуя с системой общего права. В этой связи представляет интерес рассмотрение особенностей правового регулирования статуса и деятельности исламских финансовых институтов. В докладе рассматриваются нормы классического мусульманского права, а также действующее финансовое законодательство Судана.



## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-10

**Множественные прошлое и будущее: африканское государство с 1950-х гг. и до наших дней**

**Pasts and Futures: The African State since the 1950s and into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**Руководители / Conveners: Nicholas Githuku  
(West Virginia University, Morgantown, USA),  
Dr. Robert Maxon  
(West Virginia University, Morgantown, USA).**

The end of the imperial epoch and the messy process of decolonization inaugurated the creation of African quasi states. The end of European imperialism paved the way for the successor United Nations state system in a new world scarred by international war and polarized along ideological lines. The trajectory of decolonization fundamentally was fundamentally affected by the atmosphere of the Cold War. The Cold War complicated Africa's integration into the global political economy to which it was a marginal appendage. Notwithstanding the fact that African colonial states were shallow seedbeds that were somewhat prematurely graduated and recognized as "modern states," some African states among them the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Mozambique, became sites of destabilizing proxy wars. Others yet were, for decades, buttressed by either Washington, DC or Moscow and would soon show signs of weakness after 1989. Whatever international posturing taken during the Cold War by African states, it is an undeniable fact that many failures of state-building in these *modern states* was hidden by the prevalent ideological bipolar atmosphere. It is undeniable that both sides of the Cold War were involved in not only propping up regimes but, also, the African state in effect by so doing. In the 1980s, while USA and Britain were undertaking major economic policy direction dubbed Reaganomics and Thatcherism, the Bretton Woods institutions were administering Structural Adjustment Policies. Neoliberal economics made the control of resources critical and contributed to the opening up of political space, which was, in some countries, accompanied by instability. To this was added another destabilizing development in the shape of the wave of democratization that swept across the continent in the early 1990s, itself emanating from the end communism regimes in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union. It is also important to point out the NGO Revolution that started in the 1990s, its dramatic impact on new states especially with regard to state power. The story of African despite all this has

remained more or less the same: endowed with vast mineral resources, Africa still lags behind developed countries. This panel invites papers that examine the continent's checkered past in the last fifty years or critically analyze its prospects especially in light of China, which is significant player in the continent's political and economic prospects as the 21<sup>st</sup> century unfolds.

**Bruce A. Magnusson**  
**Whitman College, USA**  
Б.А. Магнуссон  
Колледж Уитмэна  
Валла-Валла, США

**Global Cartographies of Security in Africa: Censuses and Great Power  
Imagination from the Colonial Conquest to the Global War on Terror**  
**Глобальные картографии безопасности в Африке: переписи  
населения и представления о великих державах от колониального  
завоевания до глобальной войны с терроризмом**

This paper is part of an evolving project on the intersections of security and sovereignty in Africa and their linkage to great power policy. The particular window I am using engages the state-making technology of population censuses since the colonial conquest – building both a grid and content for state knowledge of colonial populations (race, ethnicity, religion) – and imagined security cartographies from colonization through the 21st century Global War on Terror – an imagined crumbling sovereign grid of vulnerabilities and possibilities for great power security (and development) projects in what are seen as liminal, less bounded, unquantifiable “ungoverned territories,” de-linked from “legitimate” sovereign authority whether in resource-extraction communities in Nigeria, densely populated global cities such as Lagos or Nairobi, the Saharan peripheries of Northern and Sahelian Africa, or the international waters off the coasts of Somalia and West Africa. Understanding better the changing cartographies of security imaginations behind great power relationships in Africa will enable us to better understand the changing contours of globalization after 9/11, particularly in its military and economic dimensions in Africa.

**Antonio M. Morone**  
**Pavia University, Italy**  
А.М. Мороне  
Университет Павии, Италия

**Somali Independence in Perspective:  
Institutional Building and Political Culture  
Независимость Сомали в перспективе:**

**создание политических институтов и политическая культура**

After the formal renounce to its former colonies, the new Republican and post-Fascist Italy came back in Somalia as Trust Power under the guidance of the United Nations in April 1950. After having clamoured for the return in Africa in close connection with its former colonial rule, Italy accepted the UN trusteeship over Somalia with the intention “to work for a new word and to gain the friendship of all people who aspires the freedom and development”, as the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi stated. Linking the new mission in Somalia to the Italian Risorgimento, the new Italy putted aside the colonial past together with the Fascism, however the only Italian decolonization along a pattern of a democratic colonialism experienced a number of intrinsic contradictions together with the difficulties to resume and conclude, within just a decade, the modern institutions transfer in what was the most peripheral colony of the former Italian African Empire.

The inclusion of the Somali Youth League into the trusteeship political system was the main issue over the trusteeship decade. True and effective collaboration was achieved only in 1954 when SYL candidates participated into the first local elections. Even if the SYL leadership resorted the clan allegiance as an instrument, among others, to get support and consensus especially in the wide rural areas of Somalia, the reference to the clan was at least in theory a sort of contingent compromise to gain the spreading of modern politics and national idea among the Somali masses. In spite to all, what happened in reality was the transfer of the clan dynamics from the periphery to the center stage of the political arena and their reproduction inside the SYL.

**Manina Yulia S.**  
**Kazan Federal University**  
**Russia**  
Ю.С. Манина  
Казанский федеральный университет  
Россия

**The Role of Kenya in a Triangle Relations “Kenya- Ethiopia- Somalia”**  
**Роль Кении в треугольнике отношений**  
**«Кения – Эфиопия – Сомали»**

The aim of research is to analyze the role of Kenya in the triangle of relations between Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia. The results of research show that Kenya is the main regulator at the African Horn; it's a nation which can be against aggression and help to solve local conflicts using peaceful methods. After having got the independence, the foreign policy started being formed by different factors. The developing countries played and are playing the most important role in the foreign and economic relations. Especially, Kenyan leaders paid attention to the countries of African Horn and tried to develop contacts with them. Kenya has a connected branch with neighbor countries like Ethiopia and Somalia and I should say that Kenya is playing this role now too. A triangle relation between these ones is very interesting either in a historic sphere or in a political one. Every time Kenya presents a mission of the regulator and offers peaceful ways of solving the problems. Kenyan – Somalian war in 1963-1967 showed that in spite of the fact that the Kenyan government had a hard mood to save territories, which were populated by Somali people, and legal propriety (territories were fixed for Kenya by the contract of OAU in 1964), the government wanted to settle a problem peacefully. During the Ogaden war, Kenya also decided to take part in it and support Ethiopia (countries had an agreement of combined defense of 1963). As for conclusion, I would like to say that Kenya plays a very important role of a stabilizer of the situation at the South-Eastern Africa. Moreover, Kenya takes part in the peacemaking operation of African Union in Somali and in a fight against international piracy.

**Chinedu Ekwealor,  
Nwabufo Okeke-Uzodike  
University of KwaZulu-Natal  
South Africa**

Ч. Эквеалор, Н. Океке-Узодике  
Университет КваЗулу-Наталя  
Питермарицбург, ЮАР

**The African Union's interventions in African conflicts: The conundrum  
of Lack of Unity and Leadership Libya Вмешательства  
Африканского Союза в африканские конфликты: загадка  
отсутствия единства и лидерства**

The African Union was established in 2002 as the successor of the moribund Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which was established in 1963. At the birth of the Organisation, its outlined objectives include: enhancing unity and security, strengthening co-operation and coordination as well as equipping the African continent with a legal and institutional framework to enable Africa gain its rightful place in the community of nation. While the traditionalist and non-traditionalist leadership scholars are divided over the AU's unity in Libya, the transformation scholars contend that the 2011 UN-backed North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's intervention in Libya, though not necessary, was successful because the African Union was truly divided and lacking in leadership. They argue that the UNSC intervention in Libya was a corrupt practice aimed at political and economic gains for the national interests of the UNSC's permanent five (P5) since the 2011 conflict was in the domestic jurisdiction of the Libyan government and did not threaten the global peace. They insists that the AU's unequivocal condemnation of indiscriminate use of force and lethal weapons, and reaffirmation of its strong commitment to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Libya, as well as rejection of any foreign military intervention such as 'NATO' in whatever form in Libya was suffocated by disunity in the continent. Therefore, this paper is anchored on the thesis that a not-united African Union is the bane for Africa's persisted underdevelopment. To this end, this paper grapples with the following questions: why is the African Union not truly united? Why was the AU divided in Libya? What lessons can be learnt from the Libyan crisis and other such cases in Africa in terms of how to deal with African political and economic problems? The study adopts a desk-top review of relevant literature to unpacking the paper's contested terrain.

**Sengulo Albert Msellemu**  
**Dar es Salaam University**  
**Tanzania**

С.А. Мселлему  
Дар-эс-саламский университетский  
педагогический колледж, Танзания

### **Globalization and Regional Integration of African States**

#### **Глобализация и региональная интеграция африканских государств**

Nowadays, Globalization affects every sphere of life in every continent by so doing it affects also everybody in the society. So the work of this paper is to look whether globalization with its effects being not only positive or negative has effects on Regional Integration in Africa. It is obvious some people suggested that Globalization will lead to unavoidable transformation in the world. Changes are there to come whether positive or negative but what is important that countries of Africa expect change whether negative to utilize them in positive manner. Globalization is the coalescence of varied transnational process and domestic structures allowing the economy, politics, culture, and ideology of one country to penetrate into another. By its very nature it is an intrusive process, one ignores the sovereignty of the states in order to allow the features of one state infused into the another. The effects this process of Globalization it market integration is regional cooperation and new regionalism this was made possible by the collapse of the communist regime. Globalization creates the need for regional integration. The Globalization and regional integration have a causal relationship whereby globalization is one of the core explanatory variables for regionalism. Furthermore, globalization as a process influences and alters the nature and objectives of regional integration. I will explore how the effects of globalization affect regional integration and the objectives of its actors in Africa. The process of globalization is an economically driven process necessitated by the need to create markets and exchange of goods and services.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-11

### Политическая модернизация и социальное развитие в Африке Political Modernization and Social Development in Africa

**Руководитель: д.и.н. Николай Дмитриевич Косухин**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)**  
**Convener: Prof. Nikolay D. Kosukhin**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

Политический процесс в переходных африканских обществах обладает особой логикой, задаваемой самим характером этих обществ и осуществляемых в них преобразований. За последние четверть века политические изменения играют доминирующую роль в процессе социальных преобразований. При этом политическая модернизация происходит в условиях экономического кризиса, бедности и нищеты широких слоев населения, неурегулированности этнорелигиозных и региональных отношений. Специфическая черта социально-политической ситуации заключается также в устойчивости традиционно-патриархальных отношений. Во властных структурах это проявляется в практике неопатриомонизма.

Стабильность политического процесса зависит от учета в стратегии и тактике политической модернизации традиций и обычаев традиционного общества.

Становление демократических институтов предусматривает развитие многопартийности, утверждение прав человека, избирательной системы, деятельность общественных и неправительственных организаций. Важное значение приобретают различные формы политической активности населения.

Политическая модернизация в значительной степени должна способствовать развитию демократических институтов и гражданского общества.

Political process in African societies in transition has its own logic connected with the character of these societies. Political changes play dominant role in the process of social transformations during the last quarter of this century. Political modernization takes place in the conditions of economic crisis, poverty and beggary of wide starters of the population, unsettled ethno-religious and regional relations. Specific feature of socio-political situation is concentrated in traditional relations. The stability of political process depends on taking into consideration traditions and customs of

traditional societies in the strategy and tactics of political modernization. The formation of democratic institutes needs the development of multiparty ship, human rights, electoral system, activity of social and non-governmental organizations. Different forms of political activity of the population become very important. Political modernization must help the development of democratic institutes and civil society.

**Косухин Н.Д.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Nikolay D. Kosukhin  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Особенности политической модернизации в африканских странах** **Specific Features of Political Modernization in African Countries**

В конце XX – начале XXI вв. политическая модернизация на Африканском континенте проходила под лозунгом демократических перемен.

Главным результатом произошедших политических изменений в странах Тропической Африки стало установление многопартийной системы, принятие новых конституций, закрепивших ряд демократических институтов и ценностей, проведение парламентских и президентских выборов, формирование новых политических элит. Вместе с тем, демократизация и связанная с ней политическая борьба привели к дестабилизации, оживлению этнорегиональных факторов. В некоторых странах демократия была оплачена гражданскими войнами, повлекшими за собой человеческие жертвы, потоками беженцев, экономическими и политическими трудностями.

Становление демократических ценностей нередко носит формальный характер. Так, принцип разделения законодательной, исполнительной и судебной власти во многих африканских странах подвержен этнорелигиозному фактору.

Процесс политической модернизации противоречив и неоднозначен, поскольку африканское общество не в состоянии отвергнуть собственное прошлое, традиционные нормы и обычаи, базирующиеся на этнорегиональных и религиозных основах.

Политические изменения характеризуются взаимодействием и противоборством старого и нового, традиционного и современного. Дальнейшее укрепление новой политической системы во многом будет зависеть не только от социально-политической эволюции африканского общества, но и от взаимодействия и согласованности этнополитических элит и их способности к национальной консолидации.



**Громова О.Б.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Olga B. Gromova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Неправительственные организации – фактор демократизации  
политических режимов в Африке**  
**Non-Governmental Organizations as an Agent of African  
Political Regimes' Democratization**

НПО – один из ключевых сегментов гражданского общества занимают важное место в процессах политической модернизации. Они вносят заметный вклад в стимулирование демократических преобразований, формирование и укрепление демократических структур и институтов, подвергая корректировке недемократическую практику политических режимов.

Один из факторов повышения уровня участия населения в политической и общественной жизни, в демократических переменах – правозащитная деятельность НПО. Проблемы соблюдения гражданских прав и свобод человека, в том числе в политической сфере, защита интересов и прав различных социально-профессиональных групп от вмешательства и давления со стороны государства – в центре внимания НПО.

3. Процесс политической модернизации предусматривает становление института выборов. Использование НПО такой формы политического участия и общественной активности масс как выборы – проведение мониторинга избирательных кампаний, хода выборов, наблюдение и контроль за действием властных структур в сфере соблюдения избирательных прав одновременно с просвещением населения в вопросах его конституционных свобод, оказывает влияние на правительство и его решения, а также повышает уровень политической культуры африканцев, их электоральную активность и ответственность.

Важное место в деятельности НПО занимают выступления за гендерное равенство – одного из принципов демократического правового государства, за ликвидацию насилия и всех форм дискриминации женщин, за расширение доступа их к участию в процессе принятия решений в законодательной сфере и органах исполнительной власти.

**Саватеев А.Д.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Anatoly D. Savateev  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Радикальный ислам – альтернативный  
проект социально-политической модернизации?**  
**Radical Islam: An Alternative Socio-Political Modernization Project?**

Среди африканских стран даже с небольшой долей мусульманского населения практически не осталось ни одной, где бы исламизм не превратился во влиятельный и устойчивый фактор внутренней и внешней политики. С 1979 г. вслед за Ираном, где исламисты могучим движением пришли к власти, начались изменения и в афромульманских обществах. Исламистам принадлежит приоритет в определении внутренней и внешней политики суданского государства. Образ Сомали сначала прочно связывался с деятельностью Союза исламских судов, а сейчас – молодежной исламской организации Шабаб. Исламисты («ваххабиты», салафиты...), о которых никто толком не знал еще 40 лет назад, осваивают и другие страны зоны Сахеля и Восточной Африки. Исламизм стал неотъемлемой реальностью ряда стран: Нигерия, Мали, Мавритания, Гвинея, Кот-д'Ивуар, Нигер, Кения... – зоны его активного влияния. То, что еще в конце XX в. представлялось мимолетными явлениями, стало одним из существенных трендов эволюции африканских обществ и государств.

Является ли радикальный ислам отклонением от общих норм вероисповедания и благочестия, составляющих, в нашем представлении, суть каждой мировой религии? Или политический радикализм присущ только исламу? В чем причины его зарождения в Тропической Африке? Можно ли говорить только о внутренних факторах, или свою роль сыграли и внешние обстоятельства? Что представляют собой радикальные организации ислама в странах Тропической Африки? Какие цели и задачи ставят они перед собой, перед обществом? Претендуют ли они на создание своего, общечеловеческого масштаба, социокультурного проекта, равнозначного западной модернизационной модели? И что в таком случае означает широкая поддержка, которую оказывают африканские мусульмане исламистам? Можно ли в таком случае утверждать, что мы имеем дело со стереотипами европоцентристского мышления, которую опровергает приверженность рядовых афро-мусульман исламской цивилизации, но которые не приемлют западные схемы власти? В итоге, станут ли реальностью исламские государства в Африке южнее Сахары? Что может сказать об этом научная мысль?

На эти вопросы и попытается дать ответ автор.

**Власть и оппозиция: взаимодействие или конфликт?  
(на примере Сенегала и Кот-д'Ивуара)  
Power and Opposition: Interaction or Conflict?  
The Cases of Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire**

1. Рост оппозиционных движений в Африке пришелся на 90-е годы XX века. Усиливавшаяся политическая активность африканского общества стала благоприятной почвой для возникновения новых политических организаций и появления политической оппозиции.

Отличительной чертой социально-политической трансформации африканского общества явилось возрождение политического соперничества и ослабление бесконтрольной власти правящих групп.

2. Новые политические силы имеют иные ценностные ориентации, другие экономические и политические взгляды нежели те, которых придерживается правящая партия. Появление противоборствующих организаций явилось начальным моментом зарождения политической оппозиции. Наиболее четко генезис противоречий между властью и оппозицией можно проследить на примере двух стран – Сенегала и Кот-д'Ивуара.

3. Оппозиционные политические движения в этих странах представляют интерес с точки зрения неординарности их политического феномена, но и одновременно имеют нечто общее в их эволюции и политической культуре.

4. Оппозиция использовала недовольство общества решением правящего режима изменить конституцию в пользу продления срока пребывания у власти действующего президента. Благодаря этому, она смогла создать объединенный фронт против действующей власти и добиться поставленных целей.

5. Общим для оппозиционных движений этих государств является отсутствие четкой идеологической базы, социальная разобщенность, нередко на этноконфессиональной основе. Региональные и этнорелигиозные противоречия часто являются для оппозиционных сил причиной и фактором дестабилизации положения в стране.

6. В новых политических системах все еще сохраняется авторитарная ментальность и авторитарные методы политической борьбы, широко используется административный ресурс. Тем не менее лидеры Сенегала и Кот-д'Ивуара позитивно настроены на налаживание отношений

диалога со своими оппонентами, которые до недавнего времени были у власти и с которыми они поменялись местами.

**Прокопенко Л.Я.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Lyubov Ya. Prokopenko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Имидж политического лидера (на примере стран Юга Африки)** **The Political Leader's Image (the Case of Southern African Countries)**

В условиях политической модернизации в африканских странах возрастает роль имиджа политического лидера и власти. На рубеже столетий лидеры государств Юга Африки, прежде всего ЮАР, Зимбабве, Анголы и Мозамбика, столкнулись с необходимостью использования средств и методов публичных рилейшнз, связи с общественностью, направленных на достижение эффективной коммуникации как внутри организации, так и между организацией и общественностью, в том числе уделять внимание проблеме формирования имиджа лидеров и стран. В каждом отдельном случае для этого были свои причины: ЮАР необходимо было улучшить образ страны, в которой долгое время существовал режим апартеида, в Зимбабве – оправдать многолетнее авторитарное правление Роберта Мугабе. Для остальных стран Юга Африки формирование положительного имиджа власти в глазах международных доноров и организаций оказалось чрезвычайно важным и для получения внешней помощи.

В современных условиях имидж глав африканских государств становится одним из стратегических аспектов их внешней политики.

В последние годы имидж некоторых политиков стран южноафриканского региона претерпел значительные изменения как в национальном [Дж. Зума (ЮАР), Ф. Чилуба (Замбия)], так и в международном плане. Например, к концу 1990-х годов имидж Нельсона Манделы и партии Африканский национальный конгресс (АНК) трансформировался, и они в глазах мировой общественности превратились из «пособников терроризма» в борцов за мир и демократию.

Положительный имидж политика, независимо от того, стал ли он результатом его многолетней карьеры или был разработан специалистами по имиджу, эффективно работает длительное время только при условии реальной, активной деятельности на благо общества его носителя. Пример тому – бывший президент ЮАР Н. Мандела и бывший президент Мозамбика Ж. Чиссано.

**Езе Нкем Кеннетх**  
**РУДН, Москва, (Гана)**  
Kenneth Ezeh Nkem  
People's Friendship University of Russia  
Moscow

**Становление демократических институтов в республике Гана  
в конце XX - начале XXI в.**  
**Establishment of Democratic Institutions in the Republic of Ghana in  
the Late 20<sup>th</sup> – Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Приход к власти в результате военного переворота Временного совета национальной обороны (31 декабря 1981) во главе с Джерри Ролингсом изменил политическое развитие страны.

Режим Джерри Ролингса просуществовал до конца 2000 года, когда в ходе демократических президентских выборов главой государства стал представитель новой патриотической партии Джон Куфуор.

Факторами политического долголетия режима Дж. Ролингса стала политика «национального примирения», привлечение традиционной и религиозной знати к административному управлению. Важнейшим элементом политики стабилизации стали экономические реформы, борьба с коррупцией, пресечение финансовых злоупотреблений.

В 1990 г. начался переход к гражданскому правлению, а еще ранее, в 1982 году была создана национальная комиссия по демократизации. В январе 1993 г. была введена в действие новая Конституция.

Развитие партийного плюрализма выразилось в принятии закона о политических партиях (1 мая 1992 г.). Закон запретил воссоздание старых партий (их насчитывается 21), создавать новые на этнической, региональной, профессиональной или религиозной основе. Каждый гражданин страны, достигший избирательного возраста, имеет право создавать или вступать в политическую партию.

Созданная Дж. Ролингсом политическая система соответствует понятию «просвещенного авторитаризма» с элементами демократии. Харизматические черты его лидерства усиливались привлекательной социально-экономической программой, которая отвечала назревшим требованиям большинства ганцев.

За последние годы происходила мирная передача власти в Гане после победы оппозиции на выборах в декабре 2008 г. – январе 2009 г.

**Нгимапин Гату Жозефин**  
**РУДН, Москва, (Камерун)**  
Josephine Ngimapin Gatou  
People's Friendship University of Russia  
Moscow

### **Авторитаризм и многопартийность в Камеруне** **Authoritarianism and Multiparty System in Cameroon**

После достижения независимости предпосылкой становления авторитарного политического режима была необходимость воссоединения бывших английской и французской территорий в единое государство. Различия в экономическом и политическом развитии, а также этнический состав населения выдвинули на первый план также проблему достижения общенационального единства, унификации социально-экономической жизни составных частей Федеральной Республики Камерун.

Решение этой проблемы первый президент страны А. Ахиджо стремился воплотить в деятельности созданного им Камерунского национального союза (КНС). А. Ахиджо в течении более 20 лет находился во главе государства и партии. Было создано унитарное централизованное государство во главе с президентом, обладающим авторитарной властью, что выразилось также в том, что его называли «колыбелью Камеруна», «Христом Африки», «отцом независимости».

Пришедший ему на смену в 1982г. президент Поль Бийя принципиально не изменил авторитарный курс своего предшественника. Культ личности А. Ахиджо сменился культом личности П.Бийя, который получил титул «верховного вождя вождей». При этом формально произошли политические изменения: КНС был переименован в Демократическое Объединение камерунского народа, провозглашен курс на национальное обновление, либерализацию и демократизацию.

Принятые в декабре 1990г. законы о правах и свободах привели к многопартийности и свободе собраний.

В стране зарегистрировано свыше 150 политических партий, которые фактически прикрывают авторитаризм президентской власти. Политические партии малочисленные, подвергаются давлению со стороны государства. Несмотря на провозглашенные демократические принципы, избирательные компании проводятся со значительными нарушениями, что дает возможность президенту переизбираться уже 4 раза.

Парадокс политической ситуации в стране состоит в том, что авторитаризм функционирует в условиях формальной многопартийности.

**Гришина Н.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Nina V. Grishina  
Institute for African Studies, Moscow  
Russia

**Здравоохранение как часть социально-политического развития  
африканских стран**  
**Health Care as a Part of the African Countries' Socio-Political  
Development**

Сфера здравоохранения как совокупность мер политического, экономического, социального, правового, медицинского и культурного характера, направленных на сохранение и укрепление физического и психического здоровья каждого человека, поддержание его долголетней активной жизни, переживает в современной Африке не лучшие времена.

Для значительных слоев населения до сих пор отсутствуют такие категории охраны здоровья как его доступность и качество медицинской помощи. Миллионы африканцев не могут рассчитывать на адекватную помощь специалистов в случае необходимости, поэтому, как и прежде, обращаются к услугам традиционной медицины.

Состояние отсталости здравоохранения африканских стран по сравнению с другими регионами мира настоятельно требует его модернизации как одной из основных из сфер социального обеспечения населения. В решении этого вопроса главная роль принадлежит государству, в чьей компетенции – формирование бюджета с учетом интересов здравоохранения, закупка за рубежом лекарственных средств и медицинского оборудования, справедливое распределение медицинских препаратов в период поступающей гуманитарной помощи.

В смягчении многочисленных проблем сферы здравоохранения в странах Африки принимают активное участие различные международные организации. Объемы и формы предоставляемой ими помощи различны.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-12

### Мониторинг рисков социально-политической дестабилизации в Африке

#### Sociopolitical Destabilization Risks in Africa Monitoring

**Руководители: д.и.н., проф. Андрей Витальевич Коротаев**

**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),**

**Леонид Маркович Исаев**

**(НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, Россия) Conveners:**

**Prof. Andrey V. Korotayev (Institute for**

**African Studies, Moscow, Russia);**

**Leonid M. Issaev**

**(National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia)**

The main purpose of the panel is systemic monitoring and analysis of social and political transformation of the countries of African continent, attempts to work out on this basis the forecasting mechanisms of their social and political development, as well as subsequent development of practical recommendations for overcoming or avoiding social and political instability. The study of socio-political instability in the context of current processes occurring in recent years in Africa (the “Arab Spring”, conflicts in northern Mali, Nigeria, etc.), as well as in the context of globalization allows the following:

- to identify certain laws that govern various aspects of development;
- to make reasonable forecasts on future trends in the development of various countries on the basis of such laws;
- to define the control parameters influencing which by certain public policies could significantly affect various aspects of development in the desired direction;
- to provide the basis for higher-level decision-making and for formation of the country, regional and global development policy.

Thus, the range of issues discussed in the section can be described as follows:

- monitoring of the main trends of development in Africa, as well as global trends affecting African continent;
- identification of patterns of different development processes, as well as factors contributing to the destabilization of socio-political situation in African countries;
- identifying the risks of instability in Africa and the analysis of them based on the comparison of different indicators: economic, demographic, social, political, cultural, etc.



- developing of reasonable forecasts for future development trends and perspectives for maintaining social and political stability in North Africa after the events of the “Arab Spring”;
- study of the factors that could lead to destabilization of the political situation in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa;
- developing of a system for forecasting the dynamics of structural and demographic risks of destabilization.

**Arinze Ngwube**  
**Federal University Oye Ekiti**  
**Nigeria**

А. Нгвубе  
Федеральный Университет Ойе-Экити,  
Нигерия

### **Youth Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria**

#### **Расширение прав и возможностей молодежи и борьба с бедностью в нигерийском регионе дельты Нигера**

The Paper x-rays the level of youth empowerment in the Niger Delta region. It delves into the peculiar circumstances and challenges confronting the youth of the oil rich but conflict prone region against the backdrop of poverty alleviation programme by government since the return to civilian rule in 1999. With the return to a democratic dispensation, successive government have expressed serious concerns about the poverty situation in the country, in general and in the Niger Delta in particular. For most part, poverty alleviation is seen as a measure to address the problems of rising unemployment and criminality, particularly among youths. The focus on the youth also derive from two popular view(1) that they are the best measure of the extent that a country can reproduce as well as sustain itself .In cumulative ,the vitality, conduct and roles of youth in society are positively correlated with the development of their country.

In the light of the above, the proposed paper shall address the following research questions among other. First, what is the status of youth vis-à-vis the challenges livelihoods and survival in the Niger Delta? What are the key poverty alleviation issues in the region and how are the youth affected? How are the youth responding to poverty alleviation challenges and what are the implications of their repertoire of responses for peace and stability in the Niger Delta? What alternative policy options face the government (and other stakeholders) in the quest to address the challenges of poverty in the Niger Delta? What are the immediate, medium-and long-term implications of not effectively addressing the poverty (and broader developmental) challenges

facing Niger Delta for youth in the region? Finally, what are the implications of government interventions in the Niger Delta for similar engagements across the country?

**Джозеф Баханак Базилис**  
**ННГУ им. Н.И. Лобачевского**  
**Нижний Новгород**  
J.B. Bazilis  
N.I. Lobachevsky Nizhniy  
Novgorod State University, Russia

**Государственный переворот в Мали 2012 г.:**  
**геополитический аспект**

**Coup d'Etat of 2012 in Mali: The Geopolitical Aspect**

В ночь с 21 на 22 марта вышедшие из подчинения солдаты национальной армии Мали подняли мятеж, захватили президентский дворец в Бамако, арестовав ряд представителей политического руководства страны. Путчисты заявили, что взяли власть, чтобы покончить с неспособностью режима Амаду Тумани Туре «справиться с кризисом на севере страны», вызванным действиями туарегов-повстанцев.

После поражения каддафистов ситуация на севере Мали стала взрывоопасной, начался процесс возвращения туарегов на земли исконного проживания. Они возвращались в Мали с самым современным французским оружием, которое в свое время сбрасывалось ливийским повстанцам на западе Ливии с самолетов НАТО. Повстанческие группировки заявили об объединении, получившем название «Национальное движение за освобождение Азавада» (НДОА).

Область расселения туарегов распространяется, помимо Мали, на Алжир, Ливию, Мавританию, Нигер, Чад и Буркина-Фасо. Именно эти громадные пространства Сахары и Сахеля были объявлены территорией суверенного государства Азавад.

Война носит коалиционный характер. В эту войну почти сразу включилась Великобритания и США, которые защищают свои интересы в Северной Африке. Россия участвует опосредованно: зарабатывая деньги военными перевозками. Ан-124 перевозит в Северную Африку оружие, технику, снаряжение и все необходимое из континентальной части Франции в Африку.

На данный момент интересы Франции очень прочно закреплены в Северной Африке. В Северной Африке, особенно в той ее части, в которой ее можно назвать «бывшие французские территории», очень активно работает французский бизнес, политика, интересы. Сейчас этим интересам начинают угрожать исламисты, и Франция этого себе позво-

лить не может. Поэтому Франция является одним из главных акторов этой войны.

Особо следует отметить, что в этой зоне Сахеля обнаружены богатейшие залежи урана. Если туареги и исламисты установят контроль над урановыми рудниками, то они незамедлительно начнут искать пути сбыта необогащенного урана в страны-изгои, прежде всего, в Иран.

МИД России подчеркивает, что «все это не может не вызывать серьезной озабоченности, так как речь, по существу, идет о территориальной дезинтеграции Мали, создании практически неконтролируемого очага террористической угрозы в пустынных районах сахаро-сахельской зоны».

**Осминина М.А.**  
**ННГУ им. Н.И. Лобачевского**  
**Нижний Новгород, РФ**  
Maria A. Osminina  
N.I. Lobachevsky Nizhniy  
Novgorod State University, Russia

**Правовой аспект основных вооруженных конфликтов  
2011–2013 гг. в Западной Африке  
The Legal Aspect of the Main Armed Conflicts  
of 2011-2013 in West Africa**

Международное право в области прав человека – совокупность принципов и норм, регулирующих защиту прав и свобод индивидов. Основа – договоры системы ООН, Африканского Союза: Всеобщая декларация прав человека, Африканская хартия прав человека и народов.

Анализ конфликтов позволяет выделить ряд разночтений с нормами международного права.

1. Выборный кризис в Кот-д’Ивуаре

Нарушенные права:

– право на жизнь, на свободу и личную неприкосновенность, свобода совести (политические убеждения, вероисповедание), права коренных народов (насилие «Новых сил» по отношению к сторонникам Лорана Гбагбо, представлявшего интересы автохтонов-христиан, отсутствие помощи со стороны ООНКИ в Двекве);

– право лиц, лишённых свободы, на гуманное обращение и уважение достоинства (арест Лорана и Симоны Гбагбо, переданных французскими военными в руки повстанцев, где супруги Гбагбо оставались более полугода и подвергались насилию).

Нарушенные договоры:

– Конвенция о ликвидации всех форм дискриминации в отношении женщин;

- Конвенция против пыток;
- Международная конвенция для защиты всех лиц от насильственных исчезновений;
- Декларация о правах коренных народов.

Документы:

- Международная Амнистия «У них попросили удостоверения личности и убили»;
- доклад главы миссии наблюдателей АС на президентских выборах Джозефа Коффингоха;
- протоколы о подсчете голосов.

## 2. Государственный переворот в Мали

Нарушенные права:

- право на жизнь, право на свободу и личную неприкосновенность (расправы над гражданским населением исламистов и армии Мали; гибель мирных жителей во время авиаудара французской и малийской армии);

- права ребенка (привлечение исламистами в ряды армии несовершеннолетних в Мали).

Нарушенные договоры:

- Международная конвенция для защиты всех лиц от насильственных исчезновений;
- Декларация о правах коренных народов, Конвенция о правах ребенка.

Документ:

- Доклад Международной Амнистии.

## 3. Беспорядки в Нигерии

Нарушенные права:

- право на жизнь, право на свободу и личную неприкосновенность, свобода совести (вероисповедание), права коренных народов (насилие «Боко Харам» по отношению к автохтонам-христианам по религиозному признаку: казни христиан, отказавшихся принять ислам, массовые убийства христиан и сочувствующих им; систематические нападения, последнее – убийство 50 спящих школьников).

Нарушенные договоры:

- Декларация о ликвидации всех форм нетерпимости и дискриминации на основе религии или убеждений.

Донской А.С.  
ННГУ им. Н.И. Лобачевского  
Нижний Новгород, РФ  
Alexander S. Donskoy  
N.I. Lobachevsky Nizhniy  
Novgorod State University, Russia

### **Роль ООН в выборном процессе 2010 – 2011 гг. в Кот-д’Ивуаре The UN’s Role in the Electoral Process in Côte d’Ivoire in 2010-2011**

Документом, регулирующим проведение выборов стал договор Угадугу. Документ привел к образованию объединенного правительства, где, при президенте Лоране Гбагбо, лидер повстанческого движения Гийом Соро был назначен премьер-министром. Таким образом, являющееся группой давления повстанческое движение официально проникло во властные структуры. Л. Гбагбо являлся президентом Кот-д’Ивуара с 26 октября 2000 г. Придя к власти в качестве кандидата от оппозиции, последний заработал симпатии элиты – проживающих в южной части страны коренных жителей, исповедующих христианство, и недоверие пролетариата севера Кот-д’Ивуара – иммигрантов или потомков иммигрантов, исповедующих ислам. Г. Соро зарекомендовал себя как главу повстанческого движения и завоевал расположение иностранных партнеров.

Вследствие договора Угадугу была создана Независимая избирательная комиссия (НИК), состоящая из 31 члена, принадлежащих к основным политическим силам и вооруженному восстанию. 80% Членов этого комитета были из политической оппозиции и армии повстанцев. К тому же, договор Угадугу содержал требование о разоружении повстанческих группировок и самозащите перед выборами, как о том говорилось в Резолюции ООН 1633. НИК была ответственной за организацию выборов, публикацию промежуточных результатов голосования.

Договор Угадугу согласовался с Резолюцией 1721 СБ ООН. Переходное правительство должно было воплотить в действительность требования, предъявленные этой резолюцией:

- удостоверение личности граждан и раздача новых карт ивуарийской национальности всем, у кого на нее есть право;
- разоружение народного ополчения, реструктурирование армии и реинтеграция демобилизованных военных;
- объединение национальной территории и перемещение администрации в находящуюся под контролем повстанцев область;
- организация открытых и прозрачных выборов (в течение десяти месяцев от 4 марта 2007 г.).

Таким образом, правительство, идущее на уступки, предоставляя иностранцам явные привилегии относительно гражданства, требовало уступок со стороны повстанцев: их разоружения.

Под давлением оппозиции и международного сообщества Л. Гбагбо предоставил списки избирателей, необходимые для проведения выборов. Со стороны же повстанцев разоружение повстанцев не состоялось.

Итогом подобных разночтений стала жестокость по отношению к авторитетам при проведении выборов и подделки результатов голосования.

**Дорошенко Е. И.**  
**РАМИ «РИА Новости»**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Elena I. Doroshenko  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Революции в арабском мире: сходства и различия** **Revolutions in the Arab World: Similarities and Differences**

«Арабская весна», как одно из самых ярких событий новейшей истории стран Северной Африки и Ближнего Востока, создала серьезный контекст для анализа всех современных социо-политических процессов в регионе. Исходной предпосылкой этого явления, нашедшей своё отражение в подаче и истолковании СМИ, была «демократизация», народная революция против диктаторских режимов с конечной целью достижения политической и социальной «свободы» и итоговое установление «демократии».

Понимаемая как ряд революций, связанных общей идеей и нацеленных на конечное «освобождение» народа, «арабская весна» может быть сопоставлена с событиями в регионе 50–70 гг. прошлого века: серией военных переворотов, аналогичных революций, начало которым положил Гамаль Абдель Насер 23 июля 1952 г., направленных на достижение полной независимости государств от колониальных держав путем свержения «реакционных» режимов.

Впоследствии идеология панарабизма (по крайней мере, на какое-то время) стала тем основанием, на котором выстраивалось национальное самосознание, и представляла собой главный фактор для единения «арабской нации». Станет ли само понятие и установки «демократии» историко-политическим эквивалентом панарабизма в регионе?

Ислам, воспринимавшийся Насером и Муаммаром Каддафи как еще один, традиционный и исконный, фактор объединения (третий, «пан-исламский», круг и концепция «исламского социализма» Насера, заимствованная и развитая Каддафи) – при общем светском характере

государства – в контексте «арабской весны» становится, скорее, поводом к конфликтам: политика «Братьев-мусульман» в Египте, общее усиление роли «Аль-Каиды» в регионе, шариат как основа для новой конституции в Ливии.

Другое направление, имеющее большое значение для прогнозирования пути развития стран региона – детальное рассмотрение последствий внешнего военного вмешательства в Ираке и Ливии, осуществлявшегося на сходных основаниях: как «помощь народу», восставшему против «диктатора». Заметным политическим последствием стали процессы люстрации в обеих странах – «деба'асификация» в Ираке и «декаддафизация» в Ливии.

Таким образом, в качестве методологии для отслеживания и прогнозирования дальнейшей судьбы региона предлагается оценка и сопоставление формы, характера и историко-политического значения аналогичных по своему масштабу и влиянию событий, поиск аналогий и контрастов, проведение параллелей.

**Пonomarev I. V.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Iliia V. Ponomariov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Может ли распространение школьного образования снизить риск демографической катастрофы в странах Африки южнее Сахары?**

1.1. Как свидетельствуют кросс-культурные исследования, когнитивные показатели, достигнутые в результате получения школьного образования (ШО), редуцируются, если индивид, получивший ШО вплоть до 10 классов, возвращается к традиционному виду жизнедеятельности, мало связанному с теоретической деятельностью. Об этом же говорит распространенность вновь приобретенной неграмотности или снижения навыков чтения и письма в странах Африки южнее Сахары (АЮС).

1.2. В АЮС значительные средства вкладываются в начальное ШО и на борьбу с неграмотностью среди взрослых. Начальное ШО, мало поддержанное средним ШО (а возможностей получить последнее намного меньше во многих странах АЮС) и/или социальной инфраструктурой индустриального общества (особенно в сельской местности), имеет весьма непродолжительный эффект. С другой стороны, сензитивность возрастного развития означает, что качественное усвоение грамоты после 13 лет требует от индивида затраты намного большего времени и усилий, чем в сензитивный период 6–13 лет.

1.3. В ситуации «демографического взрыва» в АЮС резко снижается как необходимое количество педагогов, так и качество их квалификационной подготовки. По той же причине выпускники школ, специализированных средних учебных заведений и даже университетов все с большим трудом находят квалифицированную работу на рынке труда. Отсюда увеличение потока миграций квалифицированной рабочей силы («утечка умов») как внутри африканского континента, так и за его пределы.

1.4. Резкий рост народонаселения в странах АЮС бросает вызов не только школьной системе, но, по-видимому, и существованию большинства современных африканских социально-политических систем. В такой ситуации распространение ШО может оказаться как фактором снижения риска политической и демографической нестабильности, так и фактором повышения данного вида риска.

### **Can the Development of School Education Decrease the Risk of Demographic Catastrophe in Sub-Saharan Africa?**

1.1. Cross-cultural studies evidence that cognitive measures achieved as a result of school education (SE) are reduced if individuals, who studied up to 10 classes, return to the traditional type of activities which are little linked to theoretical activities. These data are further supported by the fact of reverted illiteracy or the loss of reading and writing abilities in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

1.2. In SSA considerable means have been invested in primary school and the eradication of illiteracy among adults. Primary school backed little by secondary one (opportunities to enter the latter are much less in many countries of SSA) and/or the social infrastructure of industrial society (especially in the country) will not have long-standing effect. On the other hand, the sensitive periods of age development mean that after 13 years of age the individual will have to spend much more time and efforts in order to obtain the good mastering of literacy than in sensitive 6–13 years of age.

1.3. In the situation of “demographic explosion” in SSA, pupils’ number rapidly grows while the number of professionally trained teachers decreases. On the same reason, school and FET leavers and even university graduates progressively meet with growing obstacles to find qualified employment. Hence is the sky-rocketing of qualified specialists’ migration (“brain drain”) from Africa to other world regions and inside African continent.

1.4. The rapid demographic growth in the countries of SSA challenges not only the school system but apparently the existence of most contemporary African socio-political systems. Against this background, the development of school education can appear as well the factor decreasing the risk of political and demographic destabilisation as the factor increasing that type of risk.



**Rafi Madayan**  
**Lebanese Institute for Political Studies**  
**and Information, Beirut**

Р. Мадайан  
Ливанский институт политических  
исследований и информации, Бейрут

**The New Al Qaeda in the Levant and North Africa:**  
**The Rebirth after Ben Laden's Elimination**  
**Новая аль-Каида в Леванте и Северной Африке:**  
**возрождение после устранения бен Ладена**

Al Qaeda, the global militant Islamist organization founded by Osama Ben Laden and Abdallah Azzam in Pakistan in 1989 to participate in the Afghan Jihad (Holy War) against the Soviet Occupation, threatens nowadays the security and stability of many countries in the Middle East, Africa and the Caucasus. The resurgence of the organization's activities in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and the Caucasus and North Africa jeopardized the American preventive wars that have been launched in Afghanistan – Pakistan and Iraq during the last decade. Moreover, the elimination of Ben Laden in Pakistan did not lead to the collapse of Al Qaeda that revealed to be a decentralized network capable of operating in different places without the existence of a central leadership. Furthermore, the Arab spring contributed to the disintegration of central governments in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Syria and Iraq among others. The chaos that generated due to the popular uprisings profited to the revival of the Al Qaeda transnational network. Hence, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon as well as Libya and Niger became new basis (new Afghanistan) for the heirs of Ben Laden as Abou Bakr El Baghdadi (leader of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant) and Abd El Wahab Darwakkal (leader of Al Qaeda in Maghreb).

Growing into a worldwide franchise of terror, Al Qaeda ideologues envision a complete break from all foreign influences in Muslim countries, and the creation of a new worldwide Islamic caliphate. In this context, my intervention would tackle the political ideologies and belief systems of the new Qaeda, the different philosophical – theological interpretations of its branches and the organizational development reached in the Levant, North Africa and the Caucasus. In addition, the paper would focus on the efforts that should be conducted on a global scale to combat the expansion of the neo-Qaeda.

Лукьянов Г.В.  
НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ  
Grigory V. Lukanov  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Изменения в характере рисков и дестабилизирующего эффекта от политической ситуации в Ливии после 2011 г.**  
**Changes in the Nature of Risks and Destabilizing Effect Caused by the Political Situation in Lybia after 2011**

По завершению первого десятилетия после «сентябрьской» революции 1969 г., приведшей к власти в Ливии Муаммара Каддафи и безвозвратно изменившей политическую и социально-экономическую систему этой страны, в англоязычной научно-исследовательской среде вслед за профессиональным сленгом аналитиков и официальным политическим дискурсом вошло понятие «ливийской проблемы». Причиной тому стала активная внешняя политика ливийского руководства, проводимая им в отношении других государств, негосударственных организаций и движений, особенно в условиях существовавшего или развивавшегося конфликта. Арабо-израильский конфликт, американо-советское противостояние, межарабские споры и африканские конфликты на протяжении 1970-х – 1980-х гг. стали объектом прямого или косвенного интереса со стороны Ливии, использовавшей имевшееся политическое влияние и экономические возможности для оказания поддержки отдельным участникам того или иного конфликта с целью изменения баланса сил в собственных целях. Так как последние отличались от тех, что ставили перед собой развитие страны Запада, это привело к неизбежному столкновению между ними и Ливией в самых различных сферах и областях.

Рассматривая «ливийскую проблему» в качестве одной из ключевых переменных международных отношений в средиземноморском бассейне, ближневосточном регионе и на африканском континенте, исследователи за многие годы проведения ливийских исследований (Libyan Studies) предлагали немало моделей и инструментов анализа самой ее природы и измерения порождаемых ею рисков. В тоже время многие политические оппоненты М. Каддафи видели лишь одно решение всего комплекса рисков и вызовов, порождаемых «ливийской проблемой», а именно – устранение самого «лидера ливийской революции».

В данном докладе предлагается рассмотреть изменение характера рисков и угроз дестабилизации обстановки в регионах Северной Африки и Сахеля, а также в конфликтных зонах на африканском континенте, в результате свершившегося транзита власти и трансформации политической системы в Ливии в 2011 г.

Исходя из тезиса, что смерть М. Каддафи и крах построенной им политической системы не решили «ливийскую проблему», а лишь изменили набор порождаемых ею рисков и угроз региональной безопасности, сделав их в среднесрочной перспективе определяющим препятствием на пути развития региона, изучение этой проблемы видится актуальным и объективно своевременным.

**Коротаев А.В.,**

**Исаев Л.М.**

**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**

Andrey V. Korotayev

Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia

Leonid M. Issaev

Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

### **Опыт эконометрического анализа египетского переворота 2013 г. Econometric Analysis of the Egyptian Coup d'Etat of 2013**

3 июля 2013 года министр обороны Египта Абд ал-Фаттах ас-Сиси в своем обращении к гражданам заявил об отстранении президента Мухаммеда Мурси от занимаемой им должности и приостановлении действия принятой в декабре 2012 года конституции. Таким образом, подошел к концу пусть и короткий, но уникальный для страны период правления «Братьев-мусульман».

М. Мурси уже в первые месяцы своего правления вплотную столкнулся с необходимостью проведения крайне непопулярной политики по преодолению социально-экономического кризиса в стране. Сигналом того, к каким политическим последствиям это может привести, послужило голосование на референдуме в декабре 2012 года, когда поддержка «проталкиваемой» исламистами конституции была не столь очевидна, как это имело место, скажем, в марте 2011 года на голосовании по принятию временной конституционной декларации или на парламентских выборах в декабре 2011 – январе 2012 года.

Тем не менее, если понаблюдать за поведением основных египетских биржевых индексов, то можно выявить крайне интересные закономерности. Так, за два дня до начала протестов, направленных против президента Мурси, 24 июня 2013 года главный египетский биржевой индекс EGX 30 начал устойчиво расти, а за период между этой датой и до момента закрытия торгов 2 июля 2013 года, т.е. непосредственно перед свержением М. Мурси он вырос более чем на 10% – с 4523,32 до 4986,81 пункта, а сразу после переворота, 4 июля, – до 5334,54 пункта (так что общий рост за период 24 июня – 4 июля составил 18%). Бурный рост показал и египетский EGX 70, поднявшись с 348,81 пункта 23

июня 2013 года до 380,87 пунктов к закрытию торгов накануне переворота, 2 июля 2013 года, и дополнительно подскочив до 422,62 пунктов сразу после переворота, 4 июля.

Это свидетельствует о том, что уже перед самым свержением Мурси существовала информация о предполагаемой попытке смены власти в стране в совершенно определенном направлении (но, как мы увидим, не только об этом), что и способствовало стимулированию биржевых игроков «вкладываться» в акции египетских компаний.

Можно с большой долей вероятности утверждать, что за несколько дней до начала выступлений против президента М. Мурси уже поступила информация о том, что военные намерены идти до конца, а в случае их успеха Египет ожидает долгожданный займ Арабского валютного фонда и других финансовых игроков Залива. В свою очередь гарантии притока валюты в страну стимулировали биржевых игроков вкладываться в египетские акции и обеспечили рост биржевых индексов.

**Труевцев К.М.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Konstantin M. Truevtsev  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

### **Сомали – Кения: сценарии расползания конфликта** **Somalia – Kenya: Spread of Conflict Scenarios**

1. Рейд исламских террористов в Найроби с территории Сомали показал, что в границах этого распавшегося государства создан комфортный очаг для распространения террористической деятельности на территории сопредельных государств, несущий потенциальную опасность по меньшей мере в региональном масштабе.

2. Отсутствие центральной власти, наличие активных групп, связанных с международным терроризмом, поголовная незанятость населения в производительной экономике, значительное количество огнестрельного оружия и постоянное участие различных групп населения в спорадических вооруженных стычках и пиратстве – все это создает почти идеальные условия для превращения Сомали в перманентную базу исламского терроризма.

3. Слабая устойчивость политических режимов в таких странах как Эфиопия, Эритрея, Джибути, Судан и Южный Судан, наличие конфликтных зон и спорных районов, этно-конфессиональные противоречия в ряде этих стран создают объективный потенциал для расползания конфликта на всю территорию Африканского Рога. Причем даже в конфликтах локального значения задействование горячего террористиче-

ского материала с территории Сомали уже представляет потенциальную угрозу расползания конфликта.

4. Рейд в Найроби показал также, что Сомали становится центром притяжения международных террористов со всего мира, включая страны Европы и Северной Америки.

5. В потенциальные и реальные объекты террористической деятельности, помимо стран Африканского Рога превращаются также сопредельные африканские страны с преимущественно христианским населением, расположенные к Югу от этого региона. Прежде всего это Кения, Уганда и Танзания. Любое повторение инцидента в Найроби на территории любой из этих стран несет в себе потенциальную опасность политической дестабилизации внутри них, провоцирование этноконфессиональных конфликтов, имеющих потенциально общерегиональное и межрегиональное

**Шишкина А.Р.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Alisa R. Shishkina  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Условия и особенности формирования единого  
Интернет-пространства на Ближнем Востоке и в Северной Африке**  
**Conditions for, and Specific Features of Forming a Single Internet Space  
in the Middle East and North Africa**

В настоящее время крупномасштабные изменения во всем мире оказываются нередко обусловленными стремительным развитием информационно-коммуникационных технологий. Как показал опыт событий Арабской весны, такого рода технологии способны стать не только катализатором протестной активности в конкретном городе или стране, но также могут выступать как условие синхронизации революционных процессов во всем регионе и даже на общемировом уровне. Помимо всего прочего, антирежимные выступления 2011–2012 гг. в арабских странах выявили наиболее значимые характеристики медиа-пространства рассматриваемого региона.

Важным условием складывания единого информационного пространства является язык. Формирование такого относительно однородного пространства в регионе Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки стало следствием медиа-революции, выразившейся прежде всего в возникновении спутниковых телеканалов, которые обрели невероятную популярность во всем Арабском мире. Появление и распространение онлайн-технологий способствовало углублению этих процессов, однако

изначально их использование на арабском языке было сопряжено с определенными трудностями, поскольку ввиду отсутствия общепринятых стандартов написания букв, а также из-за разницы диалектов в разных странах возникали проблемы с установкой соответствующего программного обеспечения. Но уже к 2011 г. значительная часть Интернет-ресурсов функционировали на варианте арабского языка, приближенном к литературному. Кроме того, определенная часть пользователей сети к этому времени владела английским языком, что открывало возможности обмена информацией в международном формате.

Отсюда вытекает такая характеристика виртуальной среди рассматриваемого региона как возраст ее пользователей. Действительно, как показали антирежимные выступления Арабской весны, костяк активных пользователей сети составляет образованная молодежь, обладающая достаточным запасом компьютерной грамотности и способная не только эффективно распространять информацию, но также и умело обходить запреты и цензуру со стороны правительства.

Еще одной значимой чертой современного Интернет-пространства в Арабском мире является его доступность для большей части населения. Стоит отметить, что в регионе Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки не распространено широкополосное фиксированное подключение к всемирной сети, однако в последние годы стали активно использоваться мобильные телефоны с возможностью выхода в Интернет и использования социальных сетей. Тем самым фактически была снята проблема доступа к Интернету в отдаленных от крупных городов населенных пунктах.

Итак, в качестве некоторых показательных характеристик формирования единого Интернет-пространства на Ближнем Востоке и в Северной Африке рассматриваются следующие: языковая составляющая, возраст пользователей всемирной сети, доступность подключения, а также роль различных форматов связи – в частности, мобильной.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-13

### Инциденты, связанные с применением насилия во время выборов в Африке

#### The Election-Related Violence Incidences in Africa

**Руководители / Conveners: F. Gözde Çolak**  
(Ankara University, Turkey),  
**Müge Dalar**  
(Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Turkey)

The transformation of social and political patterns of Africa is reflected in the democratization movements and elections. Unfortunately the elections in most African countries are characterized by instability, uncertainty and even violence. The election-related violence, which may occur before, during or after the elections is a direct result of economic and ethnic marginalization, land-related disputes, and the weak and ineffective civil society organizations in the political sphere of these countries. Needless to say, there are great differences across the 54 African countries. Some countries have seen little or no incidents of election-related violence, whereas some others have witnessed violent electoral contests for decades. There are even significant variations between different elections within same country, while some turning violent and some not. Throughout this panel we will propose to analyze the recent elections that were resulted with different levels of violence in a comparative way with references to the existing broad literature on democratization and election related violence. Election-related violence, in this panel, is regarded as a sub-category of political violence and distinguished primarily by looking to the timing and motivation of the violence. As well known, while the cultural perspective tries to explain the source of this kind of violence by pointing out the existence of a particular political culture; the structural perspective suggests that society and politics are organized in a manner that generates conflict. Apart from these perspectives, a historical approach, addresses directly to the structural questions in the African societies and politics, that is rooted in colonialism, regarding the social, political, economic and administrative dynamics of the countries. The violent events before, during and after the elections in these countries have lots of common in their social, economic and historical patterns while the course of events evolved in totally different ways. Thus, we will first examine the different level of violent incidents that took place before, during and after the elections. Then the transformation of these three states in terms of social equality and just representation will be compared.

Our main research question is that which factors do lead an election process into a violent atmosphere. In that regard, the participation into the social welfare, the political parties and their influence over the wealth and emerging civil society that create immense impact to politics are the main parameters of the comparison and analyze. As a result of this comparison we aim at making re-interpretation of main reasons behind the electoral violence by engaging with the existing literature and drawing some conclusions about the future of democracy in Africa.

**F. Gözde Çolak**  
**Ankara University**  
**Turkey**

Ф.Г. Чолак  
Университет Анкары, Турция

**A Comparison of the Election – Related Violence Incidences in Kenya,  
Tanzania and Ghana-I**  
**Сравнение случаев насилия, связанных с выборами, в Кении,  
Танзании и Гане – I**

The transformation of social and political patterns of Africa is reflected in the democratization movements and elections. Unfortunately the elections in most African countries are characterized by instability, uncertainty and even violence. The election-related violence, which may occur before, during or after the elections is a direct result of economic and ethnic marginalization, land-related disputes, and the weak and ineffective civil society organizations in the political sphere of these countries. Needless to say, there are great differences across the 54 African countries. Some countries have seen little or no incidents of election-related violence, whereas some others have witnessed violent electoral contests for decades. There are even significant variations between different elections within same country, while some turning violent and some not. Throughout this paper it will be analyzed the recent elections that were resulted with different levels of violence in Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana in a comparative way with references to the existing broad literature on democratization and election related violence.

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colonialism, regarding the social, political, economic and administrative dynamics of the countries.

The violent events before, during and after the elections in Ghana (2007), Tanzania (2010) and Kenya (2012) will be analyzed with their reasons to be held, the course of events and their results from an historical perspective. These three cases namely Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya are respectively the examples for a successful election without violence in Ghana; an election with middle scale violence in Tanzania and a direful violent election in Kenya. These countries have lots of common in their social, economic and historical patterns while the course of events evolved in totally different ways. Thus, we will first examine the different level of violent incidents that took place before, during and after the elections. Then the transformation of these three states in terms of social equality and just representation will be compared. Our main research question is that which factors do lead an election process into a violent atmosphere. In that regard, the participation into the social welfare, the political parties and their influence over the wealth and emerging civil society that create immense impact to politics are the main parameters of the comparison and analyze. As a result of this comparison we aim at making re-interpretation of main reasons behind the electoral violence by engaging with the existing literature and drawing some conclusions about the future of democracy in Africa.

**Müge DALAR**  
**Eskişehir Osmangazi University**

**Turkey**

М. Далар

Университет Эскишехир Османгази

Турция

### **A Comparision of the Election – Related Violence Incidences in Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana-II**

#### **Сравнение случаев насилия, связанных с выборами, в Кении, Танзании и Гане – II**

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**John Ishiyama**  
**University of North Texas**  
**USA**

Дж. Ишияма  
Университет Северного Техаса  
Дентон, США

### **Political Parties and Election Violence in Africa**

#### **Политические партии и связанное с выборами насилие в Африке**

The proposed panel “I–13. The Election-Related Violence Incidences in Africa” seeks to explain variations in the occurrence of election related violence in Africa by making reference to economic and ethnic marginalization, land-related disputes, and the weak and ineffective civil society organizations in the political sphere of African Countries. My paper seeks to analyze the relationship between political parties in electoral violence in Africa. On the one hand, established political parties have long be cited as integrative organizations that help build democracy and prevent social and political instability (see Apter 1973; Huntington 1978; Schattschneider 1942). Thus one would expect, from this perspective, that electoral violence is a product of weakly institutionalized political parties in Africa. On the other hand, more recent literature has suggested that political parties can act to overcome collective action problems and mobilize followers to violence (Ishiyama 2011; Horowitz 1985). This would suggest that the more established political parties are more likely to lead to electoral violence. In this paper I test these two contrary hypotheses using a unique data set on political party characteristics and the incidence and level of electoral violence among 54 sub Saharan African countries from 1960–2012. Several conclusions are offered.

**Charles Dube**  
**Great Zimbabwe University**  
**Masvingo, Zimbabwe**

Ч. Дубе  
Университет Большого Зимбабве  
Масвинго, Зимбабве

### **Zimbabwe’s Elections, Violence and Counter-Hegemonic Civil Society’s Response**

#### **Выборы в Зимбабве, насилие и антигегемонистский ответ гражданского общества**

Over the past twelve years, Zimbabwe’s national elections have been contentious and fraught with irregularities. The sources of contention include, *inter alia*, discrepancies with the voters’ roll, lack of timely

availability of the voters' roll, suspiciously high number of voters turned away from polling stations, suspiciously high number of assisted voters, bussing of people from outside constituencies to vote in constituencies where they are not registered, contested election timing and rules, failure to implement agreed reforms by the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC), systematic and intentional disenfranchisement of potential and registered voters, a biased election management body, manipulation of constituency boundaries, stuffing of ballots (Zimbabwe Europe Network 2012). Violence has become commonplace in the national elections, culminating in the disputed 2008 harmonized elections that led to the formation of the Inclusive Government (IG) between Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU (PF)) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations. Despite Zimbabwe having managed to hold periodic elections since 1980, the *will* of the people and the genuineness of these elections remains shrouded in controversy. Arguably, the elections have been neither secret nor universal, given reports of voters who are forced by some political party militia to feign illiteracy so they can be 'assisted' to vote, and failure by many citizens to register to vote. Against this background, a counter-hegemonic inclined civil society has frantically laboured to challenge the human rights and democratic footing in which Zimbabwe's elections have been held since 1980 when the country obtained her political independence from Britain. This paper explores the role that this counter-hegemonic civil society has played in alleviating violence in Zimbabwe's election process since the year 2000 and the backlash that such counter-hegemony encountered from the state and ZANU (PF), the party that dominated Zimbabwe's politics from 1980 to 2009.

**Ezeibe Christian Chukwuebuka**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**

Э.К. Чуквуебука  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

### **Ethnicity and Post Electoral Violence in Kenya**

#### **Этничность и постэлекторальное насилие в Кении**

This study, explores the nexus between ethnicity and post- electoral violence in Kenya. In order to achieve this objective, we attempted to answer the following question: did the politicization of ethnicity contribute to post-electoral violence that characterized the 2007 election in Kenya? We observed that previous literature have not satisfactorily articulated the politicization of ethnicity as the root cause of post-electoral violence especially in the 2007 general elections in Kenya. Our choice of theory for the study is relative deprivation theory. Relative deprivation refers to the

discontent people feel when they compare their positions to those of similarly situated and find that they have less than their peers. Direct observation was used for data collection and simple percentages, tables and logical induction was used in analysis. Our findings show that ethnicity was an important factor in explaining electoral choices during the 2007 general elections and post electoral violence in Kenya. The socio-economic and political challenges facing the government and people of Kenya cannot be addressed by public authorities alone who engage in unilateral decision making. The paper calls for cooperation between the government and all the ethnic groups in pursuit of sustainable and effective negotiated solutions.

**Aliyu Mukhtar Katsina**  
**International Islamic University**  
**Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia**

А. М. Кацина  
Международный исламский  
университет Малайзии, Куала-Лумпур

**Electoral Fraud and Violence in Defective Democracies: the 2011  
Presidential Election in Northern Nigeria**

**Обман на выборах и насилие в неполноценных демократиях:  
президентские выборы 2011 г. в Северной Нигерии**

Outbreak of violence at any stage of electoral contestations in defective democracies, especially in Africa, is not uncommon. There are several reasons that cause electoral violence in these type of democracies. One of the most widely accepted causes is the perception among the rival parties that they have been cheated, or among the electorates that they have been shortchanged of their votes by the ruling party alone or, as is so often happens, in cohorts with the electoral and security agencies of the country concerned. This view holds that, as a reaction to the perception of fraud in elections, occurrence of violence in defective democracies is a spontaneous rejection of the declared electoral outcomes by the electorates, or as an orchestrated attempt by disgruntled politicians to foment trouble within the polity. Proceeding from the view that Nigeria is a defective democracy, this paper investigates the 2011 presidential election and the violence that accompanied the announcement of its result in northern Nigeria. Using data drawn from multiple sources including interviews, focus groups, fieldwork, and archival materials, the paper specifically focus on examining how the perception that electoral fraud was committed by the ruling party in the 2011 presidential election fuelled the violence that engulfed many cities in northern Nigeria. Our findings show that the violence, contrary to the popular view in Nigeria, had no ethno-religious coloration but was rather a

spontaneous reaction to the perception that the outcome of the election was fraudulently manipulated by the electoral and security agencies to favor the ruling party.

**Isaac Olawale Albert**  
**University of Ibadan**  
**Nigeria**  
И.О. Альберт  
Университет Ибадана  
Нигерия

**Assessing Third Party Intervention in Africa's Election Disputes**  
**Оценка вмешательства третьей партии в избирательные споры**  
**в Африке**

More African states are now turning to electoral democracy for establishing both domestic and international legitimacy. However, an election season makes it possible for candidates and political parties to highlight the existing social differences in the society, tap deep vulnerabilities, mobilize extremist population to win support of the electorates. In the process of these mass mobilizations, destructive conflicts are catalyzed in Africa to the extent that people now fear election seasons. This was the experience in Zimbabwe (2007/2008 and 2013), Kenya (2007/2008 and 2013), Cote d'Ivoire (2010/2011), and Nigeria (2007/2011). This paper will assess the role of domestic and international agents in dealing with the disputes. At the domestic level, the intervention of the judiciary would be examined. The use of military force (international peace keeping) and the International Criminal Court by the international community will also be examined but in such a way that suggests that the best way out is for African states to reflect more on how to find internal solutions to their problems.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-14**

### **Социальные и политические последствия эпидемии СПИДа в Африке**

#### **The Social and Political Effects of AIDS in Africa**

**Руководители / Conveners: Dr. Daniel Jordan Smith**

**(Brown University, Providence, USA),**

**Dr. Bianca Dahl**

**(University of Toronto, Canada)**

Africa is disproportionately burdened by the global HIV and AIDS epidemic. A great deal of recent research has tried to understand the causes of the epidemic's rapid spread in Africa. Much scholarship has also contributed to developing policies and strategies that address prevention and treatment in ways that are suited to Africa's social realities. This panel extends beyond examining AIDS in Africa as a health crisis, to look instead at the wider social and political consequences of the epidemic. The premise of the panel is that AIDS in Africa is not only an epidemiological reality but also a significant social fact that has affected every aspect of life from governance and civil society to religion, kinship, intimacy, and the very experiences of personhood and subjectivity. The panel will be composed of social scientists who draw on their long-term ethnographic research across sub-Saharan Africa (Botswana, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda). The papers will demonstrate the ways in which the epidemic both represents and contributes to exacerbating many aspects of social change. Potential topics include exploring how the scale of donor interventions has led to new dimensions of governance, often in manifesting itself in the work of non-governmental organizations. In addition, both Christian and Muslim faiths have taken up issues around AIDS that speak as much to the changing practices of faith as to the health effects of the virus. While AIDS has reconfigured political and social landscapes in the wider spheres of governance, civil society, labor relations, and religious practice, the consequences of the epidemic also reach deeply in communities and families, as parents die, orphans must be cared for, and people living with HIV desire to marry and make their own families. The most intimate relationships of care-giving and emotional attachment, and even people's senses of self, are reshaped in the wake of AIDS' effects on everyday life. The papers in this panel will all attest to the importance of understanding the material, economic, and political dimensions of social life as they intersect with and are often reinforced by the more symbolic, moral, and emotional

aspects of human experience. While the papers will all extend beyond the health impact of AIDS to explore wider social and political effects, ultimately, as these presentations will show, these broader repercussions become part of the context in which behaviors relevant to preventing (or worsening) the epidemic take place. Many practices that appear irrational from a purely medical or public health point of view can be seen to have a discernible social logic, if these wider meanings and effects of the disease are properly studied, theorized and accounted for. AIDS-related policies and interventions can be much better conceived and more successfully implemented if the importance of the non-health impact of the epidemic is more fully understood and addressed.

**Gloria Adu-Kankam**  
**Sunyani Polytechnic**  
**Ghana**

Г. Аду-Канкам  
Политехнический университет Суньяни  
Гана

**Improving the Quality of Life of People Living with HIV/AIDS  
(PLWHA) in Ghana through Life Insurance Policies**  
**Повышение качества жизни людей, больных ВИЧ/СПИДОМ в  
Гане с помощью политики страхования жизни**

According to the 2012 UNAIDS report, sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana inclusive, remains the most affected region in the world and it is home to almost 69% of all people living with HIV. People living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) face not only medical problems but also economic and social problems associated with the disease. Research shows that life insurance policies have the ability to improve the overall quality of life of PLWHA. Although significant advances in the treatment of HIV/AIDS make it possible for people who are HIV-positive to obtain individual life insurance protection and most insurance companies claim they readily accept applications from people living with HIV (PLWHA), patronage of life policies by PLWHA has not been significant in Ghana. This study takes a look at availability, access and patronage of life policies by people living with HIV, using cross-sectional survey and qualitative data. The study concludes that stigmatization is a critical issue that affects patronage. In addition, many of the life insurance companies inadvertently and implicitly exclude PLWHA from certain life policies that could offer great benefits. The study suggests the need for adequate training and information and strong collaboration with healthcare providers to equip companies offering life insurance policies in order to enable them offer productive insurance packages for PLWHA.



**Nokuthula Hlabangane**  
**University of South Africa**  
Н. Хлабангане  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**The Politics and Poetics of HIV/AIDS Research and Knowledge  
Production in South Africa: A Case Study**  
**Политика и поэтика исследования ВИЧ/СПИДа и производство  
знания в Южной Африке**

Foucault posits that even as Western society is given to verbosity about sexuality, this is accompanied by an incessant will to ignorance about its political economy. The implication of this is that, in general, attention is focused on the micro-politics of sexuality – who does what, with whom, how often, how and why. Macro-analyses that seek to deconstruct the role and influence of bio-powers in how and why sexuality assumes the kind of aura that it does is neglected. Similarly, questions relating to how sexuality is influenced by politics and the economy remain largely hidden from analyses. Instead, discounting these factors has fed racist discourses on black sexuality and is a cause of deep-rooted and widespread prejudices. It is in the significant silences of the text, in its gaps and absences that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt. HIV/AIDS is not only a biological disease. Like all other epidemics it has social, political and economic dimensions. While race and gender are discussed, neither racism nor sexuality has yet been properly examined with regards to their place as fundamental underpinnings of South Africa’s scholarly conversations. Critically, South Africa’s epidemiological record demonstrates how the politics of race has always been inextricably linked to public health issues. HIV/AIDS is a story of metaphor in that it attaches itself to and invigorates discursive dichotomies of *self – not self*, *first world – third world*, *civilised – not civilised*. In other words, the subtext in AIDS literature plays into and reinforces pre-existing social divisions that HIV/AIDS has resurrected colonial discourses of an “African sexuality.” This paper will map how anthropological concepts that advanced an over-determined “culture thesis” cemented these divisions and will speak to how these has been built around a set of assumptions about the causes of the epidemic that misperceive and depoliticize the problem.

**Magdalena Chulek**  
**Adam Mickiewicz University of Poland**

М. Чулек  
Университет им. Адама Мицкевича  
Познань, Польша

**“The Complexity of My Identity Has Been Limited to Being  
HIV-positive” – Chosen Consequences of Living with HIV  
among the Inhabitants of Kibera (Kenya)**

**«Сложность моей идентичности была сведена к моей  
ВИЧ-позитивности»: отдельные следствия жизни с ВИЧ  
среди жителей Киберы (Кения)**

Kibera is the part of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, which is in popular discourse deemed one of the largest slums in the world. United Nations agencies estimate that anywhere from 16 to 50 percent of Kibera’s residents have HIV/AIDS. Yet despite the commonness of the problem, being HIV-positive is a source of stigmatisation in many spheres of life and often radically changes such a person’s relations with other people. Seropositive persons often hide their status in order to remain in the net of contacts in which they function, as they realize that being part of a group is of fundamental importance for their survival, e.g., for finding work. In my presentation I will describe how HIV-positive status influences such a person’s experience of personality and subjectivity. My observations indicate that ways of identification with this new situation are practices internalised in a particular manner which are not affected by descriptive actions. Thus, in order to present experiences connected with seropositive persons’ redefinition of their subjectivity, I have assumed that the narrations about living with HIV which I acquired from my respondents need to be juxtaposed with other behaviours related to the identification process. For this reason I will undertake an analysis of the process of transformation of previous ties generated by the fact of being HIV-positive. Examples which will serve as the object of my discussion come from narrative interviews as well as from my five-month observation of the life of Kibera inhabitants.

**Bianca Dahl**  
**University of Toronto**  
**Canada**  
Б. Дал  
Университет Торонто,  
Канада

**The Unexpected Rise in Social Stigma against HIV-Positive Children under Botswana's Successful Mother-to-Child Prevention Program**

**Неожиданный всплеск социального стигматизирования ВИЧ-позитивных детей в условиях успешной Программы предотвращения передачи ВИЧ/СПИДа от матери к ребенку в Ботсване**

Over the last decade, Botswana's Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission program effected a dramatic decrease in the number of children contracting HIV, prompting media in 2007 to announce the advent of an "AIDS-free generation." The public health canon asserts that prevention successes, paired with high quality medical care and longer life expectancies for those people who are HIV-positive, together diminish levels of HIV-related stigma. Yet contrary to public health claims, this paper presents longitudinal ethnographic research indicating that as Tswana children's susceptibility to HIV diminished at the population level, many children who *do* have HIV became even more marginalized. In response to public health claims of eradicating pediatric AIDS, many villagers began to insist that the children still living with HIV could only have contracted the virus "unnaturally," and that they therefore must have been victims of witchcraft or pedophilic rape. This paper argues that public health knowledge practices inadvertently fuel heightened anxieties about sick children and widespread immorality, with concrete effects on children's social lives. I trace the social response to biomedicine's success claims as they affect the lives of several HIV-positive children in one southeastern Tswana village, exploring how families navigate competing ethnomedical regimes.

**Marta Moreno,  
Margarida Gaspar de Matos,  
António Cabral  
Nova University of Lisbon  
Portugal**

М. Морено, М. Г. де Матуш, А. Кабрал  
Новый университет Лиссабона  
Португалия

### **Gender Matters in ARTV Patients: Differences between Men and Women in Maputo**

#### **Гендерные различия между ВИЧ-инфицированными мужчинами и женщинами в Мапуту**

The goal of this research was to deepen knowledge of gender differences in ARTV patients who live in Maputo, Mozambique, including differences in their family and health professional support relationships, in the reasons to test for HIV, to interrupt the treatment, in their fear to be recognized as HIV+. The sample consists of 602 ARTV patients living in Maputo between 21 and 56 years old. The results show that both men and women share their diagnosis as HIV+ with their families, that both talk with their partners about the HIV and that the majority of men and the majority of women choose the family as the primary support relationship. More men elected an activist as their support figure and more women choose friends and health professionals. Only women refer having no support relationship. Most men and women do the HIV test because they feel sick. This reason is more selected by men than women. There are more men doing the test because they were hospitalized or because their partner did it. More women than men do it because the partner was HIV+, their mistrust of partner, or because they were escorting a family member. Men interrupt the treatment more than women and they are more afraid of being identified as HIV+. Women have more difficulties in talking with health professionals and there are more women than men that have been already discriminated against as HIV+. As the social support to ARTV patients is an important factor of adherence promotion, the results reflect the need to develop educational policies in the context of gender differences as ARTV patients, gender discrimination, the families role as the priority support relationship for most, and the awareness of families, activists and health professionals as responsible elements on the health of the ARTV individuals.

**Gefra Gustavo Fulane**  
**ISCTE-Lisbon University Institute**  
**Portugal**  
Г.Г. Фулане  
Лиссабонский университет  
Португалия

**HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation: Plural Treatments and the  
Elasticity of Values of HIV-positive Women, Hospitals, Churches and  
Traditional Healers in Southern Mozambique**

**ВИЧ/СПИД и общественная трансформация: плюрализм методов  
лечения и эластичность ценностей ВИЧ-инфицированных женщин,  
больниц, церквей и традиционных целителей в Южном Мозамбике**

Mozambique has 23,700,715 inhabitants, 1,400,000 of which are living with HIV/AIDS and only 218,991 are in antiretroviral treatment. This study analyzes HIV-positive women looking for health care in the context of medical pluralism where hospitals, healers and Zion churches (Pentecostal) coexist, in a rural area of southern Mozambique. Results of ethnographic data gathered in Maluana in 2009 suggest that the HIV/AIDS treatment influences social change among people who live with the disease and the actors involved for its treatment. Despite the fact that official recommendations indicate that antiretroviral drugs acquired in hospitals are the optimal treatment for HIV/AIDS, the health seeking behaviors among women in the study involved, in addition, spiritual healing and traditional medicines. Although, according to the biomedical view, these combinations are risky, they have a social logic for HIV-positive women. While antiretroviral drugs are seen as useful to decrease virus replication, spiritual healing, traditional medicine, friendship and companionship – provided by healers and Zion churches – are indispensable for their organic, social and spiritual well-being. Thus, the scope of a medical system is not defined by a single type of health care provider; for these women the three systems provide different types of treatments, all perceived as necessary to address their situation.

**Clement Masakure**  
**University of the Free State**  
**South Africa**

К. Масакуре  
Университет Свободного государства  
Блумфонтейн, ЮАР

**Shuramatongo muZimbabwe: Towards a Social History of HIV/AIDS  
in Zimbabwe, 1985-2010**

***Shuramatongo muZimbabwe: к социальной истории ВИЧ/СПИДа  
в Зимбабве (1985-2010 гг.)***

An emaciated patient in a hospital with advanced tuberculosis hoping for a miracle; patients waiting calmly for more than an hour in a queue to collect their monthly prescriptions of antiretroviral drugs at a clinic in the high density suburb of Sakubva in eastern Zimbabwe town of Mutare; mourners at the ever busy cemetery in the capital of Harare burying a friend, a sister, a daughter and a cousin whose life was cut short at the age of thirty; a child-headed household in rural Matebeland, with the eldest being sixteen, taking care of siblings who are twelve and ten and with no hope of going back to school. The common thread weaving these unfortunate circumstances is HIV/AIDS, a pandemic that initially baffled many Zimbabweans. Puzzled by its intensity, locals referred it as *shuramatongo*, interpreted as “a disease that wipes out an entire race.” *Shuramatongo* destroyed families, ripped communities apart and had significant socio-economic ramifications on Zimbabwe. First reported in Zimbabwe in 1985, *shuramatongo* halved the average life expectancy of Zimbabweans from 61 in the 1980s to 33 by 2010. *Shuramatongo* left many orphans in the process increasing child headed households in Zimbabwe. HIV/AIDS exerted more pressure on hospitals in a country whose public health infrastructure was scrambling. In fact, its effects were felt on every strata of Zimbabwean society. Using the case of Zimbabwe, my study explores the socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on the southern African nation. I also examine how Zimbabweans coped with the epidemic in the wake of its devastating effects on many families. I intend to address two interrelated questions that frame my study: First, what was the socio-economic impact of the epidemic? Second, how did Zimbabweans struggle against, interpret, and cope with the threat posed by *shuramatongo*? An analysis of these questions not only allow us to examine government’s responses to the scourge, but also enables us to appreciate the various ways in which ordinary Zimbabweans coped and creatively adapted to the pandemic that almost wiped out a generation. The developments I trace contribute to the historiography of HIV/AIDS in Africa.

**Daniel Jordan Smith**  
**Brown University**  
**USA**

Д.Дж. Смит  
Университет Брауна  
Провиденс, США

### **AIDS, Morality, and Social Crisis in Nigeria**

#### **СПИД, мораль и общественный кризис в Нигерии**

With an adult HIV prevalence of just over 3 percent, AIDS is a major public health problem in Nigeria. While this reality shapes people's knowledge and behavior, much of what Nigerians believe about AIDS (and some of how they behave in response) reflects the ways that the epidemic stands for broader moral concerns about trends in contemporary social life. Many Nigerians share a perception that social inequalities are growing and that they are increasingly unmoored from morality. Based on long-term ethnographic research, this paper examines how social responses to AIDS build on complex relationships between inequality and morality. Specifically, the paper argues that during Nigeria's AIDS crisis, numerous longer-standing trajectories of social change have come to a head all at once, contributing to the same inequalities that are also implicated in the epidemic's spread (e.g., disparities related to gender, generation, class, etc.). Amidst the proliferation of rising inequalities, Nigerians commonly interpret these resulting social disparities in moral terms (e.g., as failures of sociality, proper kinship, genuine religiosity, accountable governance, and so on). Further, these moral interpretations in various ways hide, protect, and even strengthen the social underpinnings of inequality, but also sometimes challenge them. Understanding the moral dimensions of what people believe about AIDS in Nigeria explains many patterns of behavior that contribute to perpetuating the epidemic.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL I-15

**Перспективы междисциплинарного исследования современных социально-политических, экономических и культурных трансформаций в Африке**

**Transdisciplinary Perspectives to Contemporary African Socio-Political, Economic, and Cultural Transformation**

**Руководители / Conveners: Dr. Nnanna Onuoha Arukwe  
(University of Nigeria, Nsukka),  
Dr. Peter-Jazzy Ezeh  
(University of Nigeria, Nsukka)**

The 1950s and 1960s were the decades that witnessed the independence movement ferment that would ultimately usher in political independence for a preponderance of the African states. Immediately after political independence, what followed has been a struggle to develop the African continent in some transformative fashion. This struggle has over the years spurned its own fair share of controversies. So that there are the critical issues of plan implementation, corruption, over-bloated bureaucracy, the oil mono-economy, etc. Consequently, for over half a century, African society has grappled with the issue of the transformation of the continent into a highly evolved society in social, political and economic terms. Unfortunately, most of the strategies adopted to tackle this problem have either abysmally failed or at best fell short of meeting the apparent objectives to which they have been employed. This has made it ever imperative for scholars of Africa and African scholars to not only continuously appraise the trajectories of the chosen strategies for African socio-political and economic transformation but to always propose novel strategies to actualize the contemporary socio-political and economic transformation of Africa. However, for any strategy aimed at the socio-political, cultural, and economic transformation of Africa to be objectively possible and realistic, that strategy has to be at the same time transdisciplinary. As Africa, therefore, finds itself at the crossroads once again there is a need now more than ever before to interrogate the social, political, economic, and cultural development dynamics in contemporary Africa with a view to determine the best and most futuristic transformational perspectives towards an eventual African-generated solutions to most African developmental challenges, as well as broad-based strategies for future African progress and prosperity. The Panel welcomes contributions that examine the issue of socio-economic, cultural and political transformation of contemporary Africa in specific terms



of governance, cultural imperatives, economic planning, pragmatic social development strategies that are relevant to reality in Africa; the Chinese development model and what contemporary African leadership can borrow from it; what cultural revivals or changes does Africa need to embark on, and how, in order to position itself for global cultural leadership or cope with the onslaught of multiculturalism; or whether there could be an alternative model of development, being neither Eastern nor Western that could be entirely home grown for Africa to make Africa to emerge on the world stage and come into its own as a society that could conveniently solve all its problems of social, political, economic or cultural dimensions.

**Uchenna Okeja**  
**Goethe University Frankfurt**  
**Germany**  
У. Океджа  
Университет им. И.-В. Гёте  
Франкфурт-на-Майне, Германия

**Transformation as Progress: The Role of Critique Abstract**  
**Трансформация как прогресс: роль критики**

This paper pursues two aims. It seeks, on the one hand, to present societal transformation as progress. On the other hand, it re-states the role of critique in this endeavour. Drawing especially on the critical theory of the Frankfurt School as an intellectual tradition engaged in the task of conceptualizing societal transformations, the paper provides an analysis of the practice of critique in the quest for the changes that are deemed important for the progress of societies. In a bid to contextualize the discussion, the paper takes the practice of critique in Cameroon and Nigeria as a comparative representative paradigm of the African context of the discourse. The central argument of this paper is that there are two forms of critique, namely, teleological critique and non-teleological critique. The implication of the differences of the two forms of critique is that the praxis of critique will become impotent, should we conflate one form with the other in the quest for transformations that will lead to the desired progress of societies.

**Oseni Taiwo Afisi**  
**Lagos State University**  
**Lagos, Nigeria**  
О.Т. Афиси  
Университет штата Лагос  
Нигерия

**Liberal-Communitarian Politics in Africa:  
Towards a Critique of Utopia / Central Economic Planning in  
Contemporary African Politics**

**Либерально-коммунитарная политика в Африке:  
к критике утопии централизованного экономического  
планирования в современной африканской политике**

To identify with confidence some ways in which the politics of Africa could be improved depends not at all upon a vision of a utopia. With Karl Popper, I agree that utopian thinking muddles meaningful political reform rather than assisting it. Liberal reform is non-utopian. Liberalism opposes central economic planning (which indeed has been disastrous for Africa) and quite without reference to any utopia supplies terms in which to be aptly critical of the corruption by which many of the present day African states are riddled. Liberal reforms in Africa would institute market accountability there. That there is in Africa at present no operative “institution of market accountability” (Shearmur 1996: 118) means among other things that information that is crucial for considering ways to improve conditions in Africa does not collect and so remains unavailable to citizens, planners, and political decision-makers. Lack of accountability because of economic corruption is tantamount to a failure of intellectual openness. Liberals typically defend intellectual openness by focusing on the protection of individuals, such as, individuals’ right to information, right to self-expression and key interest in self-determination. This aspect of liberalism may be potentially harmful to Africa, where the ambient ethic to the extent that one functions is communitarian. I deny that liberalism is counter to a society’s upholding communitarian ideals. I argue for liberal-communitarianism, which emphasizes the values of community to individual self-determination. I argue that to fully institute liberal-market accountability in Africa would mitigate many of the chief harms to Africa and would produce many benefits. So with liberal-communitarianism, African politics can embrace liberalism but would not require that Africans sacrifice their communitarian spirit.

**Raffaele Urselli**  
**Università di Napoli**  
**Italy**

Р. Урселли  
Восточный университет Неаполя  
Италия

**The Construction of “Waste Political Space” in West Africa**  
**Конструирование «ненужного политического пространства»**  
**в Западной Африке**

The relationship between society and politics in Africa today seems to be summed up in the “failure” of the state, a state whose 'politique du ventre' has produced a “mode of Governance” hinged on corruption, clientelism and personal hoarding. In such ruinous relationship between state and society, fits the interference of the international financial institutions that have contributed to avert more and more state and society, through the imposition of the artifice of “good governance”, a political-economic discourse that is causing a process of de-politicization of African affairs by clearing the technocratic governance. The social sciences should try to analyze the complexity of this framework, identifying practices and conceptions, resistance and adaptation, continuity, rupture, transformations and transnational processes. In the light of these observations, in this paper I propose to analyze the issue of 'waste management' dwelling on the West African regional context, attempting to reconstruct the reasons for the 'failure' of public policies for waste management and finally proposing the possible alternative proposals. While during the years of the “Providence-State”, waste management was more or less efficient – considering the context and urban population different from the present –, today is a complete failure as a result of PAS and decentralization reforms. A first level of 'internal' and regional analysis could be supplemented by a second, which focuses on the transnational dimension of the waste trade and on the geopolitical role of West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal) in the International trajectories of waste trade, which are unilaterally “North-to-South”. Thanks to a transdisciplinary perspective that feeds on the political and economic contributions of anthropology, history, sociology and international relations, I propose to analyze some elements that contribute to the construction of what I call “waste political space”: – Regional normative framework: Bamako Convention on the ban on the Import into Africa and the Control of Transboundary Movement and Management of Hazardous Wastes within Africa, 1991; – International normative framework: The Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal, 1992; – International labour division of recovers and recycler, and

quest for legitimacy as occupational category (Nigeria case and landfill labor unions); – Formation of social groups born in or near landfills (Mbeumbeuss Landfill case, Dakar); – Increase in value, trade and profits for the “Rudological Capital”, composed by all the marketable residual materials as a source of profit; – Political and electoral uses of waste management; – Integration between “subjectivation of bodies” and “subjectivation of materiality”, garbage in this case, not only at the level of “representations” or 'symbolic' but also as a “praxeological” value; – Expanding informal sector.

**Tapan Biswal**  
**University of Delhi**  
**India**

Т. Бисвал  
Университет Дели  
Нью-Дели, Индия

**Locating Civil Society in Rekindling Democratic Upsurge in Africa**  
**Место гражданского общества в возрождении демократического**  
**подъема в Африке**

To locate civil society in Africa within the discourse on the relationship between state and society, between the private and the public is a difficult terrain. While scholarly discourses on civil society in Africa emerged in the 1990s and coincided with developments in the political sphere, associational life and organization outside the realm of the state has a longer history. Civil society in Africa demonstrates essentially the same characteristics as in most other societies; however, allowance must be made for demonstrable peculiarities of each society. Historically, the tendency to form association and corporations is very strong in heterogeneous African society. In Africa, the emergence of a modern social space that is distinct from the state and family or kinship groupings could be traced to the era of colonial rule. The colonial rule period coincided with a rapid spread of urbanization in the continent. Migration towards urban centers was accompanied by the emergence of voluntary associations that sought to meet demands of the new urban residents. The association of civil society with democracy, or at least the possibility of its achievement as a panacea, was common indeed across Africa in early 1990s. Civil society was not only a convenient nomenclature; it was also a platform for social mobilization. Everyone with one grievance or another against the state rallied in the name of civil society. Forces traditionally hostile to the state in individual countries and across the sub-region soon had a common umbrella: Civil Society Organisations (CSO). This paper endeavours to analyse the nature and peculiarities of African civil society. There should be a bottom-up approach where the civil society can

play a meaningful role as a catalyst in ushering a democratic order which can resolve socio-economic, political and cultural issues considering African developmental challenges.

**Nnanna Onuoha Arukwe,  
Samuel Chinedu Ejiofor,  
Francis Uwaezuoke Mbah**

**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**

Н.О. Арукве, С.Ч. Эджиофор, Ф.У. Мба  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

### **African Nationalism, Socio-Economic Development and the Envisaged Glorious African Future**

#### **Африканский национализм, социально-экономическое развитие и предвидимое славное будущее Африки**

In the wake of the European trans-Atlantic slave trade, African nationalism began first as reaction to the racism that had been engendered by the slave trade and subsequently as a strategy for the political, socio-economic and cultural transformation of Africa. Having its earliest noticeable forms as West African nationalism, African nationalism would go on to articulate and envisage a glorious African future based on socio-economic development – a vision that would regard Africa, Africans and members of the African Diaspora as a unit, seeking to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of oneness among peoples of the African world. The nationalist spirit did spur Africa to achieve some spectacular political as well as socio-economic and cultural gains. However, the seizure of the initiative that drove these spectacular achievements by the political elite from the intellectual elite in recent times in the African world has subverted the drive for a glorious African future and cast doubts about Africa's capability to achieve the future that African nationalism envisaged for Africa. This paper discusses the phenomenon of African nationalism as a strategy for contemporary African socio-economic and cultural transformation towards an envisaged glorious future for Africa. The paper argues based on contemporary historical data that the stultification of the vision and drive to a glorious Africa is traceable amongst others to the abandoning of the political space and therefore continental leadership by the African intellectual class to mere politicians, who characteristically do not perceive their personal interests as tied to those of the ordinary Africans, hence their apparent indiscipline and stupendous corruption. The paper further examines the prospects of socio-economic and cultural transformation in Africa given a commitment to a guiding ideology of African nationalism. The paper then discusses and makes recommendations on the processes to revive the dissipated drive to African socio-economic and cultural transformation; and the

African glorious future, singling out committed members of the African intellectual class as those to play the role of ‘Actor-theorizers’.

**Ngoddy Victoria Chinelo**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
Н.В. Чинело  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**Women Entrepreneurship as Strategy for African Socio-Economic,  
Political and Cultural Transformation: Insights from Nigeria**  
**Женское предпринимательство как стратегия  
социально-экономической, политической и культурной  
трансформации Африки: взгляд из Нигерии**

Women entrepreneurs play an increasingly important role in promoting economic growth and development. This is most crucial in Africa, which has been touted in many quarters as the next potentially largest emerging economy after China, and India. Women entrepreneurs contribute to economic growth and development via various ways, including: employment creation, alleviation of poverty, economic vitality, socio-political empowerment, financial sustainability, wealth creation, enhancement of standard of living, etc. However, entrepreneurial women in Africa face particular challenges that are of varying dimensions including: resources and property, credit, skills, markets, labour, infrastructure, technology, and policy among others. This paper discusses these issues. Using insights from situation in Nigeria the paper argues that the demonstrable capacity of women entrepreneurs in Africa to contribute to economic growth and development is a challenge to those in positions of authority in Africa to live up to their responsibilities to the renascent Africa and accelerate economic development by being committed to developing women entrepreneurial talents and micro and small industries for job creation and economic vitality. The paper further argues that women entrepreneurs, if well empowered, will definitely operate better than foreign investors in rural development even in the period of uncertainty. The paper holds the position that Africa’s hope of emerging on the world stage soon can become more realistic if properly-managed and continentally– implemented policy on women entrepreneurship is deployed as strategy for African socio-economic, political, and cultural transformation.

**Jude Okechukwu Chukwu**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
Дж.О. Чукву, У.С. Анадуака  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**South-South Alliance: China-Nigeria Business Relations in  
Contemporary World**

**Альянс Юг-Юг: китайско-нигерийские бизнес-связи в  
современном мире**

The ever widening China's business interest in Nigeria has led to concerns as to the long-term benefits of the collaborations with Nigeria besides her developmental objectives of achieving both her "Vision 20: 2020" goals and MDGs 1–8 by 2015. According to Egbula and Zheng (2011); between 2003 and 2009, Nigeria was a top destination for Chinese Foreign Direct Investment on the African continent, second only to South Africa. Its attractions are clear: vast energy reserves and a large domestic market of at least 150 million inhabitants with growing disposable incomes. Available statistics suggest that from less than USD 2 billion in 2000, trade between China and Nigeria has increased to about USD 18 billion a decade later. The puzzle is to whose benefit is the business relations given the supposedly asymmetric nature of trade and investments. Against this backdrop, using the dependency model as argued by Udeala (2010), the study investigates the impact of Chinese foreign direct investment and bilateral trade on Nigeria's economic growth between 2001 Q1 and 2013 Q4. The study employs an augmented aggregate production function growth model in line with Nabine (2009). The study tests whether causality exists amongst foreign direct investment, exports, imports and economic growth due to Chinese business relations with emerging Nigeria. The KPSS (1992) unit root test, the FIML Multivariate Johansen (1988, 1992) cointegration test and the Toda-Yamamoto (1995) augmented-Granger causality test were employed.

The empirical results seem to suggest that in the short-term China's bilateral trade does not contribute to Nigeria's economic growth, suggesting massive disequilibrium to China's advantage, while the long term interaction seems to facilitate economic growth in Nigeria. This suggests that Nigeria's policy priority should focus on ensuring that FDI inflows from China as well as trade relations with China have rewarding impacts on Nigeria's real per capita GDP and exports through huge trade openness and massive technology transfer from the South-South.

**John Koskey Chang'ach**  
**Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya**

Дж.К. Чанг'ач  
Университет Мои, Элдорет  
Кения

**The Centrality of Character and Integrity Education in  
Africa's Institutions of Higher Learning**

**Централизованность и интегративность образования в  
африканских вузах**

Education remains an important enterprise and asset by which any society models and determines its existence. It consists in a process of propagating desirable survival skills to succeeding generations. Through education, society sets and defines its basic survival needs. Thus, besides other components such as cognitive, creative and dialogical, the overriding significance of education can be summed up in its normative definitions. This is due to the fact that its impact is to be identified in the extent to which it affects and modifies one's behaviour in society. Based on this understanding, this paper focuses on the place of character and integrity education in institutions of learning. Its aim is to define, justify and affirm the importance of character as an irreplaceable component in holistic development of learners. Being a library-based study, its data is mainly obtained from internet sources and from discussions with educationists. A purely qualitative method was adopted so as to gain deeper understanding of the pertinent issues involved in character and integrity education. Thus, the principle methods used included critical analysis, speculative and dialectic methods of investigation. On the overall, the normative essence of education is critically discussed. Similarly, an exploration of various trends in character and integrity education has been made. Finally, the role of the teacher in character education of the learner is examined. The study concludes by making practical recommendations on possible ways and avenues through which character and integrity education can be enhanced in learning institutions.



**Okpara Chukwuemeka Vincent**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
О.Ч. Винсент  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

## **Role of African Arts and Cultures in Emerging Social and Economic Configurations**

### **Роль африканских искусств и культур в возникающих социальных и экономических конфигурациях**

As many economically developed nations of the world worry over the management of their technological achievements and its advancement; alongside their very volatile economic situations, many African nations still battle with social, political, economic and religious issues that are characterized by the tragedy of imposed leadership, corruption, sectorial underdevelopments, incessant industrial actions, youth restiveness among others. However, the recent emergence of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India China and South Africa) economies; which has attracted global attention and interest towards the economies of the BRICS nations, is gradually defining new African developmental frontiers. Africa and African Diaspora economy are also being repositioned towards these new emerging social and economic configurations. African arts and cultures which had formed the bedrock of her development can, therefore, not be relegated to the background as they have very significant roles to play within the new social and economic order. This paper presents African art and culture as dynamic frontier for a sustainable social, economic and political development. It gives an insight on how the understanding, appreciation and integration of Africa's different arts and cultural practices into the emerging new African economy can help promote peace and security, transform global understanding of Africans and African Diaspora, as well as create a stable society within the African continent.

**Jolly Orji Kalu**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
Дж.О. Калу  
Университет Нигерии, Нсуцца

**Deploying Private, Hybrid and Federated Cloud Computing Model  
for African Socio-Economic Transformation: An Imperative Agenda  
for Contemporary African Leadership**

**Развертывание частной, гибридной и федеративной модели  
облачных вычислений для социально-экономических  
преобразований в Африке: императив повестки дня современного  
африканского лидерства**

The study investigates how colonialism truncated and hindered industrial, technological and socio-economic transformation in Africa. It discusses how continual perpetuation of inherited colonial structures, which are usually ineffective and inefficient, has remained the primary source of setbacks in Africa's techno-socio-economic development in the post-colonial era with particular regard to ICT infrastructure. The paper further examines the strengths and weaknesses of ICT infrastructural models of some countries whose ICT infrastructures are advanced as well as presents a blueprint of a highly, structurally modified ICT model for Africa, taking into cognizance the strengths of the ICT models of some of these countries with advanced ICT infrastructures. The paper therefore recommends an urgent adoption by contemporary African leadership of this blueprint and quick deployment of a highly-secure, Afrocentric, multi-layered, multi-faceted, proactive, intelligence-driven and distributed network model of hybrid in Africa for African techno-socio-economic transformation.

**Hihubbi Adam**  
**Makerere University, Kampala**  
Х. Адам  
Университет Макерере  
Кампала, Уганда

**Peasants' Responses to Agricultural Commercialization in Uganda:  
One Peasants' Logic**

**Реакция крестьян на коммерциализацию сельского хозяйства в  
Уганде: логика одного крестьянина**

Since the late 1990s, the Uganda government has through the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), been actively supporting the commercialization of subsistence agriculture in the country. The goal has been to transform Uganda's rural peasants' farming which is still largely

subsistence into high productivity commercial farming. The motivation in this regard is government's reasoning that market-oriented household farming is an effective strategy for reducing rural household poverty. After ten years of implementing NAADS, a major evaluation was carried out in 2011 by the International Food Policy Research Institute, whose conclusion is that the evidence of whether the NAADS program adequately induced participants to establish new enterprises or to adopt technologies and improved practices more frequently than their non-participating counterparts seems patchy, with tenuous links to increased productivity and commercialization of agriculture. The underlying assumption is that participating in the NAADS program confers benefits via material inputs (seeds, livestock, fertilizers, etc) that will lead to subsequent outcomes. But this assumption is not consistently validated in the results obtained (Benin et al. 2011, p. 133). I seek to argue that peasants' response to NAADS suggests peasants' varied definitions of their preferred economic livelihoods with respect to agriculture. Peasants are exercising their agency to respond to NAADS in ways that reflect their conception of their livelihood strategies. But is their space in the political economy of neoliberal Uganda for alternative forms of "development", or should national development all be market-centered? The paper discusses this issue too.

**Okoye Darlynton Franklyn Chukwunonso**  
**University of Nigeria, Nsukka**  
О.Д.Ф. Чуквунонсо  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**African Identity and the Dignity of the African: Implications for Positive Socio-Economic and Political Transformation of Africa**

**Африканская идентичность и достоинство африканца: значение для позитивной социально-экономической и политической трансформации Африки**

Great works have been written over the decades, about the need for Africans to look inwards, rather than being subsumed under the yoke of inferiority complexes and the yet to be dismantled, anachronistic and unwelcomed miasma of foreign dependence for African growth. This paper will join the few but growing fields of works, that deal with the practicalities of African growth rather than theorems which, though seemingly valid, proffer and offer very little practicalities for the growth of Africa in general. Africa was the hub of ancient (and modern) civilizations. Along the way, the centuries of slavery, of maladministration, of corruption, of neo-colonialism and of course, of (mis)rule by the men on "horsebacks", fuelled the great decline in the areas of African culture, the decay of traditional African

institutions and the growing demise of most indigenous languages sacrificed in deference to western usages, “encouragement”, “help”, “sponsorship”, “stimulation”, “backing”, “backup”, or “support”. This paper therefore discusses the aforementioned, and attempts to proffer far reaching practical solutions to catalyze positive African socio-economic and political transformation to once again, restore the dignity of the African people.

**Asselin Charles**  
**Kwara State University**  
**Ilorin, Nigeria**  
А. Чарльз  
Университет штата Квара  
Илорин, Нигерия

### **Quo Vadis, Africa? Social and Political Development in the African Novel**

#### **Камо грядеши, Африка? Социальное и политическое развитие в африканском романе**

Keen observers of human behaviors and actions, and of the systems and institutions that shape and frame private existence and public life, novelists offer insights into social and political realities often more profound and nuanced than do scholars and scientists. Thus, in a more engaging way than could ethnologists, historians, sociologists or political scientists, from the colonial era through the liberation struggle, the suns of independence, to use Ahmadou Kourouma’s expression, and the decades of nation building to today’s uncertain existence in a globalized world, African novelists have preceded and accompanied their people in the collective quest of the appropriate paths to true political autonomy, social equality, economic progress, and cultural integrity for the nations of the continent. With characteristic intellectual vigor, ideological clarity, emotional engagement, and affective resonance, in a variety of styles, novelists such as Ayi Kwei Armah, Chinua Achebe, Ahmadou Kourouma, Ousmane Sembene, Mariama Ba, Tsitsi Dangarembga, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, have produced narratives in which they conduct a rigorous critique of their society, carry out an unsentimental *état des lieux*, diagnose its collective vices and virtues, and identify signposts for the creation of socially, politically, economically, and culturally progressive polities. In this paper I survey a number of representative works of narrative fiction from the current canon, reading in the selected texts the diagnoses of the impediments to progress in African societies, on the one hand, and the prescribed correctives and solutions, on the other hand. My reading of these works suggests that the African novel may well be the antidote to resilient Afropessimism in as much as it goes

beyond portraying society and lamenting existing realities to imagine possibilities. An African Renaissance, I conclude, will owe much to the novelists whose works contain constructive ideas regarding governance, citizenship, economic equality, women's rights, and cultural coherence, among many issues, that are well worth revisiting by the continent's progressive political elites, decision makers, and indeed ordinary Africans.

**Olga Bialostocka**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**

О. Бялостоцка  
Институт Африки ЮАР  
Претория

**Liberation Heritage Route: Using the Past to Build the Future**  
**Маршрут «Наследие освобождения»:**

**использование прошлого для построения будущего**

In 2009 a series of 13 sites within South Africa were submitted to UNESCO for World Heritage status. Linked together by a common narrative of the liberation struggle, the sites form the so-called Liberation Heritage Route, which aims at preserving the legacy of the country's long walk to freedom. The project represents South Africa's national chapter of a much broader programme, entitled "Roads to Independence in Africa: The African Liberation Heritage", coordinated by UNESCO. This multi-country initiative, supported by the African Union, involves at present seven representatives of the Southern African Development Community, including Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. Ultimately, the Route will also include Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Recognizing the need to preserve the memory of the resistance against foreign rule in Southern Africa, of the places, as well as the people who contributed to the struggle, the African Liberation Heritage programme entails gathering, recording and preserving this important heritage. Besides reservation and conservation of the vestiges of the past for future generations, the initiative is to contribute to the promotion of peace and integration on the African continent, to encourage dialogue and reconciliation, and to revitalize the history of African independence. The economic potential of the Route seems also very promising, given the commercial value of heritage – its ability to attract tourism and enterprise opportunities associated with the development of cultural industries. The paper discusses the symbolic meaning of the Liberation Heritage Route for South Africa and the continent and explores its potential in terms of socio-economic transformation. It contests the "forget the past and concentrate on the future" approach in favor of an attitude that sees in the past a resource that can be used to build a common future.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK II**

### **ОКРУЖАЮЩАЯ СРЕДА ENVIRONMENT**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL II-1**

#### **Экология и государственная политика в Африке Ecology and State Policy in Africa**

**Руководители: д.г.н. Владилен Иванович Гусаров,  
к.и.н. Ольга Борисовна Громова  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Conveners: Prof. Vladilen I. Gusarov, Dr. Olga B. Gromova  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В секции «Экология и государственная политика в Африке» предполагается рассмотреть широкий круг проблем, связанных с обострением социо-экологического кризиса на континенте.

На заседаниях секции предполагается рассмотреть меры, принимаемые африканскими правительствами по преодолению этого кризиса во многих сферах, в частности по локализации и предотвращению распространения как новых, так и традиционных заболеваний.

Большинство отдельно взятых африканских государств не в состоянии направлять в эти сферы необходимые финансовые средства. Поэтому они вынуждены обращаться за помощью и содействием к соседним странам, к развитым западным державам, к международным и межафриканским организациям. Эти темы также будут обсуждаться на заседаниях секции.

Результаты обсуждений позволят выявить новые тенденции в развитии социо-экологического кризиса и наметить некоторые пути их возможного преодоления.

It is supposed, that in the panel a wide range of problems connected with the aggravation of the socio-ecological crisis will be considered. During the panel – sittings it is also supposed to consider the measures of the African governments for the overcoming of this crisis in many fields, in particular in

the localization and the averting the new, as well as the traditional diseases. The majority of the African states each taken separately are not able to send the necessary financial means into these fields. Therefore they are compelled to apply for the help and the assistance to the neighboring countries, to the developed western powers, to the international and the inter-African organizations. These subjects would be also discussed on the panel-sittings. The results of the discussion would allow to discover the new trends in the development of the socio-ecological crisis and to mark some ways of their possible overcoming.

**Гусаров В.И.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Vladilen I. Gusarov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Обострение социоэкологического кризиса в Африке на рубеже столетий**  
**Exacerbation of Socio-Ecological Crisis in Africa at the Turn of the Centuries**

Экологические проблемы Африки, постоянно нараставшие по мере роста численности населения на континенте, к рубежу XX и XXI веков крайне обострились и превратились в перманентный социоэкологический кризис, поставивший под вопрос само существование многих африканских народов. Главной из этих проблем стал процесс обезлесения, начавшийся тысячелетия тому назад. Его наиболее тяжким последствием является постоянно прогрессирующее опустынивание, сопровождаемое засухами и эрозией почв. В ряде стран Тропической Африки процесс опустынивания приобрел характер катастрофы. Основной причиной его нарастания является антропогенный фактор. Превращение огромных территорий в пустыню оказывает резко отрицательное воздействие не только на социально-экономические процессы, но и на самого человека, а также вызывает серьезную угрозу сохранению биологического разнообразия, в частности в окружающих континент морях.

В современных условиях одним из наиболее негативных и тревожных направлений обострения социоэкологического кризиса является снижение обеспеченности Африки водой. 330 млн жителей стран южнее Сахары или почти половина их населения испытывает нехватку воды. В результате антропогенной деятельности загрязняются источники, ухудшается качество водных ресурсов. Основное беспокойство за судьбу будущего водоснабжения внушает исчерпание поверхностных и грунтовых водных ресурсов.

Одним из тяжелейших последствий обострения социоэкологического кризиса на рубеже столетий стал СПИД. Африка превратилась в глобальный эпицентр этого заболевания.

Правительства африканских стран и международные организации предпринимают определенные усилия для сохранения природного наследия и преодоления социоэкологического кризиса.

**Сухоруков В.**  
**РГПУ им. А.И. Герцена,**  
**Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
V. Sukhorukov  
Herzen Russian State  
Pedagogical University  
St. Petersburg

### **Африка: проблемы развития человека** **Africa: Problems of Human Development**

Глобальные процессы, развертывающиеся во всемирном масштабе, охватывают все стороны жизни людей в обществе. Они влияют на характер труда, досуга, потребления, расселения, культуру, быт, сознание и поведение человека. Эти изменения усиливаются в результате небывало быстрого распространения информации, знаний, ценностей, вкусов и представлений от одного общества к другому. Некоторые из ценностных атрибутов могут не восприниматься, другие – легко и быстро присваиваться. В результате возникают новые культурные явления, которые получили название *«современная цивилизация»* и *«современный образ жизни»*.

Изменения такого рода воздействуют на человека неоднозначно. Они имеют как позитивные, так и негативные аспекты. Поэтому развитие человека в современных условиях является самостоятельной и важной мировой проблемой. Её практическое значение отражается в понятии «человеческий фактор»\*. Содержание проблемы человеческого развития сейчас определяется социальными условиями, в которых находится общество. В индустриальных и постиндустриальных странах они будут иными, чем в аграрных и периферийных государствах. Тем временем имеются высшие коренные интересы человека, затрагивающие перспективы жизни людей на Земле. Они связаны с гуманистическими

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\* *Человеческий фактор* - термин, означающий роль, место и влияние человека как субъекта общественно-исторической и созидательной деятельности; в узком смысле – психологические и другие характеристики человека, его возможности и ограничения, определяемые в конкретных условиях практики.



принципами и целями развития, общечеловеческим взаимопониманием и сотрудничеством, демократией, законностью, социальной справедливостью.

В современной Африке проживает уже более 1 млрд человек, из которых свыше 40% – дети. Только чуть более половины из них имеют доступ к образованию. Многие рано начинают работать и при низком уровне образования не могут претендовать на высокооплачиваемые места. Поэтому ряды бедняков в Африке непрерывно пополняются. Огромную роль в жизни африканцев играют также древние и племенные обычаи.

В целом способность африканского населения к выживанию и расширенному воспроизводству представляет собой разновидность творческого «ответа» на особые условия континента. Данный опыт заслуживает всестороннего изучения и осмысления.

**Львова Э.С.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Eleonora S. Lvova  
Lomonosov Moscow State University  
Russia

### **Экология и традиции** **Ecology and Traditions**

Африканские страны, как и многие другие, страдают от нарушения природного баланса, который может привести к экологической катастрофе. Опустынивание, обезлесение, нехватка питьевой воды, падение плодородия почвы и т. п. характерны практически для всей Африки. Это вызывает озабоченность политиков и ученых. Решение видится в разных направлениях работы. Попытки остановить экологический кризис идут, с одной стороны, в поисках решений при применении новых технологий, с другой, – в осознании полезности многих традиционных подходов к использованию ресурсов природной среды. Уже есть успешные примеры, такие как высаживание засухоустойчивых и скрепляющих почву растений в областях опустынивания. Недаром министр лесного хозяйства Кении получила Нобелевскую премию в области экологии. Предлагается (и экономистами, и учеными, такими крупными, как Шейх Анта Диоп) искать новые источники энергии через строительство новых гидроэлектростанций, использование силы ветра, солнца, приливов и т.п.

С другой стороны, пришло осознание рациональности использования традиций в сохранении природного баланса и разумного природопользования. Многие антропологи (а теперь и политические деятели)

видят в использовании традиций для современного развития единственный выход из сложного положения. Вера в священные рощи и иные природные комплексы сохраняет леса от вырубки; старые пищевые табу регулируют потребление; обычное право у охотников-собирателей, земледельцев и скотоводов строго регламентирует природопользование и воспроизводство ресурсов; традиционные предпочтения тем или иным видам деятельности помогают проводить современное районирование экономики и т. д. Африканские ученые – участники Международного конгресса антропологов и этнографов (Кунминь, 2009) – подчеркивали, что без изучения и учета традиций невозможно выполнение таких решений ООН как «Устойчивое развитие» и т. п.

**Громова О.Б.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Olga B. Gromova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Политика африканских государств в области экологической безопасности**  
**The African States' Ecological Security Policy**

Катастрофическое ухудшение качества окружающей среды во все более жестких климатических и погодных условиях на континенте требует от африканских стран кардинальных мер по максимально возможному сдерживанию этого процесса, проведения эффективной экологической политики.

Страны Африки вносят посильный вклад в общемировую борьбу с неблагоприятным воздействием на человечество изменения климата.

Программа НЕПАД выступает за включение проблем климатических сдвигов и защиты окружающей среды в программы африканского развития, создания детальных национальных и региональных планов реагирования в случае природных катастроф, выработку долгосрочной стратегии адаптации к экологическим стрессам. Ряд государств в Африке принял такие национальные планы действий.

Принимаются и начинают реализовываться программы национального и местного значения по ограничению выбросов углекислого газа, снижению парникового эффекта, увеличению объемов получаемой за счет эксплуатации альтернативных – более экологически чистых возобновляемых – источников энергии, переходу к природосберегающим технологиям, а также по предотвращению процессов обезлесения и сведения тропических лесов.

Снизить неблагоприятный эффект изменения климата призвана реализация системы мер по адаптации экономики к новой климатической

и экологической ситуации (особенно сельского хозяйства и производства продуктов питания). Реальные долгосрочные прогнозы по устойчивости экстремальных природных явлений требуют от африканских государств разработки и принятия программ адаптации населения и новой для человека среде обитания.

Страны Африки выступают за проведение постоянного мониторинга состояния окружающей среды и выработку механизмов раннего предупреждения климатических рисков и природных катастроф.

**Гришина Н.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Nina V. Grishina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Проблема сохранности и воспроизводства африканских лесов The Problem of Preservation and Reproduction of African Forests** Среди

множества проблем Африканского континента, связанных с экологическим состоянием ряда его регионов, – сохранность и воспроизводство лесных массивов. Этот вопрос тем более актуален, что растительный, и особенно лесной покров во многих странах сокращается высокими темпами. Вырубка значительных лесных массивов, начавшаяся несколько столетий назад и активно продолжающаяся в наше время, привела к таким результатам, как обезлесение, увеличение площадей пустошей и неплодородных земель, обмеление рек и озер, сокращение количества и видов диких животных – жителей тропических лесов.

Серьезный ущерб африканским лесам наносят природные пожары и засухи, а также неконтролируемая вырубка деревьев и кустарников местным населением с целью обеспечения топливом собственных домохозяйств. Многие виды деревьев, ранее широко распространенных, оказались занесенными в Красную книгу вследствие активного браконьерства.

Изменения внешней среды, наблюдаемые учеными в последние десятилетия, в т. ч. парниковый эффект и угроза глобального потепления, заставляют глав африканских государств и соответствующих министерств принимать адекватные меры по спасению исчезающих природных богатств. В этой связи создаются различные национальные и межафриканские организации, деятельность которых трудно оценить однозначно: к работе по решению реальных природоохранных задач некоторых из них примешиваются элементы коррупции и недобросовестного использования частного и государственного финансирования.

**Фахрутдинова Н.З.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Nailya Z. Fakhrutdinova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Столкновения и конфликты за источники воды в Африке**  
**Clashes and Conflicts over Water Sources in Africa**

В условиях дефицита водных ресурсов, пригодных для жизни и деятельности африканцев, особенно когда источник водопользования пересекает границы двух и более стран, возникает неизбежное соперничество, которое может привести к острым конфликтным ситуациям и даже к войнам.

По мнению многих специалистов и политиков, борьба за справедливое распределение пресной воды в ближайшем будущем может стать одной из самых взрывоопасных проблем человечества.

В основе локальных конфликтов, например в Дарфуре, за последние 40–50 лет лежала преимущественно борьба за воду. Имеются серьезные предпосылки для развития кризиса из-за вод Нила и др. Сами конфликты зачастую приводят к еще большему дефициту воды (вынужденное обеспечение беженцев водой, загрязнение источников продуктами распада, распространение инфекционных заболеваний и т.д.).

Вместе с тем борьба за водные ресурсы может как воспламенять очаги конфликтов, так и вынуждать страны к сотрудничеству в сфере поиска альтернативных источников воды, а также учит их договариваться.

**Olugbenga, Ebenezer Olatunji**  
**Ekiti State University,**  
**Nigeria**

Э.О. Олугбенга  
Университет штата Экити  
Адо-Экити, Нигерия

**A Comparative Study of Public Policy and the Environment in**  
**Selected African States**

**Сравнительное исследование государственной политики и**  
**окружающей среды в отдельных африканских государствах**

This paper examines environmental policymaking and implementation in the African states of South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt, against the backdrop of environmental challenges currently facing the continent. Against the backdrop of experiences from these countries, it argues that, there is a variation in public response to environmental issues amongst African states,

particularly with respect to environmental policymaking and implementation. It notes that while a few countries in the continent are addressing environmental issues in concrete ways, others are yet to place this important issue on the front burner of public discourse. As a result, several of these countries are getting faced with the reality of environmental challenges for which they lack adequate responses in terms of strong institutional support and an alert, motivated and interested public. While noting the nexus between environmental sustainability and extracting the resource endowments of these countries for development, the paper argues that visionary environmental policy can be a potent weapon in pursuit of the developmental agenda of these countries. Using the comparative approach, the paper identifies some obstacles in the way of evolving sustainable public policy responses to environmental concerns in several African states. Among other options that can become open to African states in the immediate and near future, the paper recommends a continental commitment to the cause of the environment by using the instrumentality of the African Union (AU) for promoting this cause among African governments. This, it is believed, can boost the formation and encouragement of strong coalitions of environmental advocacy groups within the legislatures, the bureaucracies, the corporate world and civil society. This, it is believed, should help to galvanize social action in support of creating a positive atmosphere for environmental policy to thrive as a means of resolving environmental challenges that are facing the continent.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL II-2

### Политическая экономика и африканская окружающая среда Political Economy and the African Environment

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Madia Thomson  
(Philadelphia, USA)**

Environmental crises are a recurrent theme in African history. How and when they occur can vary greatly over space and time, with drought appearing in places once subjected to flood. The extent of the damage caused – or lack thereof – depended not only on the climate, but often on the actions of individuals and government. With this as its purpose, this panel examines the political economy of environmental crises in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Africa. It considers the nature of the crises -agricultural, epidemiological, etc- and the role of both collective and individual action in relief and recovery.

**João Afonso Baptista  
University of Hamburg  
Germany**

Ж.А. Баптиста  
Гамбургский университет  
Германия

### **Four Perspectives on Forests in Angola: Contradictions and Similarities Четыре взгляда на будущее лесов в Анголе: противоречия и сходства**

The production of knowledge about a given subject is often the result of patronage, power, time, and chance. It is, however, through particular forms of knowledge that we both understand and “make real” our living world. In this presentation, I intend to analyze four contemporary perspectives of forests and deforestation in Angola: that of local people, the government, the academic community and development professionals.

While each of these has a different genealogy, the academic and development specialists are conspicuously similar. Academics who specialize in problems of the environment often justify their knowledge of forests with the work of development professionals. Likewise, the latter often refer to the work of academics in their own work on forestry. In other words, academic centers operate as institutions of development to the same degree as development NGO’s act as centers of research. In Angola, the other two

perspectives, the local and governmental, are increasingly idiosyncratic in their configurations. I intend to discuss the implications and motivations that underlie the approaches in the production of knowledge about forests in Angola. The central question is not whether deforestation is increasing, but how the knowledge of deforestation determines expertise and *modus operandi*.

**Seamus Murphy**  
**University of London, UK**  
С. Мёрфи  
Лондонский университет  
Великобритания

**Fishery Policies and Livelihood Strategies in Malawi:  
The marginalisation of migrant fishers in Lake Chiwla**

**Политика в области рыболовства и стратегии жизнеобеспечения в  
Малави: маргинализация рыбаков-мигрантов на озере Чивла**

Fisheries play a major part in the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS). With institutional change at the core of national policy debates, non-governmental organizations (NGO's) interested in the sector have advocated more populist policies. Popular among policy reforms in the early 1990's, community-based-natural-resource-management (CBNRM) programmes were adopted in fisheries in several southern African countries. So-called participatory fisheries management programmes (PFMP) were initiated on Lakes Malombe, Chiuta, and Chilwa in Malawi (Hara, 1996; Njaya, 2002), on Lake Kariba in Zimbabwe and Zambia (Malasha, 2002), and in coastal areas of Mozambique and South Africa (Lopes et al, 1998; Sowman et al. 1998). Emerging in response to fish declines, interventions and subsequent discourses around the Chilwa fishery are part of a broader debate on institutional arrangements and governance reforms within the fishery and development sector of southern Africa. Yet, how their outcomes unfold in situations like Lake Chilwa's 2012 lake recession highlight the complexity of specific environments.

The Lake Chilwa Basin is a highly productive but variable ecological environment that supports a large number of livelihoods. However, due to its shallow depth, Lake Chilwa experiences phases of drying approximately every 15 years, the most recent of which occurred in October 2012. In response to these fluctuations in environmental conditions, resource-users developed a mobile livelihood system that constitutes a 'tri-economy' (Kalk et al., 1979). That is during ecological shifts between dry and wet periods, resource-users shift from fishing-related activities to pastoralism and cropping. However, since the implementation of participative fisheries management policies (PFM) in 1995, conflicts have appeared amongst

resource-users. PFM aims to incorporate ‘any local community organisation’ into the management of ‘fishing communities’. This has resulted in the development of powerful committees which are predominantly controlled by traditional leaders. In the context of Chilwa’s economy, where mobility between resources and ecological zones is key, PFM runs the risk of marginalising significant groups of migrants.

**Madia Thomson**  
**PA, Philadelphia**  
**USA**

М. Томсон  
Филадельфия, США

**“Have Some More!”: Famine and its Management in Morocco,  
1935-1956**  
**«Возьмите еще немного!» Голод и брѣба с ним в Марокко  
(1935-1956 гг.)**

Famines are part of human existence. Most theories about coping mechanisms and survival insist on their variability over space and time, to which one can add the historical processes of economic and political modernization. Morocco is a place where such things happened. Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it experienced any number of devastating environmental crises that led to famine and caused considerable destruction to life and property; morbidity and mortality rates increased or decreased depending on historical period.

Using both oral and written primary sources, this paper examines famine and its management in Morocco between 1935 and 1956. A period of great transition for both France and Morocco, the country experienced a series of droughts and subsequent famine at a time when Protectorate authorities were recruiting for the war effort and as the French hold on its African empire was weakening. Unlike in earlier periods when people simply died of starvation or famine-related disease, more people survived these crises because of basic improvements in both the public health care and food delivery systems. What once killed was now more treatable with food or medical care.



## **БЛОК / BLOCK III**

### **ИСТОРИЯ И ЭТНОЛОГИЯ HISTORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-1**

#### **История Африки: старые и новые подходы African History: Old and New Approaches**

**Руководитель: акад. Аполлон Борисович Давидсон  
(Высшая школа экономики, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Acad. Apollon B. Davidson  
(National Research University – Higher School of Economics,  
Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции Истории должны быть проанализированы новейшие подходы к изучению проблем истории Тропической и Южной Африки. Особое внимание будет уделено анализу представлений самих африканцев о прошлом их народов и стран. Намечено также обсуждение проблем истории взаимоотношений нашей страны со странами Африки.

An old and rich tradition of studying African History is undergoing serious changes in modern Russia. Despite decreasing number of professional scholars of African history and research centers, the interest to the past of African peoples is constantly growing. The growth of economic, political and other relations of Russia with African countries make the deepening of knowledge about different periods of African history and their reassessment quite necessary. At the panel we intend to discuss three major themes:

- Russian and Soviet historiography of Africa;
- African historiography abroad with special reference to African national historiographies;
- African history and the present day of the continent.

Colleagues from research centers in Russia and abroad are invited to take part in the panel's work.

Давидсон А.Б.  
ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ  
Apollon B. Davidson  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Понятие «африканистика» - перемены в трактовке  
The Notion of “African Studies”: Changes in the Interpretation**

1. Вплоть до распада колониальных империй понятие «африканистика» было связано в основном с языкознанием и этнологией. (Некоторые лингвисты и сейчас считают, что «африканистика» – это, прежде всего, сфера языкознания). Исторические исследования были связаны в основном с деятельностью «белого» человека в Африке.

2. Особняком шло возникновение африканистики в СССР. Зачилась советская африканистика в основном в Коминтерне (Коммунистическом Интернационале) на рубеже 1920-х и 1930-х годов и была связана с изучением революционных потенций африканских народов. Поэтому исследовались социально-экономические и политические перемены в Африке. Но при этом в СССР тогда же началось изучение языков Африки и ее истории.

3. С распадом колониальных империй и затем в понятие «африканистика» все больше входят исследования исторические, литературоведческие, экономические, социально-политические и других научных направлений – как и при изучении народов других континентов.

3. Вплоть до распада колониальных империй понятие «африканистика» было связано с исследованиями ученых неафриканского происхождения.

5. После распада колониальных империй все большую роль в изучении прошлого и настоящего Африки занимают ученые-африканцы. В их среде появляется и мнение, что понятие «африканистика», возникшее в Европе, связано не с исследователями-африканцами, а с неафриканцами (как понятие «русистика» нередко трактуется как изучение России извне).

**Marina Tolmacheva**  
**American University of Kuwait**  
**Washington State University, USA**  
М. Толмачёва  
Американский университет Кувейта,  
Кувейт

**Whither African Studies? Recent Trends in United States  
African Studies and Africanist Publishing**

**Куда идет африканистика? Недавние тенденции в исследованиях  
и публикациях по Африке в Соединенных Штатах**

This paper proposes to look at the current trends in African Studies in the context of the global academic enterprise and from the particular perspective of the United States academe. In the discipline of History, the development of the field of World History has brought the Africanist perspective closer to the other area studies and subdisciplines of history. In the meantime, the study of African languages and contemporary culture has been undergoing structural changes that have little to do with academic linguistics or theoretical anthropology. In particular, two phenomena that are non-academic in origin have made themselves felt in African studies more than almost any other field of world or regional studies. One is the recent growth of US military support for the study of African languages, which has paradoxically decreased federal support for the existing academic programs in this field. The other factor is the series of ongoing, and dramatic, changes in the world of publishing. These changes inevitably impact academic publishing in general and presents specific problems in the field of Africanist publications. The paper looks at how these phenomena and the resulting challenges and problems are articulated and addressed by Africanist scholars through the main scholarly association of the profession, African Studies Association. Specific case studies are drawn from the recent developments at the federally-supported African Studies Centers located at leading American universities.

**Egodi Uchendu**  
**University of Nigeria**

Э. Ученду  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**Methodology and the Study of Islam in Eastern Nigeria**  
**Методология и изучение ислама в Восточной Нигерии**

Eastern Nigeria, comprising nine southern states that formerly made up the old Eastern Region, is Nigeria's Christian dominated area. This identity,

it would appear, is being challenged by the emergence in recent decades of pockets of Muslim communities and the rise of indigenous Muslims. The first of these were in Igboland, which accounted for three-quarters of the landmass and population of the study area. Then, more recently, among the remaining ethnic communities of this region, located in the southernmost tip of the country, i.e. the eastern Niger Delta area, which occupy the remaining one-quarter of the landmass and population of Eastern Nigeria. Although the population of indigenous Muslims of this region have not yet grown to challenge the Christian-dominated identity of the study area, they are, however, significant enough to warrant scholarly attention and in-depth studies. This study of Islam in Eastern Nigeria, which commenced a decade ago, has expanded our knowledge of the spread of Islam in general West Africa, but particularly in Nigeria, especially in the last one century. Among the highlights of the study is the information on the peculiarities of religious proselytization; the politics of conversion from one religious community to the other; what meanings individuals give to religion and how they adapt it for their good. In addition, is the question of methodology: what research approach(es) best suits a historical study of Islam? The proposed paper for this conference will look at this second issue. The paper tentatively argues for a broader, multi-disciplinary approach as this allows the unearthing of a broad spectrum of outcomes (answers, findings) than what the traditional historical methods still very current in Nigerian, and perhaps other African, Universities allows. It shows how a combination of approaches has lately benefitted the study of Islam in this region.

**Samaila Suleiman**  
**University of Cape Town**  
**South Africa**

С. Сулейман  
Университет Кейптауна, ЮАР

**The Nigerian History Machine and the visions of Middle Belt  
in Post-colonial Historical Production**  
**Нигерийская машина истории и представления о Среднем поясе  
в постколониальной Нигерии**

While existing studies on African national historiographies cover well-known historians, major historical writings and prominent historical ideas, there is little exploration of the processes, conditions and technologies through which histories are produced. The power of historical production is shared, albeit disproportionately, among different institutions and sites of historical and cultural pedagogy such as history departments, archives and museums. This paper sees such institutional linkages and ruptures as a kind

of “History machine” – but it is not robotic or a centrally run machine. It functions as a social technology, which defines the discursive limits of the nation and produces the intellectual energy essential for cultural legitimation. The institutional network among these sites of historical production is governed by what M. Cross describes as “a family of ideas, a unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective, which provide the members (of the historical industry) with a mentality, a genealogy, an atmosphere, which allow them to deal with and to see historical phenomena in a particular way”. Operating as a gigantic discursive machine (sponsored and monitored, though not necessarily controlled by the Nigerian government), they produce various symbols, meanings, and interpretations of the Nigerian pasts toward a common social purpose, i.e. nation building. Paradoxically, however, the practice of collecting, organising, classifying, naming and appropriating discrete cultural symbols activates, as much it silences, voices of subaltern groups in a country where endemic identity contestations prevail. Each site of production strives, ostensibly, to forge a national identity while retaining, through an act of omission or commission, the distinctive features of the cultural symbols of each constituent ethnic group as they go through the history machine. Using case of the Middle Belt, this paper explores the technologies for the production of histories and silences in post-colonial Nigeria within the context of historical, archival and museum practices. It seeks to demonstrate how the inherent epistemological linkages and ambivalence across the real institutions of history profoundly shapes the contours and direction of Nigerian historical discourse.

**Kofi Takyi Asante**  
**Northwestern University**  
**USA**

К.Т. Асанте  
Северо-западный Университет  
Эванстон, США

**Colluding Nationalism’ versus “Conflictual nationalism”:  
Gold Coast Merchants and the Making of the Colonial State, 1850-1950**  
**«Договорной национализм» против «конфликтного национализ-**  
**ма»: торговцы Золотого Берега и формирование колониального**  
**государства (1850-е – 1950-е гг.)**

In contrast to widespread notions of colonial legacy that ascribe primacy to colonial agents, I argue in this paper that African merchants helped shape the emergent state and market structures in the Gold Coast (later Ghana). To make this argument, I question concepts of nationalism that exclusively focus on its conflictual, anti-colonialist dimension. In the Gold Coast, early

nationalists, who were western educated and Christians, held firmly to European notions of progressive development, and formed an integral part of the colonial administration in the incipient stages of the colonial regime. This close relation turned frosty towards the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the structures of colonial administration started getting entrenched. I argue that instead of a one-dimensional emphasis on nationalist resistance, a focus on strategies of *both* collaboration/cooperation and conflict is important to delineate the crucial roles that these Gold Coast merchant elites played in the formation of the structures of the modern state in the colony. This research focuses on the varied alliances which these elites forged, and the tensions inherent in such all-encompassing alliances. It also focuses on acts of advocacy as well as activism that they carried out through the media of newspaper publishing, petition writing, and as representatives on the colonial legislative councils.

**Щербаков Н.Г.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Nikolay G. Shcherbakov  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Несостоявшийся прецедент (современные интерпретации  
Гражданской войны в Нигерии в 1967-1970 гг.)**

**A Missed Precedent**

**(Contemporary Interpretations of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970)**

Среди наиболее жестоких конфликтов современной истории на Африканском континенте особенное место принадлежит Гражданской войне в Федеративной республике Нигерия в 1967–1970 гг.

В отечественной африканистике на протяжении долгого времени причины зарождения внутреннего нигерийского конфликта и подробности этой кровопролитной войны в основном изучались как пример реализации политики неокOLONИализма. Важно отметить, что поначалу даже назвать этот конфликт Гражданской войной у советских африканистов не получалось. Спустя двадцать лет после начала войны ее по-прежнему называли «междоусобной», развязанной сепаратистами против федерального правительства. Потребовалось еще почти четверть века, чтобы в последнем издании энциклопедии «Африка» (2010 г.) появилось определение этого конфликта как «гражданская война». Стало возможным указать, пусть и без объяснения причин, число жертв – ранее говорилось о «тяжелом ущербе», что позволяло трактовать потери как чисто материальные. Серьезные изменения в оценках, с учетом произошедших глубоких политико-идеологических перемен в отече-

ственной системе общественно-политических наук, выглядят вполне естественными. В то же время природа конфликта и его последствия заслуживают более пристального рассмотрения. Совокупность характеристик позволяет считать нигерийский внутренний конфликт важным прецедентом в процессе формирования международно-правового подхода к проблемам самоопределения народов и сохранения территориальной целостности государств.

Таким образом, изначальный конфликт, заложенный в идеологии применения данных важных принципов, часто используемых в международно-правовой практике и национальных законодательствах, может быть изучен на примере истории гражданской войны в Нигерии 1967–1970 гг.

**Пондопуло А.Г.**  
**Париж, Франция**  
Anna G. Pondopulo  
Paris, France

**Возврат к прошлому: Переосмысление истории в условиях этнических конфликтов в современной Западной Африке**  
**Return to the Past: Rethinking History in the Conditions of Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary West Africa**

История, живая память о прошлом живет активным образом в повседневной жизни сегодняшних африканских обществ. Можно сказать, что история является настоящим и переживается как настоящее. Неспособность к забвению, нежелание забвения и невозможность забвения отличает общественные дебаты во многих африканских странах. Легенды и предания о миграциях и предках, борьба за утверждение на национальном уровне письменного языка и культуры, подчеркивание особенностей развития и возвращение к трагическим моментам недавней и более давней истории наполняют этническую память. Она оживает в момент важных общенациональных событий: выборов, административных и территориальных реформ, перестановок в правительстве ...

Как создать общую национальную историю обращаясь к памяти о прошлом каждого народа, каждого исторического субъекта государства-нации ? Тем более, в условиях, когда болезненные события недавнего прошлого не подлежат обсуждению на общенациональном уровне. В сообщении пойдет речь о том, как, на основе каких событий и каким образом активизируется этническая память, как она противостоит национальной истории или наоборот сочетается с ней. В центре внимания находится общества футболь Гвинеи и Мавритании, а также диаспора футболь.

**Евсеев В.И.**  
**Кировская государственная**  
**медицинская академия, Киров, РФ**  
Vladimir I. Evseenko  
Kirov State Medical Academy, Russia

**Этнический фактор в политической жизни Гвинеи  
в прошлом и настоящем**  
**The Factor of Ethnicity in Political Life of Guinea  
in the Past and Nowadays**

В традиционном обществе на политические амбиции лидеров обычно накладывалось их этническое происхождение, определяющее семейно-родственные и земляческие пристрастия в виде nepoтoнизма. Голландский африканист из Лейденского университета К. Легум писал в 1970 г. по этому поводу: «Современный африканец может быть радикальным националистом, даже марксистом, может обладать докторской степенью, полученной в Гарварде или Сорбонне, и всё же считать себя игбо, йоруба, моси, фанг или кикуйю»<sup>1</sup>.

Основатель Гвинейского государства и лидер Первой республики А. Секу Туре – малинке по этническому происхождению – неоднократно обвинялся французскими исследователями в проведении политики «малинкеизации» кадров и в узурпации власти семейным кланом, когда из 15-ти членов правительства 11 приходились ему близкими родственниками. Он вошёл в историю и как главный угнетатель самой многочисленной народности страны фульбе (фула, пель) после подавления в 1976 г. так называемого «заговора пель» в составе руководящих работников.

Таких же претензий со стороны зарубежных обществоведов удостоился и представитель народности сусу президент Второй Гвинейской республики генерал Лансана Конте. Ему была приписана «сусуизация» органов государственной власти в 1985 г. после ареста бывшего премьер-министра из малинке полковника Диара Троаоре и в 2005–2006 гг. после отставки высокопоставленных представителей фульбе главнокомандующего армии генерала Баило Диалло и премьер-министра Мамаду Селлу Дален Диалло.

Слова и дела избранного президентом страны в 2010 г. доктора права из Сорбонского университета малинке Альфа Конде вселяют надежду на решение этнических конфликтов в правовом поле. В инаугурационной речи он сообщил о намерении стать «Манделой Гвинеи», открыть «новую эру» национального объединения, примирения и диалога между сообществами.

В интервью журналу «Жён Африк» 24 июня 2013 г. новый глава государства ещё раз подтвердил, что он не придерживается «политики



этнической преференции», но просил не требовать превращения Гвинеи, с её накопившимися за десятилетия отсталости порицаемыми привычками и злоупотреблениями, в Данию за три года<sup>1</sup>. За пристрастие к европейским демократическим ценностям народная молва уже окрестила реформатора «белым человеком». В их реализации на гвинейской земле ему будет помогать партийная коалиция «Радуга» (Arc-en-ciel).

**Попова Д.В.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Daria V. Popova  
St. Petersburg, Russia

**Взаимоотношения Советского Союза/Российской Федерации и  
Гвинейской Республики**  
**The Relations between the USSR/Russian Federation and the  
Republic of Guinea**

Одним из самых малоизученных аспектов исторического наследия Советского Союза являются взаимоотношения Советского Союза и стран Тропической Африки, начало которым было положено с установлением дипломатических отношений СССР со многими африканскими странами, получившими независимость во второй половине XX века. При этом тема актуальна также и с практической точки зрения в силу того, что выстраивание нового этапа российско-африканских отношений требует, соответственно, новых программы, стратегии, видения предполагаемого сотрудничества.

К началу Первой мировой войны африканский континент был поделен между такими крупнейшими державами, как Франция и Великобритания, модели колониального управления которых отличались, что оказало влияние на особенности развития африканских стран, находившихся под их контролем, на процесс получения этими странами независимости, а также на их дальнейшую политическую и социально-экономическую ориентацию. Первой из бывших французских колоний получила независимость Гвинейская Республика. При определении пути дальнейшего развития первый президент Гвинеи Ахмед Секу Туре провозгласил ориентацию на социалистический, «антиимпериалистический» путь развития, и страна получила существенную экономическую, техническую и политическую поддержку со стороны СССР. Взаимоотношения Советского Союза и Гвинейской Республики развивались в различных сферах, и их развитие осуществлялось благодаря деятельности и взаимным визитам представителей различных профессиональных и социальных групп советского и гвинейского народов. Это наследие неоднозначно, но именно этот опыт взаимоотношений служит основа-

нием для развития и укрепления нового уровня партнерства России и Гвинеи на современном этапе.

При этом, с одной стороны, отношения современной России со странами Африки по насыщенности далеки от того, какими они были в советский период российской истории. С другой стороны, их проблематизация может способствовать решению вопроса о самоопределении России в современном мире.

**Шипилов А.Ю.**

**НИУ ВШЭ. Москва, РФ**

Alexander Yu. Shipilov

Higher School of Economics

Moscow, Russia

### **История Берега Слоновой Кости 1945-1983 гг.**

**в интерпретации Л. Гбагбо**

### **The History of Côte d'Ivoire in 1945-1983 in the**

**Interpretation of Laurent Gbagbo**

Laurent Gbagbo, a prominent Ivorian historian and politician, has largely shaped the perception of the country's post-independence development among his partisans and a broader scope of African anticolonialist intellectuals. Gbagbo's appraisal of this era differs from that of Houphouët's regime and many French authors, questioning the achievements of this period.

Gbagbo describes the Ivory Coast's postcolonial economy as lopsided, unstable and unfit to improve the majority's living standards. Agricultural export orientation has introduced an immense dependence on global market conditions, narrowed development prospects and ultimately made the country a supplier of raw materials to advanced industrial economies. Broad preferences to the French capital have limited the competition in the field of foreign investments and fostered unequal external trade relations.

Turning to internal politics, Gbagbo highlights the gradual establishment of authoritarian regime. Houphouët-Boigny's Democratic Party was able to eliminate other internal political forces and formed a strong bond with former colonizers. Personal rule and political terror have created ideal conditions for France's economic exploitation of the country along with other Ivorian economic and social problems, Gbagbo states.

He also believes country's foreign policy to have undermined nation's self-sufficiency in trade and defense fields. He calls it contradictory to consolidated stance of most African states. Same applies to country's relations with socialist states, making it a French and American cold war satellite.

Thus, Gbagbo aims to debunk views of the postcolonial Ivory Coast as a showcase of French neocolonialism in West Africa. Besides, this Ivorian historian and politician introduces another example of the former colonial powers' malicious influence on African states. Combined with his political actions, these views largely constitute the anti-French and generally anti-colonial discourse both inside and outside Cote d'Ivoire.

**Мазов С.В.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Sergey V. Mazov  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

### **Роль СССР в Конголезском кризисе, 1960–1964** **The Role of the USSR in the Congo Crisis, 1960–1964**

В условиях деколонизации Африканского континента Конго превратилось в арену соперничества за влияние противников по холодной войне, стало ее первой горячей точкой в Африке южнее Сахары. Схватка за Конго богата событиями, которые «потрясли мир». Беспорядки и антибелые погромы, охватившие страну через неделю после провозглашения независимости и ввод войск ООН (июль 1960). Убийство премьер-министра Патриса Лумумбы, одного из символов независимой Африки (1961). Драматическая, полная неожиданных поворотов трехлетняя борьба за возвращение в состав Конго отделившейся Катанги (1960–1963), стоившая жизни Генеральному секретарю ООН Дагу Хаммаршельду. Мощное восстание сторонников Лумумбы (восстание симба) (1964), которое удалось подавить только при помощи внешней военной интервенции, что повлекло гибель десятков белых заложников. Операция ООН по поддержанию мира в Конго стала одной из наиболее масштабных и сложных для «голубых касок». Для поиска путей выхода из кризиса были задействованы все институты и механизмы ООН.

На основе документов из архивов России, Великобритании и США исследована роль Советского Союза в конголезском кризисе, его мотивы, намерения и действия в контексте поведения других игроков, иностранных и конголезских. Автор доказывает, что конголезская политика СССР была «искусством возможного». В августе 1960 он поставил правительству Лумумбы гражданские самолеты и грузовики, которые федеральные войска использовали в боевых действиях против режима Моиза Чомбе, провозгласившего «независимость» богатейшей конголезской провинции Катанги. Это способствовало обострению кризиса. С помощью войск ООН и прозападных сил внутри Конго Лумумба был отстранен от власти, советское посольство было выслано из Конго. Со-

ветское руководство в дальнейшем избегало шагов, которые могли бы привести к эскалации конфронтации с западными державами в Конго. Там у СССР не было ни ресурсов, ни надежных союзников, чтобы действовать как на Кубе во время Карибского кризиса.

**Кривушин И.В.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Ivan V. Krivushin  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Модели интерпретации руандийского геноцида 1994 г.:**  
**критический взгляд**  
**Interpretation Models of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide:**  
**A Critical Appraisal**

В истории изучения геноцида в Руанде 1994 г. доминируют две модели его объяснения. Наиболее распространенная в англо-американской историографии модель предполагает, что геноцид являлся результатом последовательной реализации плана, разработанного группой экстремистов в руандийском политическом руководстве, и был организован Временным правительством, местными властями, армейским командованием и националистическими партиями «Национальное республиканское движение за демократию и развитие» и «Коалиция защиты республики», чьи молодежные милиции сыграли роль главной ударной силы резни. В рамках этой модели убийство президента Хабьяриманы рассматривается как дело рук экстремистов хуту, которые использовали его как повод для «запуска» геноцида. Другая модель, принятая на вооружение еще пропагандой руандийского режима в апреле-июле 1994 г., типична для «ревизионистского» подхода, довольно популярного во французской историографии. Ее сторонники доказывают, что убийства тутси, масштаб которых, по их мнению, был многократно преувеличен, были стихийной реакцией простых хуту на гибель президента, в то время как власти не только не организовывали и не направляли их, но всячески пытались успокоить «народную ярость» и восстановить порядок. В рамках этой модели вина за убийство Хабьяриманы, как правило, возлагается на РПФ, который тем самым будто бы намеренно спровоцировал резню тутси, чтобы получить предлог и иметь оправдание для возобновления гражданской войны и захвата власти.

Анализ источников, однако, показывает, что обе эти модели весьма уязвимы и не подтверждаются фактами. Реальная картина геноцида является слишком сложной и неоднозначной, чтобы ее можно было интерпретировать с точки зрения упрощенных схем и подходов. В ру-

андийском геноциде были неразрывно переплетены стихийное и организованное начала, и они играли различную роль на разных его этапах. Что же касается вопроса о виновниках убийства президента Хабьяриманы, то он не может иметь принципиального значения при анализе природы геноцида 1994 г.

**Манирагена Валенс**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Valence Maniragena  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

**ООН и Руанда: Плюсы и минусы сотрудничества**  
**The UN and Rwanda: Pluses and Minuses of Cooperation**

История независимой Руанды тесно связана с ООН. В критические моменты своего развития, Руанда прибегала к помощи ООН для решения острых вопросов. В докладе рассматриваются действия ООН (а до нее и Сообщества наций) и приводится оценка этих действий. Оценка роли действий ООН в событиях, имевших место в Руанде в разные периоды варьирует от отрицательной до положительной. В докладе делаются попытки определить причины успехов и неудач ООН в своей деятельности в Руанде.

ООН сопровождала Руанду в периоде перехода от монархии к республиканской форме развития и приобретения независимости. Независимая Руанда столкнулась с проблемой беженцев и прибегала и по сей день прибегает к услугам различных агентств ООН для облегчения участи последних. Во время войны в Руанде (октябрь 1990 – июль 1994 гг.), ООН поддержала проведение и подписание соглашений Аруши. Какая роль сил ООН для Руанды в том, что соглашения Аруши исполнялись? Какая роль самих участников этих соглашений? Созданный ООН Международный трибунал по Руанде в 1994 году способствовал достижению согласия в Руанде или нет?

**Цыпкин Г.В.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Georgy V. Tsyppkin  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Эфиопия и Октябрьская революция в России**  
**Ethiopia and the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia**

После окончания Гражданской войны перед советской дипломатией встала задача восстановления дипломатических отношений с госу-

дарствами, связи с которыми были нарушены в результате смены государственного устройства страны.

В их число входила и Эфиопия, единственное государство в Тропической Африке, где с 1898 г. по 1919 г. пребывало дипломатическое представительство России. Интерес Москвы к Эфиопии объяснялся целым рядом причин, в частности, желанием превратить эту страну в плацдарм для распространения «идей СССР на Черном континенте». Геополитическими интересами СССР определялась и другая задача: использовать Эфиопию как удобную базу, «откуда можно распространять наше влияние на южную и западную часть Аравийского полуострова (Гадремаут и Йемен), не говоря уже о возможностях в этом направлении на самом Африканском континенте».

Похоже, в Москве плохо представляли внутривнутриполитическую ситуацию в Эфиопии и прежде всего реакцию руководства страны на события в России, связанные с Октябрьской революцией и совершенно не представляли, насколько сама Эфиопия была заинтересована в восстановлении связей с идеологически новым государством, СССР.

Свержение самодержавия в России было воспринято в феодально-монархической Эфиопии враждебно. Для эфиопов носителями информации о радикальных переменах в нашей стране стали иностранные дипломаты и пресса, несколько позднее русские эмигранты, нашедшие вторую родину в стране «черных христиан». Нетрудно представить их интерпретацию революционных событий в России. Да и могла ли быть понята эта революция в стране, в которой весь духовный уклад жизни определялся церковью, а извечный порядок жизни определен самим Господом-богом? Уже то обстоятельство, что целая страна отказалась от религии и уничтожало свое духовенство воспринималось эфиопским глубоко религиозным обществом как приход антихриста.

Понятно, что правительство Эфиопии не испытывало потребности в восстановлении дипломатических отношений с таким государством. Правящая верхушка страны, ориентировавшаяся во внешней политике на западные державы, не скрывала симпатий к свергнутому режиму и неприятия советской власти..

Тем не менее советская дипломатия продолжала искать выходы на руководство Эфиопии, однако без заметного успеха. Дипломатические отношения между обеими странами были установлены по инициативе Эфиопии в апреле 1943 г. Во многом инициативе Эфиопии по данному вопросу способствовало то обстоятельство, что в этот период Советский Союз был связан союзническими отношениями с западными державами антигитлеровской коалиции, на которые ориентировались правящие круги Эфиопии в своей внешнеполитической деятельности.

**Агуреев С.А.**  
**МГПУ, Москва, РФ**  
Stanislav A. Agureev  
Moscow City Pedagogical University  
Russia

**К истории развития советско-эфиопских дипломатических и  
общественных связей в 1920–1930 гг.**  
**Towards the History of the Soviet-Ethiopian Diplomatic and  
Public Relations in the 1920s–30s**

История развития дружеских российско-эфиопских отношений уходит своими корнями в XIX век, когда перед лицом грозной опасности, исходившей со стороны агрессивно настроенной и готовой к колониальным захватам Италии, Эфиопия всеми силами стремилась заручиться дипломатической и военной помощью России. С установлением дипломатических отношений появились возможности к углублению общественных и духовных связей двух стран. Лишь начало русско-японской войны и первой русской революции привело к ослаблению российского влияния в стране, а после Октябрьской революции дипломатические отношения были разорваны, т.к. эфиопская элита выражала поддержку свергнутой российской монархии.

Однако заинтересованность в восстановлении дипломатических отношений между странами проявилась уже в 1921 г., когда советский дипломат И.А. Залкинд прибыл в Аддис-Аббебу для проведения переговоров с главой эфиопского правительства Хабтэ-Гийоргисом о восстановлении дипломатических отношений. Но переговоры быстро зашли в тупик из-за противодействия Англии и Франции, объективно стремившихся к ослаблению влияния Советской России в регионе. Не привели к ожидаемому советской стороной результату и встреча полпреда А.М. Устинова с Тэфэри Макконеном в 1924 г., а также советского и эфиопского консулов в Хиджазе в 1925 г. Новый этап в отношениях двух стран наступил в 1935 г. с началом итальянской экспансии против Эфиопии.

Из всех государств мира только СССР занял в итало-эфиопских событиях принципиальную антиимпериалистическую позицию, решительно и последовательно поддержав справедливую борьбу эфиопского народа за сохранение независимости, осудив агрессивные устремления Италии. СССР потребовал от всех государств Лиги Наций осуждения итальянской агрессии в Восточной Африке и введения коллективных санкций в отношении империалистов.

Под давлением СССР правительства Англии и Франции вынуждены были созвать 4 октября 1935 г. чрезвычайную сессию Совета Лиги

Наций. Благодаря усилиям советской делегации, поддержанной представителями малых государств, Лига Наций была вынуждена признать факт нарушения Италией устава Лиги Наций и объявить Италию агрессором. В результате этой поддержки, оказанной эфиопскому народу, отношения двух стран были восстановлены в 1943 г.

**Uoldelul Chelati-Dirar**  
**University of Macerata, Italy**  
У. Челати-Дирар  
Университет Мачераты, Италия

**Between Critical Thinking and Playing the Pipe for the Power that be.  
Historiography and Nation Building in the Horn of Africa Между  
критическим мышлением и игрой на трубе для властей  
придержавших. Историография и строительство нации  
на Африканском Роге**

In the last two decades the Horn of Africa has experienced complex and turbulent changes of its national boundaries and political systems, which in turn had ignited new processes of nation building and led to the revision of previous ones. In this complex interplay of identities, state policies, and notions of citizenship, a crucial and often ambiguous role has been played by historiographical narratives. To this regard one could say that, often, those narratives have been instrumental in shaping notions of belonging which have endorsed strategies of inclusion or exclusion implemented by policy makers.

Aim of this paper is to discuss some methodological and hermeneutical issues which I deem crucial for the future development of historiography in the Horn of Africa, with a special focus on the Eritrean case. Therefore, my analysis will focus, with no pretense of being exhaustive, on some of the epistemological shortcomings of the major recent historiographical developments in the region. At the same time, I will suggest possible alternative epistemological approaches, mainly drawing on my own research and teaching experience carried out both in Eritrea and in Italy over the past 15 years.

The key question of my analysis will be to assess to what extent historiography in the regions has been able to foster critical thinking and thus shed light on new possible perspectives for policy-makers and to what extent it has rather been prone to the strategies and priorities of the power that be. My hope is that this paper will also contribute to foster a lively and free debate on the meaning of history in the Horn of Africa and, in a broader perspective, on the processes of nation building unfolding there. This could also be a contribution to the identification of new meanings for the role and mission of Africanists in the contemporary world.



**Иванова Л.В.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Lyubov V. Ivanova  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Когда пришельцы становятся хозяевами: опыт  
сомалийской диаспоры в Льюстоне (США) When  
Guests Become Hosts:**

**The Experience of the Somali Diaspora in Lewiston, USA**

Иммигрантское сообщество значительно меняет облик и статус принимающей стороны. Эти изменения не обязательно происходят в лучшую сторону, тем более когда речь заходит о беженцах, приезжающих из неблагополучных стран, не имеющих образования и порой даже навыков проживания в городских условиях. Интересно проследить эволюцию самосознания сомалийской диаспоры (или пока еще групп сомалийских иммигрантов?) в городе Льюстоне (США) и понять – насколько сообщество иммигрантов трансформировалось здесь в диаспору. Для этого следует уделить внимание реакции сомалийского общества на попытки местных властей контролировать приток беженцев из Сомали посредством открытого обращения через местную прессу. На основе анализа публикаций местной газеты «Sun Journal», можно порассуждать об этапах формирования самосознания сомалийских беженцев-иммигрантов и превращения их в диаспору.

В 2002 году Л. Реймонд, мэр города Льюстона, через местную газету обратился к сомалийскому (иммигрантскому) сообществу с просьбой убедить соотечественников пока не приезжать в этот город, так как это, по его мнению, негативно воздействует на представление о Льюстоне и его жителях (общий уровень благосостояния, общий уровень образования населения, общий уровень преступности и т.п): «Дайте нам вздохнуть, мы выдохлись физически, финансово и эмоционально», – обратился он к сомалийцам со страниц газеты. Это обращение послужило сигналом к сплочению и солидаризации всех слоев сомалийской общины. Мэра обвиняли в отсутствии толерантности, расовой дискриминации, дебаты, вышедшие на политический уровень, публиковались на страницах той же газеты. Карьера мэра оказалась под угрозой, на следующий срок он уже не переизбирался.

Спустя 10 лет в 2012 году Р. МакДональд, новый мэр того же города, в документальном фильме БиБиСи неосторожно призвал иммигрантов «выезжая в США, оставлять свои культурные особенности «за дверью», чем в очередной раз вызвал недовольство сомалийской общины, потребовавшей публичных извинений. «Это больше, чем история Льюстона,

это – история Америки!» И опять политическая карьера очередного мэра Льюстона оказалась под угрозой. Как заметил один читатель газеты, местный житель, «мечта американца – стать беженцем-иммигрантом, получить начальный капитал и все полагающиеся льготы».

Описываемый случай не единичен, более того, бывшие иммигранты, ставшие или становящиеся гражданами европейских государств, США, Канады, России, стремятся не только осуществлять свои права в полном объеме, но и преуспевать за счет ущемления прав коренного населения. Эти процессы уже имели место в истории формирования многих государств, происходят они и в наше время, со своими особенностями и с учетом прежнего опыта.

**Филатова И.И.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Irina I. Filatova  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

### **The Sad End of Non-Racialism in South Africa: The ANC's Racial Transformation and Its Aftermath**

#### **Грустный конец нерасовой системы в Южной Африке: расовая трансформация АНК и ее последствия**

The African National Congress came to power, proclaiming the policy of non-racialism, and the new South African constitution was based on the principle of racial equality. However, the past two decades have seen a departure by the ruling party from this principle. Moreover, its twin policies of Black Economic Empowerment and Employment Equity, both clearly of a racial nature and aimed against the minorities, have now become a dominant discourse in the country, accepted even by the majority of opposition parties and forces, both on the right and the left.

The proposed paper offers an analysis of the nature and history of ANC's non-racialism during the struggle against apartheid and of the reasons for its later change of heart. It follows the racially-based 'de-racialisation' process of South Africa's state institutions, the country's legal system, its education, business sector and many other aspects of life since 1994 to the present. Initiated by the ANC, this transformation changed not just the country, but the ethos of the organisation itself. The paper offers an analysis of the political, economic and other aspects of the ANC's nationality policy, its effect on the country's economy, political climate and the morale of its population. It also looks into the processes of realignment within the ranks of the opposition on the basis of race and ethnicity.

**Sue Onslow**  
**Studies University of London, UK**

С. Онслоу  
Лондонский университет  
Великобритания

**Zimbabwe: Land and the Lancaster House Settlement (SOAS)**

**Зимбабве: земля и ланкастерхаузское урегулирование**

The question of Britain's responsibility for the flawed land settlement in the Lancaster House negotiations over Zimbabwe's independence in 1979 became a political football between the Zimbabwe and British governments in the 1990s, and internationally and domestically explosive with the initiation of the Fast Track Land Reform process in Zimbabwe by the end of the decade. Much political rhetoric of accusation and counter-claim has been made against the Lancaster House terms. This settlement was a classic case of a fudged political issue, achieved through clandestine discussion and diplomacy, which did not satisfy popular Zimbabwean expectations and liberation struggle interests. Although it is now accepted that the revolutionary land policies of Robert Mugabe's government are irreversible, their contribution to socio-economic transformation of the modern Zimbabwean state remain controversial. Yet, Britain's policy and their view of the original input of the Zimbabwean political liberation movement leaders have never been fully explored. Based newly available archival material and oral history interviews, this presentation will analyse the place of land in the critical period of 1979, and the tension between Britain and the Patriotic Front leadership. It will highlight the importance of both structure and human agency, as well as the range of international actors who contributed to that original flawed land settlement and the problematic emergence of the modern Zimbabwean state from the legacies of white settler capitalism.

**Hilary Lynd**  
**University of Edinburgh, UK**

Х. Линд  
Эдинбургский университет  
Великобритания

**A Copy and an Opposite: Narrating Transition in South Africa and the Soviet Union**

**Копия и противоположность: повествование о процессе перехода в Южной Африке и Советском Союзе**

In the heady years of the early 1990s, South African apartheid and Soviet socialism expired alongside one another. Were these "transitions," as

they were seen in the West, parallel, or opposite? In what ways were they linked? Valuable scholarship has examined the production of presence and absence, light and darkness, in European colonial discourses concerning Africa. Following Odd Arne Westad's argument that Cold War rivalry in the Third World was a mutation of European imperialism into American and Soviet forms, we are led to a problem that has been insufficiently studied: how was Africa represented in the Soviet imagination? This paper will use the writings of Soviet Africanists and South African oppositionists and ideologues to explore the relationship between imagination, ideology, and intervention. A mirror produces both a copy and an opposite. As Russia looked in the South African looking glass, the question was, which South Africa was the copy, and which the opposite? In the years 1989–1992, Russia traded one South Africa (black) for another (white). Why? Relying on the work of Alexei Yurchak on late Soviet socialism, I will argue that Soviet Africanists used personal experience with change at home to understand change elsewhere. As barriers to flows of ideas were dismantled, it became possible to consume and disseminate ideas produced amidst upheaval in South Africa. The narratives told by white South Africans about change in their own country enabled Soviet academics to characterize and direct change in theirs. A durable insistence on the kinship between South Africa and the Soviet Union provided the momentum for this cyclical evolution. By considering South Africa and the Soviet Union alongside one another and exploring the way participants themselves conceived of kinship between the two trajectories, this paper will present a new perspective on the “neoliberal” moment of the early 1990s.

**Балезин А.С.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander S. Balezin  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Новый взгляд на администрацию ЮАС в Юго-Западной  
Африке/Намибии в 20-е–50-е годы XX века  
(по архивным источникам)**  
**A New View at the Union of South Africa's Administration in  
South-West Africa/Namibia in the 1920s-50s (On Archival Sources)**

Сложный клубок проблем, связанных с достижением Намибией независимости, сделал привычным взгляд на тамошний режим как на очень жесткий. Однако, обнаруженные мною в Намибийском Национальном архиве источники показывают, что это – несколько упрощенный взгляд.

Прежде всего, следует проанализировать деятельность так называемых «гуземных управ» городских локаций и резерватов как результат встречи традиционной и западной политических культур. При всей ограниченности полномочий этих органов управления, круг рассматриваемых ими задач становился все шире.

Однако в случае серьезных конфликтов между собой африканцы все чаще обращались к представителям «белой» администрации. Архивные источники свидетельствуют, что в таких случаях белые власти, как правило, находили решения в пользу пострадавшей стороны.

**Воеводский А.В.**  
**ИВИ РАН и РГГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander V. Voevodsky  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Американский опыт межрасовых отношений глазами африканцев  
Южной Африки (конец XIX – первая треть XX в.)**  
**The American Experience of Interracial Relations through the Eyes of  
Africans from South Africa (Late 19<sup>th</sup> – First Third of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)**

С конца XIX века США стали важным центром притяжения для черных южноафриканцев, отправлявшихся за пределы своей страны с целью получения образования. В самой Южной Африке возможности для обучения в высших учебных заведениях были весьма ограничены, а за океаном уже действовало несколько колледжей и университетов, ориентированных на обучение как афроамериканцев, так и студентов, прибывших из стран Африки.

В США африканские студенты не только получали знания и обучались новым профессиям, но и знакомились с американским путем решения расовых противоречий. И прежде всего их внимание привлекала стратегия выживания афроамериканцев в условиях недостатка материальных средств и часто враждебного, особенно на Юге, окружения. Сравнивая южноафриканский опыт с тем, что они видели в США, африканцы стремились перенести в Южную Африку те же принципы межрасовых отношений, находя их более гармоничными. Они считали, что, несмотря на расовую сегрегацию, в США черные обладали большими правами и возможностями, чем в Южной Африке.

Возвращаясь в Южную Африку, бывшие американские студенты приносили домой и самые последние тенденции в общественном развитии афроамериканцев. Одно из таких магистральных направлений представляли Б. Вашингтон и его преемники, другое – М. Гарви. Вашингтон делал ставку на собственные силы в повышении жизненного

уровня и положения в обществе афроамериканцев, отказываясь от радикальных действий и участия в политических кампаниях. Гарви представлял более радикальную и политически активную часть афроамериканского общества, однако именно позиция Вашингтона оказалась более востребованной южноафриканцами, так как предоставляла собой более оптимальную с их точки зрения стратегию развития в рамках расово общества. С другой стороны, восприятие идей Вашингтона способствовало распространению убеждения, что сегрегация это не зло, а скорее наоборот – определенная гарантия имущественных и социальных прав африканцев.

**Курбак М.С.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Maria S. Kurbak  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**«Репрессивная толерантность». Некоторые особенности южноафриканской цензуры при апартхейде**  
**“Repressive Tolerance”. Some Specific Features of the South African Censorship under Apartheid**

Принято считать, что с начала 1960 до конца 1980-х в ЮАР функционировал один из самых мощных в мире аппаратов цензуры. По некоторым подсчетам, на каждого южноафриканского писателя приходилось в те времена по десять и более цензоров. Однако документы этого аппарата, ставшие с недавних пор открытыми, позволяют несколько иначе взглянуть то, какую роль играли цензоры в истории южноафриканской литературы времен апартхейда.

Аппарат цензуры ЮАР менялся в зависимости от политики государства и регулировался специальными актами и постановлениями Национальной партии. Но все же можно выделить некоторые особенности, которые были характерны для его деятельности в течение всего указанного периода и которые представляют наибольший интерес в сравнении с цензурой, существовавшей в других странах.

Цензорами становились люди не только известные своей лояльностью к властям, но и те, кто обладал еще и достаточной квалификацией, чтобы судить о том или ином виде искусства. Все цензоры и «читатели» имели образование в области литературы, языкознания, истории, искусствоведения

Произведения анализировались не только на отсутствие антиправительственной и антирелигиозной пропаганды, но и на «литературные качества». Прекрасный язык и «литературная ценность» книги могли

дать повод цензорам пропустить произведения с весьма сомнительным с точки зрения политики содержанием.

Запрет на публикацию того или иного произведения писателя вовсе не означал, что другие его работы также не будут напечатаны. Далеко не всем, кто попадал в «черный список» грозили арест, заключение или высылка. Иногда авторы или издатели могли даже подать апелляцию и добиться пересмотра решения о том или ином произведении.

Издательства, которые осмеливались печатать «нежелательные» книги, хотя и подвергались некоторым репрессиям со стороны государства, но все же продолжали функционировать (то же касалась и периодики).

Эти и некоторые другие особенности функционирования южноафриканской цензуры позволяют по-иному взглянуть на ее роль в южноафриканском обществе времен апартхеида.

**Thiago Henrique Mota Silva**  
**Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais**  
**Brazil**

Т. Э. Мота Сильва  
Белу-Оризонте, Бразилия

### **African Islam in Portuguese Accounts: Representations and Political Challenges (1594-1625)**

#### **Африканский ислам в португальских источниках: представления и политические вызовы (1594-1625 гг.)**

We analyse three Portuguese accounts upon Upper Guinea Coast's and Cape Verde's societies, highlighting conflicts among Christian and Muslims *bexerins*. Both sought conversions to their faith in African societies and wanted advantages in commercial routes: Muslims interests were in African hinterland and Portuguese traders wanted displace it to the coast. Our sources are André Almada's, Manuel Álvares' and André Donelha's descriptions about Upper Guinea, 1594–1625. Almada and Donelha were traders who wrote to Portuguese political agents to improve the dealing with the coast. They were born in Santiago, the head office of Portugal initiative in Northwestern Africa, and believed Cape Verdeans must settle Upper Guinea Coast and Sierra Leone to maintain their own and the Crown's control over that region, because many pirates had been going there to trade without the Crown's permission and ships had not been passing on Cape Verde to pay tributes to Portuguese local elites. In the hinterlands, Islam was growing up and Muslim caravans were spreading their faith on area. Portugal sent a Jesuit mission to Cape Verde. One of its fathers was Manuel Álvares, who wrote the chronic *Etiópia Menor e descrição geográfica da Província da Serra Leoa*, in which he approaches the Senegambia valley (where Muslims

were spreading their faith and trading) and other regions. In this context, we focus Portuguese representations about Islam as political and religious matters. We look into these sources through filters searching how otherness is represented intending establishing political practices. Our research is part of new Africanist historiography that understands African agencies and its meanings by themselves, linking them with the world around, as proposed by Joseph Miller, Steve Feierman, and others. Investigating Portuguese accounts, we search conflicts and inconsistencies in the narratives to see how otherness is represented and note the African agencies in foreign texts.

**Блинова Е.В.**

**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**

Elizaveta V. Blinova

P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University  
Russia

### **«Лондонцы» и «Лондонские африканцы».**

#### **Некоторые аспекты восприятия**

#### **“Londoners” and “London Africans”. Some Aspects of Perception**

Лондон – мегаполис, с огромным этническим разнообразием. Этнонациональный состав города формировался на протяжении столетий. Отношение лондонцев к «иным» – представителям других рас, этносов, культур, претерпело множество изменений: от радикализма к толерантности, от удивления и интереса к повседневной обыденности.

Сколько-нибудь значимые группы африканцев появились в Лондоне с XVI в.. В сознании лондонцев это были черные люди без какого-либо разделения на этнические группы. Они вызывали удивление, иногда восхищение, переходящее в суеверный страх. Большинство лондонцев задавались вопросом о цвете африканской кожи. В результате появилась теория о греховности африканцев: «черный цвет – цвет дьявола – божье наказание». Тема «греха» породила соответствующее отношение к африканцам: чувство превосходства белого человека над черным, вера в магические способности африканцев, их сексуальная доступность.

В Новое время произошла трансформация взглядов лондонского обывателя по отношению к африканцу. Удивление и страх сменились на привычное соседство с африканцами, которые так же исповедовали веру в Христа, имели христианские имена, выполняли практически те же обязанности, что и белые: главным образом, функции прислуги. Они занимались различными ремеслами и даже имели свой небольшой бизнес. Свободные, грамотные чернокожие становились весьма уважаемыми в аристократической лондонской среде, хотя в большинстве сво-



ем в Новое время африканцы преимущественно оставались зависимыми, и, если чего-то добивались, то составляли предмет гордости своего хозяина и зависти со стороны других людей.

С принятием «Акта об отмене работорговли» (1807), а позднее – «Акта об отмене рабства» (1833), африканцы наводнили Лондон. Отношение к ним изменилось и напрямую зависело от социального статуса лондонцев. Аристократия выступала против «африканского засилья». Простые лондонцы относились к прибывшей армии африканцев вполне спокойно, а подчас безразлично. Такая ситуация сохранялась вплоть до Второй Мировой войны, события которой в корне изменили восприятие лондонских африканцев среди горожан.

С 50-х гг. XX в. отношение к африканцам было оформлено юридически.

Политика мультикультурализма призвала к толерантности в отношениях между белыми и черными. Прогрессивный Лондон воспринял идеи нового курса. Сегодня большинство современных лондонцев воспринимают африканцев как равных себе, хотя, безусловно, проявления расовой неприязни встречаются.

**Лукьянов Г.В.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Grigory V. Lukyanov  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia)

**Основные подходы к пониманию и написанию истории  
Ливии XX века в зарубежной историографии**  
**Main Approaches to Understanding and Writing the 20<sup>th</sup> Century  
Lybian History in Non-Russian Historiography**

«История ни одной другой страны в этом регионе не становилась жертвой подобного количества дезинформации, неправильной, – а то и ложной, – интерпретации отдельных событий и просто грубых ошибок в специальной литературе, как это было с Ливией», – написал в 2002 г. немецкий исследователь Ханспетер Маттес. Превращение Ливии из второстепенного актора регионального уровня в неотъемлемого участника большой африканской политики, начавшееся после сентябрьской революции 1969 г. и достигшего своего апогея на рубеже двадцать первого столетия, сделало историю этой страны предметом пристального внимания со стороны сообщества профессиональных исследователей, политиков и журналистов различных мастей. Тот факт, что до начала 1950-х гг. говорить о существовании такой страны на карте мира вовсе не приходилось, а изучение народов, населяющих три территории Три-

политания, Киренаика и Феццан, оставалось прерогативой крайне ограниченного числа ученых из всего лишь нескольких развитых стран, свидетельствовал о нескольких вещах.

Во-первых, само написание истории Ливии, как совокупности трех непохожих и во многом отличных друг от друга территорий и появившегося довольно поздно единого, – насколько это возможно в данных условиях, – государственного образования, является сложным и не имеющим однозначного прочтения и оценки делом. От чего не теряют своей актуальности вопросы: А насколько правомочно говорить об истории Ливии до 1951 г.? Не следует разделить историю Ливии и историю Триполитании, Киренаики и Феццана? и т.д.

Во-вторых, несмотря на то, что во многих странах написаны «истории» Ливии, все они были созданы в короткий по историческим меркам период в несколько последних десятилетий. Сей факт говорит об их типологической близости и подобности, позволяющей рассмотреть эти работы как самостоятельный набор артефактов, формирующих представления об истории самой страны и ее месте в мировой истории. Но с другой стороны все эти труды являются заложниками единой модели мышления, сформировавшейся у ученых Запада и Востока по отношению к вопросам развития Юга. В данном случае, речь идет не только о влиянии идей колониализма и неоколониализма, но также и о той высокой роли, что сыграли в процессе формирования системы знаний о Ливии второй половины XX века Холодная война и противостояние двух политико-идеологических систем.

Данный доклад имеет своей целью представить основные подходы, сформировавшиеся в зарубежной («неливийской») историографии, к определению и описанию истории этой страны в XX веке, предложенные такими крупными современными авторами, как А. Балдинетти, Д. Вандервели, А.З. Егорин, Дж. Райт и т.д.

**Черемиснов В.О.**  
**ИВИ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Vladislav A. Cheremisinov  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Афроазиатская иммиграция в Европу в начале XXI века: анализ оценок африканских ученых**  
**African and Asian Migration to Europe in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century: An Analysis of African Scholars' Assessments**

Тема многомиллионной миграции из Азии и Африки в Европу является одной из важнейших черт новейшей истории. И, естественно, к

ней проявляют все больше внимания как европейские, так и африканские ученые.

Интеграция иммигрантов стала одним из ключевых вопросов европейской политики. Этот вопрос можно рассматривать с демографической, культурной, экономической точек зрения. Какие последствия для Европы будет иметь афроазиатская иммиграция, к чему приведут эти процессы, - все эти вопросы интересны, прежде всего, европейцам.

Этот и другие глобальные мировые процессы мы привыкли видеть с точки зрения европейского человека. Однако в современном мире появляется все больше направлений, противостоящих евроцентризму.

Интересен взгляд представителей научного сообщества Африки на афроазиатскую иммиграцию в Европу. Его рассмотрение поможет понять неевропейские направления развития науки, а это касается подавляющего большинства населения современного мира. В конечном счете мы зависим от этого и будем зависеть в будущем.

**Ian Liebenberg**  
**Stellenbosch University, South Africa**  
И. Лиебенберг  
Университет Стелленбоша, ЮАР

**Colonialism, Heroism and Decline:**  
**The story of the South African Air Force (SAAF), 1920–2010**  
**Колониализм, героизм и упадок:**

**история южноафриканских военно-воздушных сил (1920–2010 гг.)**

The South African Air Force (SAAF) started off in 1920 with a “Royal Gift” from the United Kingdom. The establishment of the SAAF followed a short but robust performance by the South African Aviation Corps including participation in the First World War. The SAAF saw deployment during the Second World War, the Korean War and during the so-called border or bush war (the Angolan War). On the one hand it was admired by many but also seen by others as a tool of oppression as the SAAF was used as early as 1921 and 1922 against South African citizens and against people in Namibia resisting the South African occupation of German West Africa. This paper will trace the development of the SAAF including its political implications and refer in conclusion to the new defence posture of the post-apartheid SAAF.

**Козвонин А.В.**  
**МИД РФ, Москва, РФ**  
Artyom V. Kozvonin  
Institute of General History  
Moscow, Russia

**Новое прочтение старых источников:  
«африканская одиссея» II-й Тихоокеанской эскадры (1904–1905 гг.)  
A New Reading of Old Sources:  
The 2<sup>nd</sup> Pacific Squadron's "African Odyssey", 1904–1905**

Цель настоящего доклада – исследовать плавание Второй Тихоокеанской эскадры из Ливавы к Цусиме в ходе русско-японской войны (1904–1905 гг.) с новой точки зрения: вклада его участников в африканистику. До сих пор этот поход рассматривался исключительно в военном контексте и сквозь призму финального результата – поражения при Цусиме, что препятствовало его всестороннему и объективному изучению. Однако почти 100 лет спустя после войны начали появляться работы, выходящие за чисто военные или военно-технические рамки: биографические (от вице-адмирала до нижних чинов), о разведывательном и дипломатическом сопровождении похода, о влиянии на него морального фактора и др. В настоящем выступлении впервые предлагается исследовать свидетельства русских моряков об их пребывании в различных странах Африки.

Маршрут эскадры, в октябре 1904 г. вышедшей из Ливавы, и в мае 1905 г. приплывшей в Цусиму, пролегал вокруг Африки. Один из ее отрядов (Рождественского) обогнул континент с Запада, а три других (Фелькерзама, Добровольского и Небогатова) – с Востока. На своем пути эскадра совершила остановки в Марокко, Сенегале, Габоне, Ангра-Пекене, Грейт-Фиш-бее, Капстаде, Джибути, Дар-эс-Саламе и на Мадагаскаре. Эти стоянки длились от нескольких дней до двух с половиной месяцев (на Мадагаскаре).

Документальная база исследования весьма широка: выявлено более 40 источников, половина из которых не опубликована. Основные их жанры: письма, дневники и воспоминания, но также и роман, стихи, научные статьи. Авторы – от вице-адмирала до матросов. Свидетельства моряков сконцентрированы на описании трех феноменов: африканской природы, колониальных города и деревни, а также колониального общества (африканцев и европейцев). В ряде материалов представляет интерес сравнение африканцев из разных частей континента, европейцев (французов, немцев, португальцев и англичан), жизни в Африке и в России. Особое внимание источники уделяют африканским женщинам. Введение в научный оборот этих материалов обогатит наши

представления об истории континента в ключевой момент завершения его колониального раздела, историю российского изучения Африки и российско-африканских связей.

**Benjamin Volf**  
**INALCO, Paris, France**

Б. Вольфф  
Национальный институт восточных  
языков и культур, Париж, Франция

**The Perception of Ethiopian Nation Building under Menilek II through  
the Amharic Biographies of *ras* Makonnen**

**Восприятие эфиопского национального строительства при  
Менелике II сквозь призму амхароязычных биографий *раса*  
Мэконнына**

The eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a crossroad in the perception the Ethiopian society has of itself. Indeed, the Ethiopian State was engaged between two dynamics which could have led to its collapse. The first one pits the still fragile national consensus reached by emperor Menilek II (1889–1913) against the threat of European powers encroaching upon the littoral of the Red Sea, and culminated in the repelling of the Italian invading troops by Menilek's armies, in Adwa in March 1896. This foreign pressure, in particular stemming from border issues with the colonies of Eritrea and Somalia, led a chief officer and diplomat of the imperial staff, *ras* Makonnen, to assert in a letter to the Tsar that only the Russians were without ulterior motives in their relationships with Ethiopia.

The second trend in which Menilek's government has been involved is the territorial expansion towards the West and the South. Alexander Bulatovich is one of the Russian officers who have participated in the military campaigns towards the new annexed lands, also acting as an agent for transferring this wealth into Menilek's hands.

We will consider the way Ethiopian historians have conceived their own history in the continuity of such a tradition of nation building which is rooted in Menilek's era of intense contact with the Western world. Two Amharic biographies of *ras* Makonnen will provide the substance that allows us to expose the salient features of an Ethiopian self-perception as actor in internal politics and international events. Makonnen is a figure who has participated in the emergence of Ethiopia as a centralized state. His biographies evolve within the framework of a historiography deeply impregnated by the dominant culture, a tool the elites have shaped to justify those in power.

**Ныгусие Кассе В. Микаэль**  
**РУДН, Москва, РФ**  
Nygusie Kassae V. Mikael  
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia  
Moscow

**Из истории подготовки в России национальных кадров для стран Африки (к 115-летию установления дипломатических отношений между Россией и Эфиопией)**

**Histry of Training Africans in Russia: Toward the 115<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Ethiopia**

Доклад посвящен истории подготовки в России специалистов для Эфиопии в конце XIX – начале XX вв. Особое внимание уделяется роли Российского общества красного креста (РОКК) в установлении дипломатических отношении между двумя государствами, поскольку именно при содействии РОКК первые эфиопские студенты приехали в Россию.

**Sheridan Johns**  
**Duke University,**  
**Richard Mendelsohn**  
**University of Cape Town, South Africa**

Ш. Джонс  
Университет Дьюка, Дёрхэм, США  
Р. Мендельсон  
Университет Кейптауна, ЮАР

**Bundist to Bolshevik to South African Communist and Beyond: the Journey of Solomon Buirski through Marxist Socialism in the Russian Empire, Prussia, Switzerland, South Africa and the Soviet Union**  
**От бундовца к большевику, отбольшевика к южноафриканскому коммунисту и далее: путь Соломона Буирского через марксистский социализм в Российской империи, Пруссии, Швейцарии, Южной Африке и Советском Союзе**

This paper chronicles the socialist peregrinations of Solomon Buirski. Born in 1892 in Kovno, Lithuania, then a part of the Russian Empire and its Jewish Pale, Buirski, descendent of distinguished rabbinical scholars, was initially a pupil in Talmudic schools. As a teenager he became a member of the Marxist Jewish Bund, carrying out underground work in the wake of the 1905 Revolution. Obtaining secondary education against great obstacles, as a Jew he was excluded from Russian universities. He enrolled in the University of Berlin where he became a Bolshevik. In 1912 Prussian restrictions forced Buirski to shift his studies to Switzerland. Faced with conscription

into the Russian Imperial Army in 1913, he emigrated to relatives of his new Lithuanian-born wife in South Africa. Eking out a living as a bookkeeper and small trader, he eagerly involved himself with small leftwing socialist sects in Cape Town. Welcoming the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Buirski was a charter member of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) at its founding in 1921. His most visible role as a communist was organizing support for striking British seamen in Cape Town harbor in 1925. Subsequently he moved to Johannesburg (and briefly to Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal where he became a leader in the National Party). Strongly disagreeing with the Comintern's mandate that the CPSA adopt a policy advocating a "native republic", he left the party. Nevertheless, in 1933 he enthusiastically visited the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Geserd, a Soviet body raising support for Jewish agricultural resettlement. Rejoining the CPSA only in 1943 (after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union) he drifted away from the CPSA after the war, disagreeing with its support of the African mineworkers' strike of 1946, and incurring the wrath of party members because of his advocacy of Jewish settlement in Palestine in the wake of the holocaust. Although deeply disillusioned he was still a member of the CPSA at its dissolution in 1950. Finding it difficult to make a living in South Africa he immigrated to Britain in the 1960s, dying there in his 90's.

**Tivaone Gwatidzo**

**University of South Africa, Pretoria**

T. Гватидзо

Университет Южной Африки, Претория

### **Afrocentric Perspectives on African History for African Renaissance**

#### **Афроцентристские взгляды на африканскую историю во имя**

#### **Африканского ренессанса**

Whenever African issues are raised, one is invariably confronted with a great deal of disinformation. It now becomes necessary to trace the facts as far back as possible, for talk about the past is often a way of talking about the present. George Orwell (1984) once said "he who controls the past, controls the future and he who controls the future controls the present". Given the Eurocentric historiographical abuse of Africa and Africans over many centuries, it would be appropriate to highlight the role of Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora in challenging the status of affairs. A strategic retreat to the pre-colonial Africa to extricate some of the knowledge systems relevant to our needs next millennium is imperative.

In the last 500 years, most historical works published in the West tend to glorify Europeans at the expense of the other people. History is taught in schools from a Eurocentric point of view. Europeans colonised world scholarship especially the writing of history.

This paper seeks to highlight the importance of taking seriously the invisible operations of the Eurocentric historiography of Africa that hinder the realisation of African peoples' dreams. This dangerous phenomenon can only be dealt with effectively if Africans fully arm themselves with Afro centric perspective of history as a survival kit. The paper elaborates on its core arguments through revisiting the General History of Africa series launched by UNESCO in 1965, the pioneering works of African historians such as Cheikh Anta Diop of Senegal and the pioneering role of scholars and intellectuals in the Africa Diaspora promoting revisionist positive historical views of Africa. The rise of the historical school of thought of Afro centricity inspired by the example of Cheikh Anta Diop has provided African scholars, intellectuals and African renaissance activists with a historiographical mandate of analysing African history 'as a totality' (transcending the North/Sub-Saharan categorisation); to be based on 'multiple sources' (very much including oral tradition) and to be written from within (meaning that Africa should be the centre of gravity).



## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-2

**Африканские студенты, обучавшиеся в СССР и России: судьбы, опыт, картины мира и влияния на развитие отечественной африканистики**

**African Students in the Soviet Union / Russia: Destinies, Experiences, and Influences on the Development of African Studies**

**Руководители:** д.филол.н. Николай Александрович Добронравин (Санкт-петербургский государственный университет, Россия); к.и.н. Анна Юрьевна Сиим (Музей антропологии и этнографии РАН, Санкт-Петербург, Россия); Татьяна Александровна Смирнова (Высшая школа социальных и общественных наук, Париж, Франция)

**Conveners:** Prof. Nicolay A. Dobronravin (St. Petersburg State University, Russia);, Dr. Anna Y. Siim (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography [Kunstkamera], St. Petersburg, Russia), Dr. Tatiana A. Smirnova (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales / Reseau International d'Acteurs Emergents, Paris, France)

Несколько десятков тысяч африканских студентов проходили обучение в Советском Союзе и в России. Получение образования в СССР рассматривалось прежде всего как инструмент идеологического влияния, однако, далеко не всегда именно этот компонент в жизненном опыте студента оказывался наиболее важным и значимым, тем более, что декларируемая «социалистическая ориентация» многих африканских стран часто была довольно таки эфемерной и временной характеристикой. Изначальные цели и не всегда приводили к ожидаемым результатам. Например, развитие отечественной африканистики во многом опиралось на постоянное взаимодействие с африканскими студентами, что иногда играло решающую роль катализатора не только в перспективе сбора полевого материала, но даже и при формировании некоторых теоретических направлений, которые не всегда плотно вписывались в идеологическую конъюнктуру советского периода.

Несмотря на геополитические изменения, связанные с распадом СССР, многие бывшие студенты по возвращении на Родину, занимали и продолжают занимать высокие правительственные посты (как, например, в Мали, в Конго-Браззавиле, Анголе), некоторые оставили значительный вклад в развитие искусства, истории (Нигерия), кинематографа (Мали, Мавритания, Сенегал). Таким образом, политическая, социальная и культурная траектория многих стран до сих пор тесно

связана с Советским Союзом и Россией прежде всего через опыт, а также деятельность африканцев, получивших образование в стенах советских ВУЗов. Однако, эта связь не всегда очевидна, накладываясь на другой, более видимый и осязаемый культурный и социальный пласт, который частично объясняется историческим колониальным прошлым.

Секция ставит перед собой двойную задачу: попытку проанализировать роль приобретенного в СССР и России опыта в построении картин мира, религиозных, политических взглядов и их динамику, а также проследить развитие отечественной африканистики через призму взаимодействия с африканскими студентами.

Как проходило обучение африканских студентов? Какие отношения складывались с преподавательским составом, с другими африканцами, с советскими студентами и студентками? Как выстраивались отношения между африканцами и исследователями-африканистами? Какие были результаты этого взаимного влияния как на формирование отечественной африканистики, так и на самих африканцев? Как проходила социализация по возвращении на Родину, какую роль играли «смешанные» браки, политический контекст, родственные, семейные, личные связи? Ответы на эти вопросы представляются стратегически важными для осознания сложнейших процессов, связанных с наложением и взаимодействием различных культурных и социальных моделей в новой, меняющейся Африке, а также для понимания особенностей процесса становления и развития отечественной африканистики.

Thousands of African students were trained in the Soviet Union/Russia. The education of foreign cadres was seen by the Soviet authorities as an instrument of ideological influence in the “developing” world. However, life experience of African students was not shaped by socialist/communist indoctrination, even where such indoctrination did take place. Many of the students arrived from the countries which were classified as “socialism-oriented” in the Soviet Union, but this classification rarely corresponded to the official ideology of these African states.

African students came to the Soviet Union to study various disciplines which was seen as helpful for the development of their countries. Many of the graduates became qualified specialists in their fields. At the same time, the development of African studies in the Soviet Union relied upon lasting interaction with African students, sometimes leading to the emergence of new scholarly approaches far beyond the ideological conjuncture of the Soviet period.

Most African graduates returned to their countries, where some of them held high government positions, played a significant role in the fields of university education, sciences and arts.

Individual trajectories were often influenced by everyday experiences of African students in the Soviet Union. As a result, political, social and cultural

life of many countries has been closely associated with the Soviet Union/Russia. This link is not always obvious because of more visible postcolonial influences in the respective countries.

The objective of this panel is twofold: an attempt to analyze the role of Soviet/Russian life experiences in the individual trajectories of African students, as well as an endeavor to trace the development of African studies in Russia in the light of interaction with African students.

How were these students trained? What were the relations established with the professors and other students? How did African students and Soviet Africanists interact? What was the outcome of these reciprocal influences? What was the role played by the "mixed" marriages, political context, family and personal relations? The corresponding narratives remain underexplored, and all these questions cannot be answered without a deeper understanding of the Soviet period of Russia's history, far beyond both pre-1991 and post-Soviet ideological clichés.

**Harold (Hal) Weaver**  
**Harvard University**  
**Cambridge, USA**

Х. Уивер  
Гарвардский университет  
Кембридж, США

**Soviet Transnational Cultural Relations and African Decolonization:  
The Training of Future African Elites in Russia in the 1960's**  
**Советские транснациональные культурные связи и деколонизация  
Африки: подготовка будущих африканских элит  
в России в 1960-е гг.**

Indigenization of human resources and mental emancipation were among the priorities, explicit and implicit, of the African political and intellectual elites striving for meaningful independence. Education, namely training and research that was Afro-centric, was perceived as a means to achieve these priorities. Concurrently, in order to facilitate national self-assertion, African leaders advocated a context supporting non-alignment abroad and struggling against neo-colonialism at home. Limited resources made it necessary to utilize foreign, transnational training facilities in order to attain rapid indigenization (Africanization) of human resources. Among those countries intervening with offers of education aid was the USSR, with a variety of formal and non-formal training programs. The Soviet Union demonstrated creative and pragmatic innovation in program development dedicated to African needs, curricula focusing on technology and sciences, and non-traditional admissions procedures in both recruitment and selection.

In relationship to African priorities, Lumumba Friendship University and other Soviet programs-formal, non-formal, and informal-may be characterized as participating in the processes of African indigenization, democratization, and conscientization. At the same time, Soviet research on Africa, with the support of the Soviet political leadership at the highest level, was on record as having a willingness to place its resources at the disposal of the African and other Third-World decolonization movements.

**Смирнова Т.А.**  
**Высшая школа социальных наук**  
**Париж, Франция**  
Tatiana A. Smirnova  
L'EHSS, Paris, France

**Африканские студенты 1960 - 80х гг. и подводные камни политики ностальгии по советскому прошлому в Африке**  
**African Students of the 1960s–80s and Pitfalls of the Politics of Nostalgia for the Soviet Past in Africa**

Идеологические убеждения африканских студентов были предметом живейшего внимания еще со времен холодной войны. Этот интерес распространялся как на студентов, которые побывали в СССР, так и на тех, кто там никогда не был. Иногда роль идеологического воздействия СССР в Африке значительно преувеличивалась либо наоборот преуменьшалась. В данном докладе мы попытаемся рассмотреть вопрос о советском влиянии через призму ностальгии по советскому прошлому, которая имеет место в тех или иных формах как непосредственно в африканских странах, так и в России. Какую роль могла бы играть и играет «ностальгия» сегодня, когда все больше и больше российских компаний пытаются установить деловые и партнерские отношения в Африке?

Эпоха СССР напоминает о себе прежде всего визуально: например, монументальными архитектурными объектами, такими как спортивный стадион в Бамако, больница Габриель Туре в Мали, недостроенный металлургический завод в г. Аждакута в Нигерии, названиями улиц и площадей. Кроме того, нельзя забывать и о наследии идеологической борьбы 1950–1980 годов, когда основным носителем идей было студенчество. Например, в конце 1970-ых годов, на пике противоречий, «про-советская» тенденция была основополагающей в лидерских кругах ряда стран. Сегодня во многих странах (например, Буркина-Фасо и Нигер) многие бывшие студенческие лидеры занимают наивысшие политические должности.

Ностальгия не является односторонней и проявляется также с российской стороны. При наборе сотрудников в российскую компанию, недавно обосновавшуюся в той или иной африканской стране, предпо-

чение отдается выпускникам советских вузов, причем, иногда вне зависимости от их технической специализации и подготовки. В некоторых случаях подобная политика приводит к полному провалу, несмотря на первоначальные намерения африканских лидеров диверсифицировать основных партнеров (компаний бывших метрополий, а также Китая), полагаясь на ностальгические воспоминания о советском прошлом.

**Sarali Gintsburg**  
**Tilburg University, Netherlands**  
С. Гинцбург  
Университет Тилбурга, Нидерланды

### **Представители марокканской элиты, так и не ставшие элитой** **Moroccan Elites Who Did Not Become an Elite**

Хорошо известен тот факт, что незадолго до окончания советской эпохи (конец 1980 – начало 1990-х гг.) студенты из стран Магриба рассматривали получение высшего образования в вузах стран социалистического блока как хорошую стартовую площадку для своего профессионального и политического будущего. Довольно значительная часть этих студентов эмигрировала после окончания учебы в страны западной Европы, США и Канаду и обосновалась там. Большинство, однако, вернулись на родину, где начали свою профессиональную и политическую карьеру. Была при этом и третья, довольно малочисленная, группа людей, для которых крах СССР оказался настоящей катастрофой. Представители этой группы, которые зачастую придерживались социалистических убеждений и состояли в различных партиях, симпатизировавших коммунистической идеологии и порой финансировавших обучение членов, так и не смогли принять и пережить развал системы социалистических ценностей.

Судьбы именно той молодежи, которая, несмотря на имеющийся потенциал, оказалось не суждено стать элитой в соответствии со своим высоким уровнем образованности и квалификации, связаны общей закономерностью и представляют собой определенный социальный феномен. Примеры биографий нескольких подданных королевства Марокко, проходивших обучение в вузах Санкт-Петербурга в 1980–1990-е гг., убедительно иллюстрируют данное явление и дают возможность его разносторонней интерпретации.

It is a well known fact that not long ago before the end of the Soviet era (late 1880s-early 1990s) students from the Grand Maghreb have considered higher education in one of the Socialist countries as a decent launching pad for their professional and political future. Upon getting a degree, a good deal

of those students have emigrated to the Western Europe, the USA and Canada and settled there. The major part, however, returned to their home countries, where they started their professional and political career. At the same time, there was a third, rather insignificant in number, group for whom the downfall of the USSR turned out to be a real catastrophe. These people, who usually shared socialist views and were members of various political parties that were in sympathy with the Communist ideology and sometimes sponsored their members' education, could not accept and survive the failure of the system of socialist values.

This contribution explores the live paths of that Moroccan youth that could not become an national elite despite their potential. This phenomenon will be illustrated by using the biographical data of several citizens of the Kingdom of Morocco who studied at different higher education institutions of Saint-Petersburg during 1980s–1990s.

**Деминцева Е.Б.**  
**НИУ-ВШЭ/ ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Ekaterina Demintseva  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Карьера с дипломом советского вуза:  
опыт марокканцев, учившихся в СССР**  
**Career with a Soviet University Diploma:  
Experience of the Moroccans Who Studied in the USSR**

Начиная с 1960 г., года, провозглашенного «Годом Африки», когда получили независимость 17 африканских стран, советское руководство начало планомерно проводить образовательную политику, продиктованную стремлением идейно ориентировать африканскую молодежь на социалистическое будущее. На протяжении трех десятков лет, после обретения странами независимости, африканский континент был условно поделен на страны социалистической и капиталистической ориентации, и именно те молодые люди, которые учились в Советском Союзе должны были привносить в африканские общества идеи социализма. Получившая образование в СССР молодежь, должна была, по представлению властей, стать инструментом усиления советского влияния на Черном континенте.

Те, кто вернулся на родину, выстраивали свою карьеру по-разному: у кого-то она состоялась, другие же не могли реализовать себя в приобретенной в Советском Союзе профессии. Какую роль сыграл в их карьере полученный в СССР диплом о высшем образовании? Насколько часто их карьеры были успешны?

В докладе будут озвучены результаты исследования, проведенного

в 2013 году в Марокко. Через судьбы марокканцев, учившихся в 1960-1990 гг. в СССР, мы постараемся понять, как воспринимается и оценивается в мире полученное в Советском Союзе образование, как сами они воспринимают его роль в своей карьере и в жизни в целом.

**Simone A. James Alexander**  
**Seton Hall University, USA**

С.А.Дж. Александер Университет Ситон Холл  
Саут Орандж Вилидж, США

**Cross-Cultural Currents and Connections: Guyanese Students in  
The Soviet Union/Russia Years Кросс-  
культурные потоки и связи:  
гайанские студенты в СССР/Росси**

In 1987 I embarked on a journey via Havana, Cuba, to the then Soviet Union. After successfully completing a six-year graduate program, I received a Master's Degree in Russian Language and Literature. After four days in Havana, Cuba, with stopovers in Gander, Newfoundland, Luxembourg, and Shannon, Ireland, I arrived in Moscow. The only young woman among ten young men travelling from Guyana to Moscow, I was about to fulfill one of my life-long dreams of becoming a linguist, albeit in a far-away land that was unfamiliar to me.

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana, at that time, was known for championing what one might call a socialist ideology. Although this classification was arguably more political than structural, the country was viewed as an ally of the socialist block; this coalition resonated deeply because Cheddi Jagan, a career politician and a former prime minister and president of the country, was distinguished for his Communist-Leninist leanings. This ideological influence of the Soviet Union was prevalent in successive governments. Furthermore, this alliance resulted in the award of several scholarships to prospective students. I was a recipient of one of these study-abroad scholarships.

The presentation explores further, what motivated me to pursue studies in the then Soviet Union, examining my dis/connections with the socialist ideology. How have the relations between the two nation-states, Guyana and the Soviet Union/Russia, influenced me as a student? Along these lines, I will address the politics and poetics of my temporary migration to the Soviet Union. How has my life experience at home and abroad shaped and contributed to my political consciousness? How has my witnessing the "changing of the guards"; the advent of Perestroika and Glasnost' influenced my perspective on the past, the present and the world at large?

**Bouréma Kansaye**  
**USJPB, Bamako, Mali**

Б. Кансайе  
Университет юридических и политических наук  
Бамако, Мали

**От изучения психологии и права на русском языке в вузах России  
к преподаванию на французском в вузах Мали: форматирование  
интеллектуального капитала**

**From Study of Psychology and Law in the Russian Language at Russian  
Universities to Teaching in French in the Universities of Mali:  
Intellectual Capital's Formatting**

Малийцы с дипломами российских вузов сталкиваются у себя на родине со стереотипами, связанными с наследием идеологического противостояния СССР и «запада», которое порой весьма причудливо накладывается на сегодняшние реалии. Недавно один малийский профессор в своей статье охарактеризовал российский диплом как «диплом приблизительных исследований» (вольная расшифровка аббревиатуры DEA (*diplome d'etudes approfondies* «диплом об углубленном изучении» – статус диплома) как *diplome d'etudes approximatives* «диплом о приблизительном изучении»), а выпускников российских институтов – как людей «с поврежденным курением и алкоголем мозгом». При всей субъективности такой позиции, она показывает, как наклеивание подобных «ярлыков» становится стратегией «исключения», причем отнюдь не по профессиональному критерию. К счастью, есть случаи, где ироничные стереотипы не срабатывают. Однажды высокопоставленный чиновник госслужбы в разговоре со своим племянником-*союзаром* (этим неологизмом в Мали называют выпускников советских / российских вузов), специалистом по информатике, шутливо заметил, что в СССР и таких дипломов-то, наверное, не было. На что получил ответ, что такое вряд ли возможно, потому что «без этих знаний невозможно запустить ракету в космос». Сегодня этот выпускник – один из лучших программистов в стране.

Необходимость переноса капитала знаний и навыков, приобретенных в одной культурной среде, в качественно иное пространство всегда представляет объективную сложность. Остро стоит проблема трудоустройства. Даже в поисках неоплачиваемой стажировки приходится бесконечно ходить, обивая пороги офисов: красивая дорогая обувь оказывается полностью стоптанной, и на смену ей приходят удобные простые сандалии.

Российский диплом официально признается в Мали и дает возмож-



ность работать в госструктурах. Для этого нужно пройти конкурс, где вероятность неудачи высока даже для перспективных кандидатов прежде всего из-за формы проведения экзаменов. Например, один инженер, получив высший балл на профильном техническом экзамене, не прошел конкурс, не сдал экзамен по общей культуре из-за ошибок во французском языке (он провел шесть лет в России). Выход из ситуации видится в основательной подготовке к отборочным испытаниям, прочтении франкоязычных книг по специальности и художественной литературы. Юристам приходится наверстывать методологию права в соответствии с французской системой. Иначе даже при хорошей юридической квалификации, неформатный ответ на экзаменационные вопросы чреват провалом.

Для соответствия требованиям малийской бюрократической системы «российские» знания и навыки нуждаются в переработке и адаптации. Несмотря на объективные достоинства российской системы образования, обладателям российского диплома приходится постоянно доказывать его конкурентноспособность, и это неотъемлемый элемент карьерной стратегии, что в полной мере подтверждается на личном опыте.

**Félicien Avlessi,  
Gérard Gbaguidiaïsse,  
Jules Anicet S. Yamonche  
Université d'Abomey Calavi,  
République du Bénin**

Ф. Авлесси, Ж. Гбагиди Эссе, Ж. А. С. Ямонше  
Университет Абомея-Калави, Бенин

**The Place of African Alumni from Higher Schools and Universities of  
the Former Soviet Union and Russia in the Development Process of  
African Countries – The Case of the Republic of Benin**

**Роль африканских выпускников вузов бывшего СССР и России в  
развитии стран Африки: пример Республики Бенин**

Since 1960, the Former Soviet Union and Russia have taken the initiative to train African specialists. This communication shows the capital role that African alumni – graduates of Soviet / Russian universities – play in the development of their countries including the Republic of Benin.

The African continent had a dramatic history, with more than 500 years of slavery, hardships of colonialism and struggle for independence. The colonial school was aimed at training civil servants who would help colonizers to govern African nations. After independence the colonial administration was supposed to be changed by the African specialists

permitting Africans to be masters of their destiny. But the training of well qualified technical specialists, engineers, doctors, teachers had not been planned. Young African countries were in an urgent need for them.

The former Soviet Union had played an important role in the decolonization of African nations referring to The General Secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union Nikita Sergueievitch Khrushchev. The Soviet leaders had taken the initiative to train African technical specialists who would be involved in the construction and the development of independent African states. To fulfill this objective, the former Soviet Union procured educational scholarships for young Africans. This process started in 1960. Since then for more than fifty years many African technical specialists graduated from the universities of the Soviet Union / Russia. It was not easy for the first generation of these alumni to integrate into the process of economic development of their countries. Later on they got successfully involved in it.

Since 1960 more than 2600 Beninese have graduated from Russian high schools. It is important to talk with precise examples about strategic role of most alumni who graduated from Soviet / Russian universities in the development process of the Republic of Benin.

**Svetla Koleva**  
**Bulgarian Academy of Sciences**  
**Bulgaria**

С. Колева  
Институт изучения обществ и знания  
София, Болгария

**Контексты усвоения и практики социальных наук: африканские исследователи с дипломами вузов стран Центральной и Восточной Европы (1960-1990 гг.)**

**The Social Sciences and the Contexts of Assimilating and Practicing Them. The Case of African Researchers Formed in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1960-1990s**

Как усваиваются и практикуются социальные науки? Существует ли связь между контекстом обучения и контекстом приложения знаний, между полем производства и полем рецептов социально-научных знаний? Эти вопросы находятся в центре исследовательского интереса. Ответы на них мы будем искать, основываясь на опыте африканских специалистов, защитивших диссертации в области социальных наук в бывших социалистических странах в период 1960–1990 гг. и вернувшихся обратно на Родину.

Для конструирования этой группы специалистов как специфиче-

ского объекта для исследования есть два основания. С одной стороны, получив образование в структурах, глубоко отмеченных моделью коммунистического государства-партии и Холодной войны, африканские специалисты по возвращении домой попадали в абсолютно иные разные политические контексты. Как усвоенные теоретические и методологические знания, главной особенностью которых была их связь с марксистской парадигмой, были применены и мобилизованы в отдельных африканских обществах и существует ли разница в подготовке в зависимости от научной дисциплины и страны обучения? С другой стороны, после распада социалистического лагеря африканские специалисты, получившие дипломы вузов Восточной Европы, косвенно ощущали на себе последствия дискредитации социальных наук, обслуживавших рухнувшие коммунистические режимы. Что случилось со знаниями и опытом, накопленными в обществах бывшего социалистического лагеря, изменились ли они в новых постколониальных и посткоммунистических контекстах? Если да, то как? Если нет, то почему? Поиск ответов на это вопросы – одна из возможных дорог для исследования развития научного знания.

How are the social sciences assimilated and practiced? Is there a correlation between the context of training and the context of applying the acquired knowledge; between the field of production and the field of reception of knowledge in the social sciences? These are the questions in the focus of the study. The answers will be based on the analysis of experience of African specialists who defended dissertations in the social sciences in the former socialist countries in the period 1960–1990, and then returned to their countries.

The choice of this group of specialists as a specific field for research was determined by two considerations. On the one hand, the African students received their education in institutions strongly marked by the ideology of the communist state party and by the Cold War, after which they returned to countries characterized by very different political contexts. How was the acquired theoretical and methodological knowledge, marked by the Marxist paradigm, applied and mobilized in the separate African societies, and were there differences in the training received by the foreign students depending on their chosen scientific discipline and the country in which they studied? On the other hand, after the breakdown of the Socialist Bloc, African specialists formed in Eastern Europe felt the indirect consequences of the intellectual and social discrediting that befell those social sciences that had served the failed communist regimes. What happens to the knowledge and experience acquired in the societies of the former Soviet Bloc? Is it recycled in the new posts-colonial and post-communist contexts; if so, how, and if not, why not? The search for these answers represents a possible path for

studying the development of scientific knowledge in general.

**Сиим (Москвитина) А.Ю.**  
**Музей антропологии и этнографии**  
**им. Петра Великого (Кунсткамера) РАН,**  
**Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
**Добронравин Н.А.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Anna Yu Siim (Moskvitina)  
(Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology  
and Ethnography [Kunstammer]  
St. Petersburg, Russia)  
Nikolay A. Dobronravin  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Африканские студенты в объективе советской идеологии** **African Students in the Lens of Soviet Ideology**

Большое количество выпускников отечественных вузов среди правящих и интеллектуальных элит ряда стран Тропической Африки всегда давало повод увидеть стоящие за этим стратегии советской экспансии.

После упразднения Коминтерна и окончания эпохи подготовки подпольных революционных кадров, в СССР намеренно дистанцировались от идеологического наставничества в отношении африканских студентов. Отбор стипендиатов осуществлялся без необходимого для успешной кадровой политики учета их положения в социально-этнических структурах в странах их происхождения. Прием студентов из стран Африки проходил на основании официальных двусторонних соглашений и подразумевал подготовку специалистов.

Соприкосновение с советской идеологией и пропагандой было наиболее вероятным для африканских и других иностранных студентов в области ряда гуманитарных наук. В преподавании истории, антропологии и этнографии исторический материализм лежал в основе методологической базы. Кандидатские диссертации африканских аспирантов по большей части посвящены этническому составу и экономике их государств, критическому анализу колониального режима, борьбе за независимость и перспективам жизни после ее получения. В афторефератах и текстах диссертаций цитаты из работ В.И. Ленина, Л.И. Брежнева, К. Маркса и Ф. Энгельса экстраполируются на африканскую реальность, многие обычаи и традиционные правовые нормы оцениваются как устаревшие и подлежащие коренным изменениям в русле строительства новой жизни. Оперирование этими цитатами было формальной необходимостью для всех – не только африканских - диссертантов.

Советское образование и путь адаптации к нашей действительности

служили объединяющим началом для африканских выпускников по возвращении на родину. Опыт «бытия» в особой среде был сопоставим с прохождением общей инициации и способствовал интеграции в отдельную группу внутри социальной структуры – с особой самоидентификацией («советские») и языком общения, своей системой связей, способами взаимоподдержки.

Отдельные африканцы, сделавшие научную карьеру в СССР, защитив кандидатские диссертации, стали не просто представителями «африканских элит», но фигурами мирового значения далеко за пределами своего народа, страны и континента. Речь идет о таких ученых и деятелях культурной политики, как, например, малийский этнограф К. Ардуэн (1950–2011) и нигерийский археолог О.Элуеми (1938–2006). В подробной биографии О.Элуеми, представленной в одной из книг Н.Б. Кочаковой, он выглядит как сторонник советской идеологии в современном «ностальгическом» понимании. Симпатии к СССР в подобных случаях связаны с воспоминаниями о «бескорыстной помощи», каковой было советское образование, личными впечатлениями от советской среды, плодотворным общением и сотрудничеством с советскими / российскими коллегами. Вероятно, им присуще и философское измерение: позитивное восприятие советского проекта созвучно африканскому общинному мировоззрению, традиционной системе ценностей и идеям афромарксизма.

**Азербает С.Г.**  
**КазУМО и МЯ им. Абылай-хана,**  
**Алматы, Казахстан**  
Salavat G. Azerbaev  
Ablai Khan Kazakh University  
of International Relations and  
World Languages  
Almaty, Kazakhstan

**Актуальные проблемы развития африканистики в Казахстане и  
Центральной Азии**  
**Topical Problems of the African Studies Development in Kazakhstan  
and Central Asia**

Параллельно подготовке специалистов для стран африканского континента, советские образовательные программы уделяли внимание вопросу кадрового обеспечения в области африканистики в союзных республиках помимо РСФСР.

В советское время в республиках Средней Азии и Казахстане, ныне государства Центральной Азии (ЦА), африканистика как научное

направление изучалась в контексте преподавания «Новой и новейшей истории стран Азии и Африки» в основном в университетах. С обретением независимости государства ЦА начали реформы в сфере развития гуманитарных наук.

После распада СССР, проводя независимую внешнюю политику, новые независимые государства ЦА начали расширять свои дипломатические контакты со странами Африки. Дипломатические отношения стран ЦА были установлены в основном с арабскими странами Северной Африки. Только в последнее десятилетие из всех стран ЦА, Республика Казахстан (РК) начала активно уделять внимание установлению дипломатических отношений со странами Тропической Африки. На сегодняшний день установлены дипломатические отношения РК с ЮАР и Эфиопией.

Африканистика как научное направление в ЦА и РК пока находится в стадии формирования. За 20 лет независимости стран ЦА только в РК была защищена одна кандидатская диссертация Азербоева С.Г. по проблемам межэтнических противоречий в странах Восточной Африки в конце XX века. Но надо подчеркнуть, что сегодня интерес к Африке в Казахстане в определенной степени возрос. Академическая общественность проявляет большой интерес к развитию африканистики в РК. Так, в КазУМО и МЯ им. Абылай-хана (Алматы) готовится открытие Центра по изучению и развитию африканистики. Университет подписал меморандум и соглашения сотрудничества с Институтом Африки РАН, в рамках которой на уровне магистерских диссертаций начали исследоваться проблемы межэтнических отношений, реформирования политической системы в странах Африки, и их сотрудничество с государствами ЦА, и другие проблемы современной африканистики.

В перспективе планируется расширить систему подготовки магистерских и докторских диссертаций по африканистике в Казахстане и усилить научных контактов с ведущими специалистами Института Африки РАН РФ.

**Мохаммад Махаман**  
**L'EHCESS, Marseille**  
**LASDEL, Niamey, Niger**  
М. Махаман  
Нигер

**Синтез практической медицины и этнографии в карьере выпускника Донецкого медицинского института: от дипломированного фельдшера до антрополога в Нигере и Франции**  
**Synthesis of Practical Medicine and Ethnography in the Career of a Donetsk Medical University Graduate: From Trained Paramedic to Anthropologist in Niger and France**

*Посвящается И.В. Следзевскому*

Ничто не предвещало мне стать этнографом, аспирантом в Высшей Школе общественных и социальных наук (L'EHCESS) в Марселе, исследователем в этнографическом центре LASDEL в Ниамее, когда в 1978 году я приехал из Нигера в СССР – сначала в Баку, а затем в г. Донецк – для обучения профессии фельдшера. Именно Донецк стал для меня первым интеллектуальным центром, где состоялся мой первый контакт с медициной и гуманитарными науками.

С 1983 г. я около пяти лет работал медбратом в отделении скорой помощи и хирургической реанимации в государственной больнице г. Ниамей (Нигер). Там я встретил психолога Дидье Альбада Якоба, знания и деятельность которого заинтересовали меня с точки зрения этнопсихологии и медицинской этики. В 1988 году я вернулся в СССР для обучения в интернатуре и ординатуре Кубанского государственного медицинского университета. Вследствие политического кризиса в Нигере в 1994 году заявка на продление моей стипендии получила отказ.

С 1996 г. я сотрудничал с Лабораторией цивилизационных исследований Института Африки РАН, участвовал в ряде семинаров. Решающую роль в моем профессиональном становлении как этнографа сыграло общение с профессором И. В. Следзевским.

Вернувшись в Нигер, с 2000 г. я занимался врачебной практикой в сельской местности. Несмотря на высшее медицинское образование и собственные деревенские корни, я не всегда мог понять суть клинических жалоб пациентов. Осознав необходимость учета этнографических знаний при диагностике заболеваний, я начал вести полевой дневник. В 2003 г. состоялось мое знакомство с проявившим внимание к моим материалам исследователем L'EHCESS О. де Сарданом, будущим руководителем моей научной диссертации по этнографии.

Настоящий доклад посвящен анализу социально-политических противоречий, с которыми мне пришлось столкнуться как нигерцу, за-

ставшему советскую эпоху с ее идеологическим влиянием на высшую школу, реформы перестройки, и трудные девяностые годы.

**Khanyiso Mava Mbulawa**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**  
**Pretoria**  
Х. М. Мбулава  
Институт Африки ЮАР  
Претория

### **И мы жили в дружбе** **And So We Lived in Friendship**

Я приехал в г. Москву в 1980 г., где я поступил в Университет Дружбы Народов им. Патриса Лумумбы учиться на врача.

Студенты прибывали тогда в СССР из самых разных стран развивающегося мира, и между прочим не все они приезжали из стран социалистической ориентации. В моем случае я был членом освободительного движения Африканского Национального Конгресса (АНК), и приехал с несколько необычной целью: с одной стороны, учиться, а с другой – черпать для себя знаний о советской действительности и русской культуре. Дело в том, что был убежден, что самый достоверный способ познания любой действительности – это через собственный опыт и переживание. Ведь не зря же говорят, умом Россию не понять...

Для достижения этой цели я действовал последовательно. Во-первых, учеба: учиться надо было хорошо, и при этом принимать активное участие в общественной деятельности. Во-вторых – необходимо было раскрыть для себя суть и понятие партийной идеи: что такой коммунизм, что такой социализм? В третьих – нужно было понять культуру России: выучить язык, получить образование, заниматься наукой, пить русскую водку, работать в стройотрядах, участвовать в субботниках (я даже ходил на комсомольские собрания) – то есть, делать все, что могло бы помочь мне по-настоящему вписаться в русский быт.

Итак, прошло ни много ни мало 33 года. Прошла надежда достичь заветной стадии развитого социализма, пришла перестройка, да и Союз распался, перераспределились международные интересы и сферы влияния. Мне за это время пришлось много бывать и общаться с российскими африканистами, занимаясь вместе с ними и другими единомышленниками поиском новых взаимоотношений между Россией и Африкой.

Потому было бы для меня большой честью выступить с небольшим докладом о прожитых мною годах в Союзе и России, о взглядах на Россию и русских людей через глаза простого африканца, поделиться воспоминаниями о прожитых в Советском Союзе годах, и о том, как в



переплетениях большой судьбы мы были в самом деле тесно связаны узами. Ведь, никто не забыт, ничто не забыто...

### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-3**

**После Бандунгской конференции:  
ветер перемен на африканском континенте (1955–1965)  
After Bandung Conference:  
A Wind of Change in the African Continent (1955–1965)**

**Руководители / Conveners: Haryo Kunto Wibisono  
(Tulang Bawang University, Lampung, Indonesia);  
Trenggono Pujo Sakti  
(Jember University, Indonesia)**

After Bandung Conference (18–24 April 1955), the condition of global politics has been changed rapidly, especially in African continent where the struggle to gained their independence underway. That meeting resulted such as resolution that made many new African countries had established, released themselves from colonial rule and organised to continued ideological framework named Pan-Africa or African Union influenced by W.E.B Du Bois an African-American scholar, Ghana independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah leadership, and All-African People Conference in 1958. For African people, Bandung Conference or Asian-African Conference became referred to their struggle and vision of solidarity among ex-colonies. As the result of that conference, many African leaders along with Asian countries emphasised cooperation in economy, political, cultural aspect to develop their countries, recovery from rest colonial rule, identified their character in global society, defended their independence, restore new powers led by African people called self-determination politics. On the other side, nuclear competition had threatened world peace and Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocs had stimulated Asian-African people to choose their position in global constellation. At the same time, during 1955–1964 or after Bandung Conference, 35 countries in Africa declared their independence, those situation made Asia-African countries more frontal to United Nations and organised themselves to conduct NEFO's conception, Afro-Asia People Solidarity Organisation, and Non-Alignment Movement with addition Latin America and Yugoslavia. The focuses of this panel papers would be the patterns of colonialism in Africa before Bandung Conference, Pan-African thought as political, economic, cultural movement, solidarity and cooperation between Asia and Africa as noted in the Final Communiqué of Asian-African Conference 1955. Furthermore, it is important to answer and explain what was the African condition before that event? What was the main factor of change in Africa in the 1950s–1960s? Why Bandung Conference referred as

milestone to gain their independence? Why Africans chose Asian countries as a partner to seek cooperation and eliminated colonial influence in their continents?

**Alexander Shipilov**  
**National Research University**  
**Higher School of Economics,**

**Moscow, Russia**

А. Ю. ШИПИЛОВ

Высшая школа экономики

Москва, Россия

**Ivory Coast and Ghana Development after the Bandung Conference**  
**Развитие Берега Слоновой Кости и Ганы после Бандунгской кон-**  
**ференции**

Bandung conference greatly contributed to African decolonization and began a new era in continent's development. After 1955 the international system of inequality between western and non-western states collapsed, substituted by the post-colonial international system of equality of all states. African states chose different development paths in the post-Bandung world, either attempting to fully practice the newly-gained independence (Ghana) or preserving dependence from former colonial powers (Ivory Coast).

Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana was the first African country to gain independence after the Bandung conference, practicing the principles of the Non-Alignment and avoiding close ties with cold war blocks and post-colonial influence. Meanwhile Ivory Coast resumed economic ties with France, becoming its closest regional ally. As Ghana followed Bandung principles and Ivory Coast didn't their success in Africa can be assessed through their political and economic performance.

Politically, Nkrumah's regime avoided lasting alliances, developing relations with socialist states but remaining non-allied and non-opinionated in the conflict between USSR and China. Consequently, Nkrumah was removed by a 1966 coup. However pro-French Ivorian dictator Felix Houphouët-Boigny ruled until his death in 1993.

Economic development in the post-Bandung decade showed Ghana's moderate success and Ivorian more rapid growth (GDP-wise). So during early post-colonial years non-allied strategies appear to be inferior to neocolonial collaboration. However Houphouët's initial economic success turned into ultimate decline, social and ethnic problems causing civil war while Ghana developed more sustainably, avoiding major economic and political calamities.

To conclude, Bandung-inspired African states in the long run were more stable than neocolonial collaborators. So the non-alignment path chosen by

Ghana in the post-colonial era despite certain drawbacks can be named more fruitful than that of the Ivory Coast.

**Ibrahim Waziri Abubakar**  
**Gombe State University**  
**Gombe, Nigeria**

И. В. Абубакар  
Государственный университет Гомбе  
Нигерия

**Afro-Asian Cooperation and Solidarity since Bandung Conference:  
a Critical Appraisal**

**Афро-азиатское сотрудничество и солидарность после Бандунгской  
конференции: критическая оценка**

The 1955 Bandung Conference no doubt ushered-in a new era and style of international relations in the world, as it brought together a number of Third World countries for the first time to collectively defend their interests and promote world peace. The metamorphosing into the Non-Aligned Movement is a testimony of the relevance of the bloc in international affairs. But apart from defending its common interests, the conference also aimed at laying the foundations for Afro-Asian cooperation between and among the countries of the two regions with the objective of achieving economic and social well-being of their peoples. The question is, after 58 years since the first conference, to what extent can we say its objectives have been achieved? Is the Bandung spirit still relevant, strong and vibrant enough to face the challenges of globalization?

The objective of the paper is to assess the successes and failures of the Bandung principles and spirit, as well as its capacity to achieve its goals in the era of globalization characterized by the dominance of multinational corporations, some of which are richer and more powerful than some countries; and the aggressive power-play in global politics by neo-conservatives in which Third World countries and peoples have been at the receiving end in global economic and political relations. Should the principles of the conference be abandoned, or are they still viable? Should member countries strive harder to revive and strengthen cooperation and solidarity between them as a group?

**Belete Belachew Yihun**  
**Jimma University, Ethiopia**  
Б.Б. Йихун  
Университет Джиммы, Эфиопия

**The Bandung Conference of 1955: Its Effects on the Foreign Policy  
Orientations of Imperial Ethiopia**  
**Влияние Бандунгской конференции 1955 г. на внешнеполитиче-  
скую ориентацию имперской Эфиопии**

The traditionally pro-west Ethiopia has undergone a major transformation in its foreign policy alignments since early 1950s. In spite of the expectations of its allies across the shores of the Atlantic, the country's international policy inclinations have started to shift towards Non-Alignment and Pan-Africanism. The Bandung Conference of 1955 has immensely contributed to this readjustment on the part of Ethiopia. Contrary to emergent nations in Africa and Asia, which were trying to find a third way to the complex Cold War intricacies of the post-WWII era, Ethiopia had its associations curved out for long. So was the government of Haile-Selassie considered a steadfast proponent and client of the British and the US. So what instigated Ethiopia to enter into the non-aligned group? What were the objective realities behind this enormous foreign policy shift? How did the Bandung Conference introduced into Ethiopia's outlook towards the world? This paper attempts to address these questions and come out with a plausible explanation driving the most archaic nation in Africa towards international politics.

#### СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-4

**Новый этногенез: этнические процессы и конструирование этничности в колониальной и постколониальной Африке**  
**New Ethnogenesis: Ethnic Processes and Ethnicity Construction in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa**

**Руководитель: д.и.н., проф. Владимир Александрович Попов**  
**(Музей антропологии и этнографии РАН, Санкт-Петербург, Россия)**  
**Convener: Prof. Vladimir A. Popov (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography [Kunstkamera], St. Petersburg, Russia)**

The research problems of ethnogenetical studies become highly important for the development of modern type of dialogue of civilizations and ethnic cultures at the worldwide. Nevertheless a new ethnogenesis phenomena as a special process of the era of globalization is underestimated. Meanwhile for the last 100 years ethnic mixing and ethnicity construction have become the most important ethno-transforming processes (naturally developed and artificially stimulated respectively) and provide dynamics of ethnocultural development of the mankind. The problems proposed for the discussion are as follows:

- comparative historical research of ethnocultural, ethnosocial, demographic (especially urbanistic), racial and socio-linguistic factors for ethnogenesis in colonial and postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa;
- ethnicity construction in the British Eastern Africa and Nigeria (colonial “tribes” and technologies of artificially-driven ethnogenesis);
- ethnocultural and ethnopolitical characteristics of Lusotropicalism and apology of the creolization and metisation;
- finding out and ethnocultural characterization of the new ethnic groups of mixed origin (“metis cultures” and “creole-syndrom”);
- creating of the new post-colonial ethnicity in the process of national-administrative construction including the invention of new ethnonyms, as well as ethnic planning together with the linguistic one (“one people = one language”);
- The development of ethnocaste units (for example, in the case of the Tutsi/Hima – Hutu/Iru – Twa).

A special theme: an analysis of scholarly mythologization of ethnic processes, and critique studies for ideologically loaded historical and culturally-anthropological research studies in the countries of Ibero-America as well, where the group of communities, sharing African background, are said (on the both sides of the Atlantic Ocean) to be a special civilization.

These ideas include, for example, a theory about Yoruba transatlantic complex (“the worldwide Yoruba ethnicity”).

**Попов В.А.**  
**Музей антропологии и этнографии**  
**им. Петра Великого (Кунсткамера) РАН,**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Vladimir A. Popov  
Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology  
and Ethnography [Kunstammer]  
St. Petersburg, Russia

**Этнические процессы и конструирование этничности в  
колониальной и постколониальной Тропической Африке<sup>12</sup>**  
**Ethnic Processes and Ethnicity Construction in Colonial and  
Postcolonial Tropical Africa**

Этногенетическая проблематика приобретает исключительно важное значение для развития современного диалога цивилизаций и этнических культур в глобальном масштабе, однако феномену нового этногенеза как особому явлению эпохи глобализации уделяется неоправданно мало внимания. Между тем за последние сто лет этническая миксация и конструирование этничности стали ведущими этнотрансформационными процессами (естественным и искусственным соответственно) и в значительной степени обеспечивают динамику этнокультурного развития человечества.

Доклад представляет собой обзор следующего круга вопросов:

1. Урбанизация как один из ведущих факторов нового этногенеза в колониальной и постколониальной Африке южнее Сахары;
2. Конструирование этничности в британской Восточной Африке и Нигерии (колониальные «племена» и технологии управляемого этногенеза);
3. Этнокультурные и этнополитические аспекты лузотропикализма и апологетика креолизации и метисации;
4. Этнокультурная характеристика новых этнических групп смешанного происхождения («культуры-метисы» и «креольский синдром»);
5. Конструирование новой постколониальной этничности в процессе национально-административного строительства, включая созда-

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<sup>12</sup> Доклад подготовлен при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках проекта № 12-06-00074 «Новый этногенез: опыт комплексного исследования процессов этнокультурной миксации и конструирования этничности в эпоху глобализации».

ние новых этнонимов, и взаимосвязь этнического планирования с языковым («один народ = один язык»);

6. Формирование этнокастовых общностей (на примере тутси/хима – хуту/иру – тва в Бурунди, Руанде и Уганде);

7. Научная мифологизация этнических процессов, в частности трактовка как своего рода цивилизации комплекса сообществ по обе стороны Атлантического океана, объединенных африканским происхождением. В качестве примера – теория о йорубском трансатлантическом комплексе («всемирная йорубская идентичность»).

**Clara Saraiva**  
**New University**  
**Institute for Tropical Research**  
**Lisbon, Portugal**

К. Сараива  
Новый университет  
Лиссабон, Португалия

### **How Death Changes Ethnic and Religious Conceptions: Caring and Nurturing in the Diaspora for African Migrants in Portugal**

**Как смерть меняет политику и религиозные концепции: забота и воспитание в диаспоре африканских мигрантов в Португалии**

The immigration of people from Guinea-Bissau to Portugal started after the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974 revolution and the independence of Guinea-Bissau, and increased after 1984, with the opening of the country to more westernized economic and social models. Portugal is seen as a paradise, where one can have a job and send remittances to the families back home. Guinea Bissau is a small country, with ca 1.2 million of inhabitants, but with a large ethnic diversity, counting 23 ethnic groups. Most groups in the interior are Islamized, and the coastal ones are animistic, but religious affiliation does not always follow an ethnic division, and there are multiple combinations of animistic and Christian religious options.

In Portugal, almost all the groups are represented, and there is a certain union and reivindication of a common national origin that surpass ethnic diversity. One of such references is related to religion, death and the funerary rituals. This paper aims at analyzing how national and ethnic identity is recreated in the diaspora though the re-elaboration of a set of references and codes that connect individuals to their families in the original grounds, being that one of the most important of such codes is religion. Basically, we will analyze how religious affiliation is recreated in the diaspora, and becomes a code for recreating the nation, surpassing the various religious and ethnic diversities. The case study we will present deals with the death of Guinean



migrants in Lisbon, and how rituals and the management of death as a transnational process shapes ethnic and religious affiliation and creates new forms of religiosity and ritual in the diaspora.

In spite of the interest that the recent status of Portugal as an immigration country arises, some important issues dealing with immigrant's states of suffering and death have hardly been dealt with. Using as case study the example of immigrants from Guinea-Bissau in Portugal, this paper will deal with the multiple levels that death touches upon, from the symbolic to the more practical ones, and especially the religious connections that death rituals imply. If the different ethnic groups from Guinea-Bissau do not really how do immigrants perceive death and dying and incorporate them in their conceptualization of the diaspora? For immigrants, death is a reality that often conditions the relation with the home country. Death is thus here looked upon as a process, which involves specific emotional states and triggers the use of rituals in order to cope with the unavoidable distress, acquiring more complicated aspects when away from home, which deal with political and administrative procedures. How does the state and the embassy in Lisbon deal with the death of its subjects? How do the shifts between very traditional cultural approaches and the tentative to "modernize" such practices by the Guinean state take place and their implications for the development of the country? Death is one realm in which a transnational approach is mandatory; it entails an intense circulation of material goods and wealth, but also of highly symbolic significant universes which circulate along with the goods and the people: the corpse, but also the spirits and the relations with the other world that people brought along into the diaspora situation. Tradition and innovation is certainly an issue to be dealt with this paper.

**Nuno Carlos de Fragoso Vidal**  
**Lisbon University Institute**  
**Portugal**

Н.К. де Фрагосо Видаль  
Лиссабонский университет  
Португалия

**The European Expansion and Incursion in Angola in the XVIth Century  
as the Basis of the Political and Economic Post-Independence Dominion  
of the MPLA's Elites**

**Европейская экспансия и вторжение в Анголу в XVI в. как основа  
политического и экономического доминирования элиты МПЛА в  
период после обретения независимости**

Above and beyond the common explanations for the unabated maintenance of power by the Angolan ruling party since the independence, based

on the modern patrimonial character of the regime supported by an increasing oil rent, this paper argues that the unabated overrule of the MPLA and its elites over the others lays on a long and lasting historical process of social identity that is here characterized as Creolization at the heart of the MPLA, supporting a dynamics of political-economic dominance. This process started in the 16th century directly derived from the specificities of the European expansion and incursion in the territory of Angola, closely accompanied until the mid 19th century by the genesis of a complex clientelist social organization including extended kinship ties.

At the end of the 16th century Portugal began favoring the North-Central area (Luanda and its hinterland) to the detriment of the North (S. Salvador of Congo), following a new commercial and military strategy of incursion into the interior, including a set of commercial and marriage alliances to facilitate Portuguese trade and political control. The historical and geographic unequal development of Portuguese incursion in the territory produced a major socio-cultural cleavage between the elites that had not been significantly marked by Portuguese colonization and those that had.

Creolization, understood as a fusion of black Mbundu cultural characteristics with Portuguese cultural characteristics in the North-Central area gave those elites an amazing ability to articulate/manipulate a double register – African and European. It is from this Creole/Mbundu alliance that emerged those who were to form the MPLA in the late fifties of the twentieth century. The ability to manage a double register resulted in an unparalleled capacity to legitimize and reinforce its political and economic power, not only internally but mainly externally in different periods of the country's history. It is this specificity that explains the MPLA's relatively greater flexibility and capacity for integration/selective cooption, of members of other elites, regions and ethno-linguistic groups, thus broadening the scope of the Creole/Mbundu alliance in a way not paralleled by any other movements or political parties in the post-independence period until today.

**Vânia Pedro**

**Lisbon University, Portugal**

**В. Педро**

**Лиссабонский университет**

**Португалия**

### **The Role of Kinship Networks in Integration of Zambeian Migrants in Maputo City (Mozambique)**

#### **Роль родственных сетей в интеграции мигрантов из провинции Замбезия в г. Мапуту (Мозамбик)**

Mozambique is one of Sub-Saharan countries where internal migrations tend to increase. People struggle for getting better life conditions and

somehow they think it is in bigger towns where they have the possibility to achieve the desired life quality. Far from being purely an economic phenomenon, migration also plays identity aspects, to the extent that the persons who migrate had had been socialized in a certain way, and their integration into the new context depends largely on their assimilation or adaptation to the arrival sociocultural context.

This study examined the role of kinship networks in the integration of migrants from Zambézia province (located in the center) in Maputo city (the capital located in the south), regarding aspects like sociocultural and economic insertion in a new dynamic, competitive, culturally and heterogeneous context. Qualitative methods were used and data were gathered through semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation. Based on the method of content analysis, this study found that there is a coexistence of different social networks within Zambebian people in Maputo. And surprisingly the kinship is far from being the exclusive network base that supports individuals in the process of migration from Zambézia province to Maputo city. It was noted that kinship relations that migrants establish with their relatives from Zambézia province in Maputo city are based on ties of consanguinity.

The study also suggests that kinship relations still have a normative power even in urban areas such as the Maputo city, and this found contradicts some current opinion that individuals who live in an urban tend to isolate themselves from their relatives. Even far from their context of origin, the Zambebian migrants use to go to their homeland, in order to visit the ancestor's tombs, feel at home and strengthen their cultural identity.

Сиим (Москвитина) А.Ю.  
Музей антропологии и этнографии  
им. Петра Великого (Кунсткамера) РАН,  
Санкт-Петербург, РФ  
Anna Yu. Siim (Moskvitina)  
Peter the Great Museum of  
Anthropology and Ethnography [Kunstammer]  
St. Petersburg, Russia

**Watu wa Visiwani («люди островов»):  
противоречия и цельность занзибарского самосознания<sup>13</sup>**  
***Watu wa Visiwani* (“People of the Islands”): Contradictions  
and Integrity of the Zanzibari Self-consciousness** Архипелаг

Занзибар в составе объединенной Танзании активно позиционируется как главный оплот прибрежно-островной цивилизации суахили (Усвахилини). Этому способствует его уникальная историческая роль в регионе: возвышение Занзибара относительно других суахилийских городов с конца 18 в. в качестве центра торговой империи оманского султана, стандартизация языка суахили на основе занзибарского «торгового» диалекта киунгуджа и превращение его в государственный язык Танзании, территориальные границы которой полностью включают пространство континентальной периферии Занзибара, некогда освоенной арабами и суахили. Сегодня развивающийся на Занзибаре туризм опирается на исторические достопримечательности периода султаната.

Для самосознания занзибарцев характерно противопоставление островов и континента, представление о нецелесообразности объединения и культурной несовместимости с Танганьикой. Такое положение выглядит для них логичным в силу ряда факторов: формальное отсутствие статуса колонии, короткие периоды полной политической независимости после ухода британцев (Занзибарский султанат (1963–1964) и Республика Занзибар (1964)), обретение в составе Танзании собственной конституции в 1979 г. и автономии с собственным президентом и правительством, флагом и гимном в 2005 г., дальнейшие дипломатические поиски путей расширения автономии, утопические мечты о реставрации Усвахилини, характерные для местной интеллигенции.

Тяготение к арабизации всегда присутствовало в самосознании различных суахилийских групп (ваширази, вахадиму, вапемба), у населе-

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<sup>13</sup> Доклад подготовлен при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках проекта № 12-06-00074 «Новый этногенез: опыт комплексного исследования процессов этнокультурной миксации и конструирования этничности в эпоху глобализации».

ния о. Тумбату доминировал персидско-ширазский «вектор». При этом извне – в собственно арабском мире – даже сами занзибарские арабы (ваарабу) воспринимались вкуче с неарабским населением острова как суахили (в силу лингвистического фактора и смешанных браков). В конце 1950-х гг. в период формирования политических движений на этнической основе партия Афро-Ширази (ASP) позиционировала себя как проафриканская. Государственный переворот 1964 г., нацеленный против господства арабов и индийцев, провозглашение республики во главе с президентом от ASP и дальнейшее объединение с Танганьикой были обусловлены внутриостровными противоречиями, борьбой за «свой» Занзибар. Однако спустя некоторое время дореволюционная политическо-экономическая иерархия, постепенно восстановилась, включив обратно арабов и индийцев.

Общины «занзибарцев» проживают в ЮАР, Индии, арабских странах и придерживаются географического самоназвания (Zanzibaris, Jangbario). Выходцы с Занзибара, находясь за границей, склонны определять себя как «занзибарцы», но не «танзанийцы». Сепаратистские тенденции характерны и для прилегающих к центральному о. Унгуджа (Занзибар) островов. Они выражаются в политических протестах с целью автономизации (Пемба) и в ограничениях на допуск туристов (Тумбату).

**Власенкова Е.С.**

**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**

Ekaterina S. Vlasenkova

St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Формирование этничности йоруба: обращение к мифологии**

#### **Formation of the Yoruba Ethnicity: Appeal to Mythology**

XX век остро обозначил проблему этничности. Колониальное общество и синтез культур, попытки самоопределения, интерес ко всему традиционному, обращение «к корням» – все это характеризует рассматриваемый период.

В докладе прослеживается история самоопределения одного из крупнейших этносов Западной Африки – йоруба, в частности автор рассматривает обращение йоруба к мифологии как стимул объединения в различных сферах – политике, религии, общественной жизни и культуре. Большую роль в этом процессе сыграло созданное в 1940-х гг. прошлого столетия общество «Союз детей Оудуа», которое стремилось вызвать интерес йоруба к доколониальной истории, этнической культуре и традиционным верованиям, поднять их на борьбу против колониальных властей, вернуться к традиционному укладу жизни.

Анализируются также результаты попыток объединения йоруба, проживающих не только на территории современной Нигерии, но и в других странах Западной Африки (Того, Бенине и др.), с наго Бразилии и лукуми Кубы. Интерес потомков бывших невольников к собственной истории и, как следствие, их «паломничество» в страны Западной Африки стали мощным фактором формирования феномена «всемирной йорубской идентичности» и теории о существовании йорубского трансатлантического комплекса.

**Сапанов С.Ж.**  
**КазУМО МЯ им. Абылай хана**  
**Алматы, Казахстан**  
S.Zh. Sapanov  
Ablai Khan Kazakh University  
of International Relations  
and World Languages  
Almaty, Kazakhstan

### **Африка и Центральная Азия: актуальные проблемы межэтнических отношений**

#### **Africa and Central Asia: Acute Problems of the Interethnic Relations**

Согласно Питириму Сорокину, этнические конфликты возникают по поводу прав и интересов этнических сообществ. Основными причинами межэтнической напряженности в Центральной Азии, стали конфликты между титульными этносами и некоренным населением, которое переселилось на территорию региона в советский период или появилось здесь сравнительно недавно в результате трудовых миграций. Весьма показательной была вспышка насилия в киргизском Оше в 2010 г.

В Казахстане в последние годы наблюдается множество трудовых конфликтов и межэтнических столкновений на бытовом уровне, в частности автикавказские выступления казахов в прикаспийском г. Актау в 2006–2007 гг. и «тенгизское побоище» – массовая драка турецких и казахских рабочих на нефтяном месторождении Тенгиз (Атырауская обл.) в октябре 2006 г.

Особенностью межэтнических противоречий в центральноазиатском регионе является их тесная взаимосвязь с межгосударственными. Отсюда вытекает вероятность потенциального разрастания межэтнических конфликтов в межгосударственные.

Анализируя кризисы в странах Африки, можно разделить их на саморазрешаемые и патологические, причем межэтнические кризисы относятся к последним и они угрожают стабильности и безопасности почти всех государств региона. В целом африканские межэтнические про-

тиворечия носят внутригосударственный характер. Поэтому для разрешения межэтнических конфликтов в Африке и в Центральной Азии следует применять принципиально разные методы.

### СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-5

#### **Тени империи: «бигмены», гендерное насилие и образование колониальных и постколониальных африканских государств Shadows of Empire: “Big Men,” Gendered Violence, and the Making of Colonial and Post-Colonial African States**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Kirk Arden Hoppe  
(University of Illinois at Chicago, USA)**

Using infamous “Big Men” of Africa as a lens while interrogating the “Great Men of History” as explanation for historical change, the papers of this panel illustrate the crucial role of gender and gendered violence in the making of colonial and post-colonial states in Africa. Kirk Arden Hoppe uses the historical example of Emin Pasha to explore issues of state power and the ordering of resources in the making of contemporary politics of the southern Sudan. Emin Pasha, neé Eduard Schnitzer, worked for the Ottoman state as the governor of Equatoria from 1878–1888. In contrast to the hyper-masculine narratives of Henry Morton Stanley, Schnitzer’s self-narrations depict a gentle scientist-administrator collecting biological specimens and mapping resources, quietly administering over a community of Egyptian and Sudanese soldiers and their families. Hoppe’s gender analysis of Emin Pasha exposes state attempts to forcibly order African people and landscapes in the southern Sudan through discourses of science, white masculinity, and the erasure of colonial violence. TJ Boisseau’s paper focuses on the public career as an “explorer” and supposed advocate for Africans of an American feminist named May French-Sheldon. French-Sheldon achieved minor fame as a result of her expedition from Zanzibar through British and German-controlled East Africa in the Kilimanjaro region in 1892. Later in 1903-04, she served as a double agent and spy for Leopold in the Congo, and building upon travel to that region, attempted to obtain her own rubber concession in Liberia. Boisseau’s research unearths the links between gender, race, and imperial ambition in the making of several colonial states at key moments in their construction and highlights the peculiarly gendered violence enacted by white women in the process of colonizing Africa. Alicia Decker examines Ugandan women’s complex and sometimes paradoxical relationship to Idi Amin’s military state. She argues that the gendered violence of Amin’s regime resulted in opportunities as well as challenges for Ugandan women. Some women assumed positions of political power or taught themselves to become successful entrepreneurs, while others experienced the trauma of watching their husbands and sons “disappeared” by the state’s security



forces, or lived through violent sexual assaults themselves. Women had a mixed relationship to Amin and his military government, one that was complicated and uneven: while they appreciated many of the policies that he put into place, they feared and resented the violence of militarism and sought refuge from state violence in the obscurity of the shadows. Kevin Dunn's paper offers a critical reading of Henry Morton Stanley's understanding of Congolese identity. It does so against the backdrop of contemporary Congolese realities and an international construction of the country as synonymous with state collapse, aid inefficiency, and brutality (the "rape capital of the world" according to one UN official). Employing a feminist and post-colonial engagement, this paper explores the ways in which the colonial construction of "Congo" has produced and is reified in contemporary international politics, with ramifications for Congo and beyond.

**TJ Boisseau**  
**Purdue University**  
**USA**

Т. Дж. Буассо  
Университет Пёрдью  
Вест-Лафайетт, США

**Shadow of a Woman: Colonial Feminism and State Building in East,  
West, and Central Africa**

**Тень женщины: колониальный феминизм и строительство  
государства в Восточной, Западной и Центральной Африке**

This paper focuses on the public career as an "explorer" and supposed advocate for Africans of an American feminist named May French-Sheldon. French-Sheldon achieved minor fame as a result of her expedition from Zanzibar through British and German-controlled East Africa in the Kilimanjaro region in 1892. Later in 1903-04, she served as a double agent and spy for Leopold in the Congo, and building upon travel to that region, attempted to obtain her own rubber concession in Liberia. Boisseau's research unearths the links between gender, race, and imperial ambition in the making of several colonial states at key moments in their construction and highlights the peculiarly gendered violence enacted by white women in the process of colonizing Africa.

**Alicia Decker**  
**Purdue University**  
**USA**  
А. Декер  
Университет Пёрдью  
Вест-Лафайетт, США

**Idi Amin's Shadow: Gendered Violence and the Making  
of the Ugandan State**

**Тень Иди Амина: гендерное насилие и создание  
угандийского государства**

This paper examines Ugandan women's complex and sometimes paradoxical relationship to Idi Amin's military state. Alicia Decker argues that the gendered violence of Amin's regime resulted in opportunities as well as challenges for Ugandan women. Some women assumed positions of political power or taught themselves to become successful entrepreneurs, while others experienced the trauma of watching their husbands and sons "disappeared" by the state's security forces, or lived through violent sexual assaults themselves. Women had a mixed relationship to Amin and his military government, one that was complicated and uneven: while they appreciated many of the policies that he put into place, they feared and resented the violence of militarism and sought refuge from state violence in the obscurity of the shadows.

**Kevin Dunn**  
**Hobart and William Smith Colleges**  
**Geneva, USA**  
К. Данн  
Колледжи Хобарта и Уильяма Смита  
Женева, США

**In the Shadow of Stanley: State Violence, Gender and Post-Colonialism  
in the Congo**

**В тени Стэнли: государственное насилие, гендер и  
постколониализм в Конго**

Perhaps more than any other explorer or colonizer of the continent, Henry Morton Stanley was an instrumental force in the production of images of Africa and Africans for Western consumption. More than innocuous forms of racism, these representations were influential in constructing African identities in Western perceptions. He also helped construct the physical entity known as the Congo, carving out a vast territory for Belgian King Leopold II. Over a hundred years later, the Congo represents one of the

globe's foremost "failed states." This paper offers a critical reading of Henry Morton Stanley's understanding of Congolese identity. It does so against the backdrop of contemporary Congolese reality, where the country has become synonymous with state collapse, aid inefficiency, and brutality (the "rape capital of the world" according to one UN official). Employing a feminist and post-colonial engagement, this paper explores the ways in which the colonial construction of "Congo" has produced and is reified in contemporary international politics, with ramifications for Congo and beyond.

**Kirk Arden Hoppe**  
**University of Illinois at Chicago**  
**USA**

К.А. Хоппе  
Университет Иллинойса в Чикаго  
США

**Suspicious Modernities at the Corners of Empire: Emin Pasha in Africa**  
**Подозрительные современности на углах империи:**  
**Эмин-паша в Африке**

In this paper, I interrogate tensions in the stories of colonization and modernity told by and about a second-tier German-Ottoman colonial agent, Edward Schnitzer more widely known as "Emin Pasha."

A German trained medical doctor, Schnitzer circulated through the Ottoman empire as a tutor, personal assistant and military doctor in the 1860's and 70's. Then from 1878–1888, he served as the Ottoman governor of Equatoria in the Southern Sudan to highly romanticized fame in Europe as a white man cut off from "civilization" by the Islamic Mahdist rebellion. In the media and in the context of a vast publishing industry of memoirs by other European male adventures, Schnitzer's Victorian celebrity emerged as a male European scientist-explorer modernizer isolated in Africa in contrast to the hyper-masculine narratives of Henry Stanley and others. Stories by and about Schnitzer depict the remote masculinity of anti-conquest as discussed by Pratt (*Imperial Eyes*, 1992); a slight gentle figure collecting biological specimens and quietly administering, in Arabic, over a community of Egyptian and Sudanese soldiers and their local African families who hold him in fond regard. I explore the discursive contours of Emin Pasha's perceived gentle modernities. His imperial readership and chroniclers articulate a suspicious admiration of him as they grapple with tales of a slight, mild-mannered, bespectacled, and problematically Arabized self-exiled scientist, one whose modernizing masculinity is in question due to reports of his suspiciously intimate and peaceful relations with the Ottoman state, with African leaders and with subaltern soldiers.

### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL III-6**

**Общество и политика в Африке в историко-культурологическом аспекте**

**Society and Politics in Africa in the Historical and Cultural Aspects**

**Руководители: к.и.н. Наталья Александровна Жерлицына,  
к.филол.н. Ирина Геннадьевна Татаровская  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Conveners: Dr. Natalia A. Zherlitsina, Dr. Irina G. Tatarovskaya  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

Участники секции намерены сосредоточиться в основном на двух крупных темах. Во-первых, исследование различных аспектов африканской истории как части истории мировой, а также анализ исторического аспекта связей между народами континента и Россией/СССР. Во-вторых, предлагается рассмотреть культурную составляющую как истории стран Африки, так и роль культуры в двусторонних российско-африканских отношениях. Особое внимание будет уделено рассмотрению тех процессов, которые возникли на континенте и в российско-африканских отношениях в переломные моменты мировой истории. Исследование указанной тематики позволит расширить представление об Африке и российско-африканских связях.

The panel will concentrate on two basic directions. First, it is a research of various aspects of African history, its interrelation with world history, and also analysis of historical connections between the countries of the continent and Russia/USSR. Secondly, it is proposed to consider the cultural component of the African countries development, and its role in the bilateral Russian – African relations. Special attention will be paid to the processes which have emerged on the continent and in the bilateral relations in the crucial moments of history. The study of the topics will allow to expand the understanding of Africa and the Russian-African relations.

Антошин А. В.  
Уральский федеральный университет  
Екатеринбург, РФ  
Antoshin Alexey V.  
Ural Federal University  
Ekaterinburg, Russia

**«Советский патриотизм» в Северной Африке после Второй мировой войны: идейные искания русских эмигрантов во второй половине 1940-х гг.**

**“Soviet patriotism” in North Africa after the World War II: Ideological Search of Russian Immigrants in the Second Half of 1940-s**

Вторая мировая война и первые послевоенные годы – время всплеска патриотических настроений среди русских эмигрантов. Тревога за судьбу Родины, гордость за ее успехи в борьбе против нацизма заслонили для многих эмигрантов негативные особенности существовавшего в СССР политического режима. Эта тенденция была характерна и для Северной Африки. Организации Союза советских патриотов (ССП) возникли в Алжире (Алжир, Оран, Бон), Марокко (Рабат, Касабланка, Фес, Сафи), Тунисе. Как показывает анализ источников (прежде всего материалов издававшейся в Париже газеты «Советский патриот»), именно патриотические настроения сыграли ключевую роль в том, что часть проживавших в регионе русских стали активно симпатизировать Советскому Союзу. Большинство из них не принадлежали к числу левых интеллектуалов, их мало привлекал «социалистический эксперимент» в СССР. До войны эти люди совершенно не верили лозунгам коммунистической пропаганды. Характерна, например, судьба проживавшего в Алжире участника Белого движения В.В. Торского, о котором в одной из своих последних работ писал покойный А.Б. Летнев. Как отмечал В. В. Торский, в 1930-е гг. он не обращал никакого внимания на ту советскую пропагандистскую литературу, которая попадалась ему на глаза. Для таких людей принципиальным было возвращение их Родиной утраченных после Октября 1917 г. позиций в мире. В Северной Африке такие эмигранты занимались самыми разными видами деятельности (кустари, механики, портные, врачи), были среди них и успешные предприниматели, владельцы достаточно крупных предприятий. Таким был, например, председатель отдела ССП в Сафи (Марокко) Г.П. Татиев. Пропагандируя возвращение эмигрантов в Советский Союз, он и его товарищи, очевидно, не задумывались о том, что их психология и образ жизни совершенно не соответствовали стандарту, принятым в сталинском СССР.

**Власова Н.А.**  
**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**  
Natalia A. Vlasova  
P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University  
Russia

**Война и мир в творчестве суданского художника  
Ибрагима аль Салахи**

**War and Peace in the Works of the Sudanese Artist Ibrahim al Salahi**

История Судана в XX веке – это история непрекращающихся военных столкновений и политических переворотов. Тема войны, разрушений, гибели актуальна как никакая иная для общественно-политической жизни страны. Поскольку война приводит к невосполнимой утрате культурных ценностей, то история и культура Судана оказались в центре внимания интеллектуальной и художественной элиты страны. Посредством различных художественных символов, знаков и образов шел процесс передачи информации, поэтому и современное искусство оказалось социально-ориентированным.

Суданский художник Ибрагим аль Салахи (родился в 1930 году в Судане, на сегодняшний день живет в Великобритании) признан основателем современной живописи на Родине. Полученное в Европе образование помогло аль Салахи по-новому взглянуть на свои исторические корни. Он был одним из создателей художественного объединения, носящего название «Хартумская школа» или «Школа пустыни и джунглей», члены которого пытались решить проблемы формирования национальной идентичности после окончания британского колониального правления.

Осенью 1975 года, в период военной диктатуры генерала Нимейри в Судане, аль Салахи был обвинен в антиправительственном заговоре и заключен в тюрьму. После освобождения из тюрьмы аль Салахи эмигрировал: жил попеременно в Катаре и Великобритании.

Его полотна «Неизбежность» (1984), «Лица», «Похороны и полу-месяц», «Бедные женщины несут пустые корзины» (1963) и другие представляют собой бескомпромиссное осуждение политических режимов в Судане, которые привели к гражданской войне, нищете основной массы населения, огромному количеству беженцев.

Исследователи сходятся в том, что при детальном рассмотрении картины аль Салахи «Неизбежность» у зрителя возникают параллели с полотнами «Герника» Пикассо, «Мягкая конструкция с вареными бо-бами: Предчувствие гражданской войны» Дали.

Подобное сходство идей, символики, стилей африканского и европейского художников не что иное, как желание африканцев быть поня-

тым представителями иных культур и религий (в частности представителями европейской культуры). И гражданская война в Испании, и война в Судане – жестокие формы решения политических и экономических проблем... Война, на какой бы территории не велась, всегда в итоге приносит жертвы и страдания мирному населению.

**Жерлицына Н.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Natalia A. Zherlitsyna  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Советская пресса и печать 1920–1930-х гг. о Тунисе** **The Soviet Press of the 1920s–30s about Tunisia**

Первое послеоктябрьское десятилетие стало временем появления в СССР новой востоковедческой литературы и публицистики. Пробуждение народов Востока к активной политической жизни и национально-освободительная борьба, развернувшаяся в колониальных странах, поставили перед Советским государством новые политические задачи. Востоковедение приобрело необычайную актуальность. Изменилась его методологическая база – ею стал так называемый марксизм-ленинизм, и практические задачи – власть требовала от ученых уделять главное внимание вопросам национально-освободительного движения народов Востока. Советские идеологи отводили важную роль и развитию востоковедной публицистики, способствовавшей лучшему ознакомлению с актуальными проблемами стран Азии и Африки. Хотя все эти публикации были полны свойственных той эпохе политических догматов и идеологических штампов, они все же способствовали развитию отечественной востоковедной школы и свидетельствовали о неизменной поддержке Советским Союзом борьбы народов Востока за национальный суверенитет. Такие советские журналы как «Революция и национальности», «Красный Интернационал профсоюзов», «Коммунистический интернационал», «Мировое хозяйство и мировая политика», «Международное рабочее движение» и другие скрупулезно отслеживали перипетии освободительной борьбы народа Туниса против французского колониализма.

**Жуков А.В.**  
**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**  
A. V. Zhukov  
P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University  
Russia

### **Художественная литература англо-бурского противостояния (1899–1902 гг.).**

#### **Belles Lettres of the English-Boer Confrontation, 1899–1902**

События англо-бурской войны являлись объектом внимания многих авторов. Они освещены на страницах более чем двухсот романов и пятидесяти рассказов на английском, французском, немецком голландском, шведском, африкаанс, даже на языке урду.

Подавляющее большинство романов и рассказов об англо-бурской войне может использоваться как исторический источник, так как они были созданы в период противостояния. Некоторые названия произведений, изданных тогда, очень точно передают настроение патриотического пыла (Б. Ронан, «Завоевание буров» (1899); И. Эймс, «Огромные близнецы, или как были побиты бури» (1900); С.Д. Хаским, «Для королевы в Южной Африке» (1900); Ф. Рассел, «Ошибки Буров» (1900)). Наиболее знаменитыми литературными деятелями и авторами, пишущими о войне, были ее современники и участники: Редьярд Киплинг (1865–1936), Уинстон Черчилль (1874–1965), Х. Райдер Хаггард (1856–1925), сэр Артур Конан Дойл (1859–1930), сэр Перси Фитцпатрик (1862–1931), и Эдгар Уоллес (1875–1932).

После Первой мировой войны в художественной литературе происходит интересный идеологический сдвиг от империализма к поддержке Южно-Африканского Союза. Англо-бурская война изображалась в сущности, как гражданская война, в которой члены одной семьи воевали на противоположных сторонах, а мир должен был стать всеобщим благом.

С 30-х гг. появляется тенденция изображения южноафриканского противостояния с точки зрения буров. В южноафриканской литературе начинает утверждаться (в более широком масштабе) тема расовых взаимоотношений, которая в значительной степени была «спящей» во время англо-бурской войны. С 1948 г. фокус южноафриканской литературы все больше смещается к расовому вопросу; еще больше утверждается мысль о том, что англо-бурское противостояние – гражданская война.

Англо-бурская война продолжает оставаться популярной темой художественной литературы на протяжении XX века. В настоящее время сюжеты англо-бурского конфликта доминируют в творчестве южноафриканских писателей.



**Иванченко О.В., Попов П.А.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Oxana V. Ivanchenko, Petr A. Popov

Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia

### **Обратная сторона Дар-эс-Салама: усуахилини**

#### **The Back Side of Dar es Salaam: *Uswahilini***

В Дар-эс-Саламе велик контраст между бедными и богатыми районами города. Что характерно, зачастую они соседствуют друг с другом, и логика распространения бедных районов по пространству города просматривается с трудом. В колониальные времена возник термин «усуахилини» (получивший в XX в. сокращенный вариант – «усвази»), обозначающий части города, отведённые для проживания африканцев. Сегодня это понятие трансформировалось и обозначает традиционнo африканский район с плохо организованным пространством, населенный малообразованными людьми низкого достатка. Беспорядочная застройка, отсутствие дорог, номеров домов и названий улиц, нередко – полицейских участков и пожарных станций, невозможность оказания скорой медицинской помощи, отсутствие социальных служб в шаговой доступности – отличительные черты усуахилини. Работа в рамках существующего более 10 лет совместного проекта правительства Танзании и ООН по развитию и оказанию помощи малоимущим слоям населения Дар-эс-Салама проходит малозаметно для горожан. Результатом этого стало повсеместное объединение танзанийцев в группы, направленные на оказание финансовой поддержки в случае проведения похорон, свадеб, необходимости лечения. Непосредственно правительством «сверху» была насаждена идея микрокредитования, получившая широкую поддержку в сообществах взаимопомощи.

Согласно докладу ООН, около 70% населения Дар-эс-Салама проживает в неформальных поселениях, однако проблемой это многие танзанийцы не считают. Как и антисанитарные условия, свойственные некоторым из районов. Однако, по сути усуахилини не являются неформальными поселениями: подобные сравнения справедливы только для отдельных их частей. Последние пять лет ознаменовались снижением уровня криминализации районов усвази благодаря появлению полицейских участков, повышению общего уровня образования и ответственности. Тем не менее, распространение легких наркотиков и неофициально произведенного алкоголя зачастую связывают именно с жителями усуахилини. В докладе пойдет речь о районах усуахилини Дар-эс-Салама, географии их расположения, планировке пространства, специфике населения и его занятий, формальных и неформальных объединениях, а также о стереотипах, репутации и разнообразии мнений об усвази не

проживающих в них горожан. Материалы, использованные в докладе, получены в результате полевого исследования, состоявшегося в сентябре 2013 г. (грант РГНФ №13-31-01284, руководитель Д.А. Зеленова).

**Каздагли Нежмеддин**  
**Высший Институт Языков Туниса,**  
**Тунис**  
Kazdagli N.  
Institut supérieur des langues, Tunisia

**Об истоках тунисско-российских отношений**  
**(конец XVIII – начало XIX вв.)**  
**On the Origins of the Russian-Tunisian Relations**  
**(Late 18th – Early 19th Centuries)**

В данной работе изучаются некоторые стороны тунисско-российских связей в конце XVIII – начала XIX вв. на основе документов из Архива Внешней политики Российской империи в Москве, и различных тунисских исторических источников. Кроме того, мы использовали обширную новую литературу на русском, французском и арабском языках.

После окончания ожесточенной русско-турецкой войны 1768–1774 гг., которая закончилась подписанием в болгарской деревне Кючук-Кайнарджи мирного договора, для укрепления военных и политических успехов Россия предпринимала неоднократно разные меры и инициативы в районах Средиземноморья, находившихся в зависимости от Порты и в частности на Северной Африке (Тунис, Алжир).

В 1777 г. российские дипломаты пытались вести прямые контакты с Алжиром и Тунисским регентством и стремились подписать с ними мирные договоры. Но алжирский и тунисский правители отказались подписать предлагаемые соглашения, так как их внешняя политика была в определенной степени зависима от Османской империи. Следует отметить, что эти страны получали значительный доход от пиратства в Средиземном море.

Однако, в период 1776–1777 гг., М.Г. Коковцеву было поручено задача посетить Тунис и Алжир. Коковцеву необходимо было ознакомиться с военными объектами и портами стран, познакомиться с местными обычаями и нравами жителей этих стран, а также изучить возможности для расширения торговли и мореплавания в этом регионе Средиземноморья. Несмотря на неофициальный характер пребывания М.Г. Коковцова в Тунисе, российский «гость» был принят беем Али.

Важно отметить, что прошение в 1780 г. консула Голландии в Ту-

нисе А.Г. Ниссена к посланнику Российской империи при Османской Порте о возможности назначения его также консулом России в Тунисе не привело к положительному результату, тем не менее консул Ниссен вошел в историю как один из первых инициаторов установления консульских связей между Тунисским регентством и Российской империей.

**Felix Tonsuglo Yakubu Longi**  
**University for Development Studies**  
**Tamale, Ghana**

Ф.Т.Я. Лонги  
Университет исследований развития  
Тамале, Гана

**Mamprusi-Kusasi Imbroglia; 1902–2000:  
a Colonial Legacy or Failure of the Post-Colonial State**

**Пуганица с мампруси и кусаси (1902–2000 гг.):**

**колонияльное наследие или провал постколониального государства**

The Kusasi-Mamprusi ethnic conflict in Bawku, a border town located in the extreme Northeastern corner of Ghana, which began in 1957, has become protracted. The two factions have clashed four times between 1980 and 2000. The disagreement has been over who should occupy the Bawku skin as Bawkunaba and control the Bawku land, as land ownership is tied to occupancy of the Bawku skin. Scholarly works on conflicts in Northern Ghana, have traced the root causes to the introduction of chieftaincy by the British colonial administration in the area. The policy that amalgamated smaller states with big kingdoms, created a subordinate-master relationship between the Kusasi and Mamprusi. Proponents of colonial government's complicity argue that attempts by the Mamprusi to maintain the status quo during the post-colonial Ghanaian government, has provoked the recurrent ethnic conflicts between the two groups.

This paper, situated within a broader historiographical context concludes that, though the conflict could be described as a colonial artifact, other dimensions of the phenomenon e.g. the emergence of party politics in the mid-1950s which polarized the society; the actions and/or inactions of post-colonial governments were major contributory factors that created tensions which led to violent confrontations. The partisan approach by post-colonial governments politicized the conflict and encouraged attempts by the factions to appropriate political space and authority.

**Mostafa A. Abdellatif**  
**Institute of African Studies,**  
**Cairo University, Egypt**  
М.А. Абдельлатиф  
Каирский университет, Египет

**Forced Labor and Economics of Rubber in Congo Free State  
(1885–1908)**

**Принудительный труд и экономика производства каучука  
в Свободном государстве Конго (1885-1908 гг.)**

Colonialism is still deeply rooted in the Congo since its inception in 1885, those roots and the consequences were enough to build a failed state, a state that suffering from a sequential eternally and external conflict. Congo's tragedy lies in the fact that it created a conflict for fortunes not ideologies.

This paper intends to examine one of the economy influence impacts on the Congo free state. Since Belgium, together with other corporate rubber companies, managed to control and exploited the Congolese rubber through a system which based on a severe ideology of colonial brutal deeds.

It also represents an attempt to understand the complex structure of the colonial economy and its rules and roles towards the African continent in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Studying the role of the African communities in the Congo and its struggle against the Belgian colonial policies.

The paper will follow the Historical method using the quantitative methods as an approach for this study depends on a variety of documents and will introduce a new result in this field.

**Nana Osei-Opare**  
**University of California of**  
**Los Angeles (UCLA), USA**  
Н. Осей-Опаре  
Университет Калифорнии, США

**Revisiting Nkrumah and Lumumba's Ideological Attainment of Socialism: The Emergence of NEP Ideology in Ghana and Democratic Republic of Congo**

**Пересмотр идеологических достижений социализма Нкрумой и Лумумбой: возникновение идеологии новой экономической политики в Гане и Демократической Республике Конго**

This paper looks at the intellectual similarities between Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba's ideas of pushing their newly independent states, Ghana and The Democratic Republic of Congo, respectively, out of *colonial dependency* and into full fledged independent and modern states to

that of Vladimir Lenin and Nicholas Bukharin's attempts to re-build the Soviet Union's economy after war communism. This paper is a cursory overview highlighting that although neither Nkrumah nor Lumumba were familiar with Vladimir Lenin and Nicholas Bukharin's New Economic Policy (NEP) that they nevertheless articulated ideas that closely mirrored it. I shall look to discuss these similarities, and why and how Nkrumah, Lumumba, and the initiators of NEP realized that modernity and socialist societies could not be achieved through the process of nationalization and collectivization alone, but that a steady influx of capital and capitalism was necessary to achieve their intended socialist states.

**Рябова В.И.**  
**Москва, РФ**  
V.I. Ryabova  
Moscow, Russia

**Русские путешественники и ученые – исследователи Африки в XVIII–XIX вв. – первопроходцы культурного взаимопроникновения России и Африки**  
**Russian 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries Travellers and Explorers as Pioneers of Cultural Interaction between Russia and Africa**

Цель доклада – проследить непосредственное присутствие и деятельность россиян на Африканском континенте в означенных временных рамках.

В XVIII в. было достаточно активным посещение русскими святынь мест на Синае и в Египте. В конце XVIII в. морской офицер М.Г. Коковцев побывал в Северной Африке, составил карту североафриканского побережья и по возвращении опубликовал книгу своих воспоминаний об Алжире. Коковцев, возможно, первым из русских путешественников занимался в Африке научными исследованиями. С начала XIX в. россияне стали более активно приезжать в Африку с исследовательскими целями, что ознаменовало новый этап культурных связей России и Африки.

В начале XIX в. в России стала развиваться наука египтология, одним из первых представителей которой был И.А. Гулянов. В 1834–1835 гг. совершил путешествие в Египет Авраам Сергеевич Норов. Вышла его книга, представляющая собой ценное научное исследование по древнеегипетской культуре, в частности, в ней были описаны находки в долине нижнего течения Нила. Однако основное развитие русской египтологии произошло во второй половине XIX в., когда Владимир Семенович Голенищев совершил 60 археологических и эпиграфических экспедиций в Египет, собрав внушительную коллекцию египетских древ-

ностей. В 1881 г. профессор Новороссийского университета Н.П. Кондаков побывал на Синае с целью изучения греческих рукописей.

В статье также рассматривается вклад великих исследователей Африки XIX в. в области географии, геологии и картографии Е.П. Ковалевского, В.В. Юнкера, А.В. Елисеева, М.И. Венюкова, совершивших экспедиции в Северную Африку, а также в Египет, Эфиопию, Сомали.

Вклад русских ученых и путешественников в исследование Африканского континента несомненен. Отличительной чертой русских землепроходцев было то, что подавляющее их большинство не ставили себе задач материальной выгоды от таких экспедиций, а многие вкладывали в путешествия свои собственные средства.

Статья написана на основе изучения опубликованных трудов путешественников и исследователей Африки, а также опубликованных в 1999 г. источников Институтом всеобщей истории РАН – «Россия и Африка. Документы и материалы. XVIII – 1960 г.».

**Starostina-Trubitsyna N.A.**  
**Young Harris College, the USA**  
Н.А. Старостина-Трубицына  
Колледж Янга Харриса, США

**Contradictions and Ambiguities of French Imperial Rule in Africa:  
French Railway Projects in the first half of the Twentieth Century  
Противоречия и двусмысленности французского имперского  
правления в Африке: французские проекты строительства  
железных дорог в первой половине XX в.**

French railway companies have played an important role in transforming overseas colonies since the late nineteenth century. Railways occupied an essential place in economic and military initiatives in the French empire; their construction was an important part in the reorganization and redefinition of colonial space. The construction of railways demanded the effort of thousands, including workers and engineers, politicians and entrepreneurs. New routes facilitated connections among cities and villages and made possible tighter control over the colonies. The images of bridges, viaducts, and other masterpieces of modern technology spread knowledge about the progress of the French “civilizing mission” and the importance of technology and science in the transformation of colonies. Publications, photos, and images of new railways shaped the representations of the French imperial project as ultimately a successful endeavor. Such images exposed the viewer to the seemingly dramatic impact of railways on colonial landscapes, everyday life, and the colonial economy. Many articles in the French press praised the construction of French railways as an excellent

example of the positive impact of French imperialism. At the same time, there was a certain ambiguity in representing such railway projects. One of the paradoxes of French imperialism was an ongoing fascination with plans for railway development, although these schemes were difficult to realize. The building of the Pont Faidherbe in Senegal became one of the railway projects that seemed to attest to the success of the French “civilizing mission”. The imagery of the bridge, which looked very impressive on photos and postcards, could deceive the viewer. The performance of the railways in Senegal was far from perfect. The *Trans-saharien* was one such railway project. The Trans-Saharan was supposed to link the French West and North Africa and tie together the domains of the French empire. The preliminary studies for the construction of the Trans-Saharan began in the 1870s; it became popular in the interwar decades and was actively promoted in the Vichy period. The official rhetoric highlighted the Trans-Saharan as not only an essential way to improve the integrity of the French empire, but also as a way to boost the spirit of the French nation. This presentation will analyze the representations of two railway projects, the Trans-Saharan and the Pont Faidherbe, and will highlight a considerable gap between their representations as symbols of the successful French “civilizing mission” and the deceitfulness of such portrayal. The images of the marvels of technology seemed to demonstrate the effortless penetration of French civilization into the colonies. In the case of the Pont Faidherbe, the celebratory speeches during its inauguration and beautiful images of the bridge hid the sad realities of the railway in Senegal. In the case of the Trans-Saharan railway, its construction of the railway was supposed to transform the region drastically and make it the leading producer of cotton and other valuable agricultural goods. In reality, however, only a small portion of the railway was ever constructed, and its impact on Africa was trivial. This presentation will also raise questions about the importance of imagery and the visual in representing the French Empire.

The publicity campaigns promoting colonial railways played an important role in shaping representations of French imperialism. The construction of the Trans-Saharan railway during the Vichy regime, a project which was never completed, allowed the French state to highlight the rhetoric of “national renewal” and invoke a very attractive if utopian vision of transforming some African colonies into the granary of the French empire. Such projects created and reinforced a set of new and existing mythologies about the French empire. The French saw the blueprints of the Mediterranean-Niger railway on the pages of *L'Illustration* and other publications; indeed, many French felt pride and excitement that France brought “civilization” and modern technology to Africa. The images of the Pont Faidherbe in Senegal – both beautiful and deceptive – conveyed their own cheerful story

of the French presence in Senegal. Many French were not aware of the petty realities behind the glorious images. Besides, as Roland Barthes wrote, the importance of text declines in the epoch of modernity because “the image no longer *illustrates* the words; it is now the words which, structurally, are parasitic on the image. it is not the image which comes to elucidate or “realize” the text, but the latter which comes to sublimate, patheticize or rationalize the image” [Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977, 25)]. The images of French railways represented an attractive facade of the French empire, and, for many ordinary French, the empire itself became a captivating image. This image appeared to be so self evident, so alluring, and so eloquent that it replaced the necessity to learn what actually was happening in the French colonies. The representations of colonial railways contributed to the mythologies of the “French civilizing mission” and influenced the French imagination for many years.

**Сухова Е.Ф.**

**Нижегородский государственный университет,**

**Нижний Новгород, РФ**

Elena F. Sukhova

N.I. Lobachevsky Nizhniy

Novgorod State University, Russia

**Первые арабские женские журналы как признак изменения  
положения женщин Египта**

**The First Arab Women Magazines as a an Evidence of Change  
in the Status of Women in Egypt**

Журналы, ориентированные на женщин появились в Египте в конце XIX века здесь сосредоточилась литературная жизнь арабов, развивалась научная мысль, формировались первые университеты, эта страна до сих пор остается лидером развития арабской журналистики. Что касается остального арабского мира, то там СМИ, концентрирующие свое внимание на женской проблематике, появились только после второй мировой войны в период национально-освободительного движения арабов, особенно резкий скачок в развитии женской прессы произошел за последние 20 лет в странах Персидского залива, процессы глобализации, не обошедшие стороной и арабский мир, также существенно повлияли на развитие СМИ, ориентированных на женскую аудиторию.

Таким образом, условно можно выделить 5 основных периодов развития арабской женской прессы:

- 1) конец XIX века – 1918 г. (период Османской империи);
- 2) 1918 г. – 1945 г. ( колониальный период);



3) 1945г. – конец 60-х г.г. (период роста национально-освободительного движения и получения арабскими странами политической независимости);

4) начало 70-х г.г. – начало 90-х г.г. (период быстрого экономического развития стран Персидского залива);

5) конец 90-х г.г. – по настоящее время (период начала глобализационных процессов на Арабском Востоке);

В данной статье предполагается проанализировать только три периода развития арабской женской прессы, как наиболее важные в изменении положения женщин Арабского Востока.

Что отличало первые женские арабские журналы от последующей женской прессы конца XIX века до 1918 г. (период Османской империи)?

Во-первых, женские журналы того времени редактировались и издавались женщинами;

Во-вторых, освещение женских вопросов, главным образом велось также самими женщинами.

В-третьих, женские журналы в силу невозможности для женщин получения высшего образования напрямую занимались просвещением и образованием женщин в гуманитарных сферах: литература, история, социология, психология, политика и т.д.

В-четвертых, они положили начало развитию женской прессы в регионе и сформировали арабскую женскую журналистику.

В-пятых, благодаря женским журналам зародилось арабское женское движение, способствовавшее женщинам Арабского Востока добиться изменения своего положения: получить доступ к среднему и высшему образованию, работать не только в школах, больницах, университетах, но и в органах государственной власти, принимать активное участие в общественно-политической жизни своих стран.

**Татаровская И.Г.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Irina G. Tatarovskaya  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Цветовая символика у народов Тропической и Южной Африки** **Color Symbolism of the Peoples of Tropical and Southern Africa**

В настоящее время проблема символа является актуальной для всех отраслей научного познания. Мифологические символы позволяют раскрыть многие архаические пласты культуры, они содержат в себе ответы на многие вопросы о мировоззрении африканских бесписьменных народов.

Цветовая символика занимает одно из важных мест среди ключевых символов африканской культуры, религии, политики и т.д. У многих народов Тропической и Южной Африки ритуальный, жизненный, социальный опыт кодируется цветовой символикой. Цветовая символика народов Тропической и Южной Африки обычно состоит из триады белого, красного и черного цветов. Символический статус этих цветов определяется тем, что они являются неотъемлемой частью ритуальной практики. Выбор этой цветовой триады связан с многовековым человеческим опытом (опыт телесный и опыт социальных отношений). Каждый цвет триады несет на себе большой объем информации.

*Белый цвет:* благо, источник силы, здоровья, сила, власть, жизнь, рождение, смех, радость, очищение и др. Белизна в мифологии многих народов Африки тесно связана с духами предков. Поэтому ритуальные маски, фигурки предков часто выкрашены в белый цвет. Жертвенные подношения предкам тоже, как правило, связаны с белым цветом. Белизна представляет дневной свет, солнце и луну, воду, молоко, яйцо. Вода считается белой, так как она очищает тело не только от грязи, но самое главное, вода смывает, удаляет «грязь», связанную с прежним биологическим состоянием и социальным статусом.

*Красный цвет:* кровь матери, кровь убийства, женская кровь, кровь колдовства, кровь, как жизненная сила и др. Красный цвет обладает двумя противоположными значениями. Ндембу говорят, что «красное приносит добро и зло одновременно». Отрицательное значение красный приобретает, когда в триаде белый, красный, черный, отсутствует черный цвет. В этом случае, всю негативную окраску принимает на себя красный цвет, и наоборот, если отсутствует белый цвет в триаде, красный приобретает символическое значение белого цвета.

*Черный цвет:* зло, неудача, страдание, несчастье, болезни, колдовство, смерть, ночь и др. Черный цвет – это цвет Праматери Земли, подземного царства. Но этот цвет может символизировать плодородие, добро. Такое значение он принимает в засушливых районах Африке, где черные тучи ассоциируются с дождем, водой, которая дает жизнь. Например, в Южной Африке приносят в жертву предкам черного барана, чтобы пошел дождь.

**Чиняков М.К.**  
**МПГУ, Москва, РФ**  
M.K. Chinyakov  
Moscow State Pedagogical University,  
Russia

**Североафриканская армия в Первую мировую войну (1914–1918)**  
**Northern African Army in World War I, 1914–1918**

События Первой Мировой войны (Великой войны) до недавнего времени представлялись отечественной историографией только прологом к Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции. Только в последнее время необычайно возросло внимание к детальному постижению многочисленных проблем, так или иначе связанных с Первой мировой войной, потрясшей до основания устои Европы и всего мира. Однако, несмотря на многие позитивные успехи в деле изучения военной истории Великой войны, до сих пор вне внимания российской исторической науки остаются неисследованными вопросы, касающиеся участия различных воинских формирований стран Антанты в борьбе против войск Центральных держав на Западноевропейском театре военных действий, в частности, проблемы, связанные с участием частей французской Североафриканской армии.

В докладе будут проанализированы такие проблемы, как: формирование, состав Североафриканской армии накануне и в годы войны; участие в боевых действиях; общие боевые потери; этнический состав; особенности службы, быта, отношений с населением метрополии; вклад армии в победу Антанты.

В целом доклад представляет первую попытку в отечественной историографии комплексного осмысления участия частей французской Североафриканской армии и об их вкладе в дело победы Антанты над Центральными державами.

**Шарова А.С.**  
**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**  
A.S. Sharova  
P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, Russia

**Особенности костюма догонов**  
**The Dogon Folk Costume**

Костюм любого народа обладает некоторыми особенностями. Догоны, проживающие на юге республики Мали, не являются исключением. Они известны своими тканями. Из хлопкового полотна ткуются разноцветные полосы, которые затем сшиваются и используются как бубу (длинная ши-

рокая рубаха, как правило, голубого цвета, с вышивкой у ворота и на кармане). Изготавливаются белые шерстяные накидки с черным орнаментом и покрывала с черным узором на красном и синем фоне.

Самой распространенной одеждой догонов являются темно-синие джинсы, накидки без рукавов и соломенные шляпы конической формы. Одежду из хлопка они красят синей краской, которую получают, растирая в кашу особых гусениц. Носят они и одежду, окрашенную в синий цвет с помощью индиго. Многие догоны предпочитают ткани синего цвета (он символизирует духовную силу, жизненную энергию, поддержку предков). Этот оттенок преобладает и в свадебной одежде. Он считается у догонов черным, а черный – цвет плодородия и процветания.

В повседневной жизни женщины носят юбки черного цвета, а иногда и в сочетании с белым. Одежду такой расцветки могут носить только женщины. Сочетание черного и белого цветов в женской одежде означает, что в семье будет много детей, которые станут восприимчивыми ньямы (силы) умерших предков.

У догонов есть изделия из кожи: мешки, пояса, сандалии и сапоги для верховой езды. Интересны кожаные сапоги для верховой езды, хотя изготавливают их в небольшом количестве (езда на лошадях мало распространена). Они украшаются аппликациями из бисера и ракушек в виде треугольников и ромбов.

Для ритуальных танцев догоны используют особые маски, которым соответствуют специальные костюмы и украшения, скрывающие танцоров с головы до ног. Большая часть костюма состоит из растительных волокон. Нередко во время танца применяются ходули, так что фигура ряженого приобретает гигантские размеры. Танец придает маске и костюму выразительность, они как бы оживают. Во время танцев масок используются барабаны, что создает дополнительный ошеломляющий эффект, и эмоциональное напряжение в ходе ритуальной церемонии заставляет верить, что действующие маски есть те образы, которые они воплощают.

Шугаев А. А.  
Москва, РФ  
A.A. Shugaev  
Moscow, Russia

**Организация почтового сообщения со 2-й эскадрой Тихого океана во время ее пребывания у берегов Африки как индикатор общего состояния подготовки России к войне с Японией в 1904–1905 гг.**  
**Organization of Postal Communication with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pacific Squadron during Its Stay at the African Shores as an Indicator of the General State of Russia's Readiness for War with Japan in 1904-1905**

На основании анализа опубликованных дневников и текстов писем участников Цусимского сражения, а также их открыток, имеющихся в коллекции автора, ему удалось восстановить картину обмена корреспонденцией личного состава эскадры Российского императорского флота под командованием адмирала Рожественского, их родных и близких. Это дало возможность упорядочить содержащиеся на открытках отрывочные сведения об организации почтового сообщения с эскадрой на протяжении всего пути ее следования к дальневосточному театру военных действий, и в первую очередь – во время ее пребывания вблизи берегов африканского континента (как известно, оно продолжалось 4 месяца и связано с такими странами, как Марокко, Сенегамбия, Габон, немецкая Западная Африка и, главным образом, Мадагаскар). Авторы писем еще до начала похода предвидели трудности в осуществлении переписки, но действительность превзошла самые худшие их ожидания. Причем если отправлять корреспонденцию, несмотря на отдаленность от цивилизации мест стоянок эскадры, удавалось относительно регулярно, то с получением почты дело было поставлено из рук вон плохо. Основную вину за это моряки возлагали на генеральный штаб флота. Напротив, весьма высокую оценку получила в их письмах и дневниках деятельность частных посредников, и в первую очередь М. Гинсбурга (Месса). Представляются интересными для исследователей такие подробности процесса обмена почтовыми отправлениями между российскими военными кораблями и Родиной, как отсутствие выходной цензуры на эскадре, эксперименты с голубиной почтой, взаимоотношения моряков и почтовых служащих-африканцев (в частности, представление последних к российским правительственным наградам) и др.

В целом в организации почтового сообщения со 2-й эскадрой Тихого океана проявился низкий уровень всей подготовки флота к войне с Японией.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK IV**

### **МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-1**

#### **Африка и ЕС: прошлое, настоящее, будущее Africa and the EU: Past, Present, Future**

**Руководитель: к.и.н. Ольга Сергеевна Кулькова  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Dr. Olga S. Kulkova  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В рамках данной секции планируется рассмотрение широкого круга вопросов и проблем, касающихся политико-экономических взаимоотношений Африканского континента с Европейским Союзом, причем приветствуется африканский, а не евроцентристский, взгляд на рассматриваемые проблемы.

Актуальность предлагаемой тематики обусловлена тем, что для большинства стран Африки южнее Сахары ЕС является важнейшим международным партнером, и останется им как минимум в краткосрочной и среднесрочной перспективе. ЕС остается важнейшим торговым партнером африканских стран южнее Сахары, на него приходится около 85% сельскохозяйственного экспорта этих стран и около 75% общего объема торговли. В условиях глобализации, развития новых видов социально-политического взаимодействия формат сотрудничества ЕС – Африка подвергается пересмотру и обновлению, что ставит множество новых проблем и создает альтернативные перспективы.

На секции будут рассматриваться следующие темы:

– политический диалог между ЕС и Африкой: взаимоотношения ЕС как с отдельными африканскими странами (Нигерия, Кабо-Верде, ЮАР, страны Африканского Рога), так и с интеграционными объединениями континента (ЭКОВАС, САДК, ряд центральноафриканских объединений, КОМЕСА, ИГАД и др.);

– взаимодействие Африки и ЕС в рамках стратегического партнерства (в том числе посредством учрежденных с 2007 г. регулярных сам-

митов «ЕС – Африка», делегации ЕС при Африканском Союзе, диалога между Европейским и Панафриканским парламентами) как реализация «континентального подхода» ЕС к взаимодействию с Африкой;

- взаимодействие стран Африки и ЕС в рамках структуры стран АКТ (страны Африки, Карибского бассейна и Тихоокеанского региона, среди них 48 африканских стран южнее Сахары), начавшееся с 1975 г. и сейчас осуществляющееся в рамках договора Котону, который будет действовать до 2020 г.; перспективы сотрудничества после 2020 г.;

- проблемы и перспективы взаимодействия ЕС с отдельными африканскими странами в рамках договоров об экономическом партнерстве с ЕС (ЕРА), заключаемых согласно договору Котону;

- исторические аспекты осуществления договоров о сотрудничестве между Африкой и ЕС (Яунде, Ломе, Котону);

- миротворческие инициативы ЕС в Африке (в том числе совместные с африканскими акторами, например, в рамках Африканского миротворческого механизма (African Peace Facility));

- сотрудничество ЕС и Африки в сфере помощи развитию, достижения Целей развития тысячелетия; постепенная трансформация парадигмы «донор – реципиент», проблемы европейской помощи странам Африки и отношение африканцев к ней;

- взаимодействие ЕС с другими внешними, в том числе новыми, акторами на континенте (как с отдельными странами – Турция, Россия, и др., так и с их объединениями, например, БРИКС).

- перспективы укрепления Общей внешней политики и политики безопасности ЕС (ОВПБ) и возможное влияние этого процесса на осуществление инициатив ЕС на африканском континенте.

- взаимодействие Африки и ЕС в сферах торговли, инфраструктуры, климатических изменений, энергетики, сельского хозяйства и землепользования, миграций, науки, образования, технологий (в том числе ИКТ) и СМИ.

В рамках секции приветствуется рассмотрение африканской политики ЕС в целом и политики отдельных стран-членов ЕС в отношении континента.

A wide range of problems of political and economic relations between the African continent and the European Union will be discussed on the panel, and the African view on these issues will be welcomed, not only Eurocentric. The relevance of the proposed topic is determined by the fact that for most sub-Saharan African countries the EU is the major international partner, and will remain so at least in the short and medium term. The EU is a major trading partner for sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for about 85% of agricultural exports of these countries, and for about 75% of total trade

turnover. In the conditions of globalization, with the development of new kinds of social and political interaction the format of the EU - Africa cooperation is being revised and updated, which raises many new problems and creates alternative perspectives.

The panel will cover the following topics:

- Political dialogue between the EU and Africa: EU relations with individual African countries (e.g. Nigeria, South Africa et al.), and with the continent's integration organizations (ECOWAS, SADC, a number of Central African associations, COMESA, IGAD, etc.);

- Interaction between Africa and the EU in the framework of strategic partnership (including through the establishment of regular summits “EU – Africa” since 2007, the EU delegation to the African Union, the dialogue between the European and Pan-African Parliaments) as a realization of EU's “continental approach” to cooperation with Africa;

- Interaction of Africa and the EU within the framework of the ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, including 48 African countries south of the Sahara), which began in 1975 and is now being implemented on the basis of the Cotonou Agreement, valid till 2020; the prospects of cooperation after 2020;

- Problems and prospects of EU cooperation with individual African countries within the framework of economic partnership agreements (EPAs), contracted in accordance with the Cotonou agreement;

- Historical aspects of the implementation of cooperation agreements between the EU and Africa (Yaoundé, Lomé, Cotonou);

- EU peacekeeping initiatives in Africa (including joint ones with African actors such as African Peace Facility etc.);

- Cooperation between the EU and Africa in the field of development assistance, realization of the Millennium Development Goals; gradual transformation of the “donor – recipient– paradigm; problems of European aid to Africa and how Africans view them;

- EU's interaction with other external actors on the continent, including the new ones, (such as individual countries – Turkey, Russia, etc., and with their associations, such as the BRICS).

- The prospects of strengthening the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the possible impact of this process on the implementation of EU initiatives on the African continent.

- Interaction of Africa and the EU in the areas of trade, infrastructure, climate change, energy, agriculture and land use, migration, science, education, technology (including ICT) and media.

Participants are encouraged to speak on topics of the EU overall policy towards Africa and on African policies of individual EU member states.



**Claudia Mularoni,  
Piero Scarpellini,  
Franco Cupini**

**Pragmata Institute  
Republic of San Marino**

К. Муларони, П. Скарпеллини, Ф. Купини  
Институт Прагмата, Догана, Сан-Марино

**The European Union and Africa as International Partners:  
Problems and Possibilities**

**Европейский Союз и Африка как международные партнеры:  
проблемы и возможности**

The European Union is Africa's major international donor. Africa is a crucial partner for Europe both as a supplier of raw materials and as a fast-developing market towards which European countries can export technologies and expertise, as well as funds to support strategic development projects.

The European procedures regulating the assignment of funds are very complicated and the African countries still find it hard to understand the European system, its complexity and its timing, just as they find it hard to appreciate that an important relational setup needs to be put into place not only with the European Commission, but also with the European Parliament, European Council, European financial institutions and single member States, in a structured and coordinated way, in order to produce sustainable and integrated development programs and successfully formulate financial and strategic support applications.

What is more, the African institutions could play a stronger role in influencing the European institutions as regards the definition of development plans and financial support plans in favour of the African continent.

To date, the technical assistance initiatives of the European Union in favour of Africa have not been incisive and extensively impacting enough. A lot of work remains to be done as regards training African executive cadres to enable them to become better acquainted with the system and procedures of the European Union and with the European institutional and financial system.

The impact of such action would be to strengthen the Europe-Africa partnership which, though existing in terms of numbers, does not exist in actual relational priority terms, above all in the African perspective (of the single States and regional and continental institutions), which tends to prefer relations with the individual countries most capable of freeing resources in favour of strategic projects thanks to simplified procedures.

**Pawel Frankowski  
Maria Curie-Sklodowska  
University in Lublin  
Poland**

П. Франковский  
Университет им. М. Кюри-Склодовска  
Люблин, Польша

**Limits for External Europeanization. European Union Integration  
Schemes and East Africa**

**Пределы европеизации извне. Схемы интеграции Европейского  
Союза и Восточная Африка**

The proposed paper documents and analyzes limits for external Europeanization, basing on the case of regional integration in East Africa. East African Community, most advanced regional bloc in Africa, has been chosen to confront European model of integration with idea of federalism developed in this region.

The article seeks to move beyond traditional explanations of relatively limited impact of European model of integration on African states, and proposes an alternative framework of analysis, where external pressures and models are compared with more demanding expectations on the African side. Secondly, it claims that lack of membership perspective is not necessarily a decisive stumbling block for exporting the regional integration, but greater emphasis should be put on the political side of regional integration.

Existing literature on external Europeanization often overlooks the regional integration as a political project, where economic benefits might come in the longer term, and are secondary to some other purposes as political unity or regional identity. The shape and scope of the very idea of model transfer from the EU to other regions have been conditioned by EU internal variables, which have more importance for model's recipients than economic well being in the region. Thus effects of external Europeanization might be mitigated not only by inability of the African states to adopt the European model, coming from the economic or technological backwardness, but unconvincing idea of the EU as a still ongoing project.

Finally, the article identifies elements of federalistic ideas embedded in the external Europeanization, as promoting of decentralization, and proposes scope conditions for effective policy transfer, suggesting a tailor-made approach in the promotion of the European model worldwide.

**Veit Bachmann**  
**Goethe-University Frankfurt**  
**Germany**  
Ф. Бахманн  
Университет им. И.-В. Гёте  
Франкфурт-на-Майне, Германия

**Positioning and Perceiving the EU as a Geopolitical Actor in Kenya**  
**Позиционирование и восприятие ЕС**  
**как геополитического актора в Кении**

The EU has long been described as an ‘economic giant, but a political dwarf’. When the Treaty of Lisbon and the European External Action Service (EEAS) came into effect in 2009 and 2010 respectively, both were intended as means for providing an apt institutional basis for global EU actorness in a multipolar world. In particular when it comes to international development, the EU claims to play a lead role and to be a key partner for African countries. Yet, there is only a limited number of studies that examine the daily practices and processes of how diplomatic and political relations between the EU and African countries are conducted.

This study focusses on this microcosm in Nairobi – the political and economic hub for the Eastern side of the African continent and home to one of the largest EU Delegations in the world as well as to various UN and other international agencies. It examines the sites of diplomatic conduct in a pivotal environment of EU-African relations using semi-structured interviews and in-depth participant observation, facilitated through affiliations with key EU and Kenyan institutions.

This study thereby focuses on two closely-related aspects. First, it develops an understanding of how political and diplomatic relations are coordinated and how ‘Europe’ positions itself collectively. Second, it addresses perceptions and expectations of the EU’s cooperation partners in Kenya, i.e. the Kenyan government and other national and international organisations. It does so under particular consideration of the simultaneity of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and EEAS and the emergence of the Eurocrisis – with the former as the result of a long process of providing an institutional basis for a more influential global role of the EU and the latter severely impairing the EU’s geopolitical appeal as a model for functioning regional integration.

**Dominique Kerouedan**  
**School of International Affairs**  
**Paris, France**  
Д. Керуедан  
Колледж Франции, Париж

**The History, Governance and Challenges of the European Union  
Contribution to Global Health in Africa**

**История, управление и вызовы вклада Европейского Союза  
в общественное здравоохранение в Африке**

The European Union (EU) support to Health in Africa has an interesting history and governance. Throughout the successive Agreements establishing economic and trade relations between the “European Union” and the Group of the African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP), from the Yaounde Conventions to the current Cotonou Agreement, commitment to Health has been uneven. As early as the “Discours de Robert Schuman” on May 9 1950, health is not a priority within EU Member States, nor with their colonies (particularly France and the United Kingdom colonies at the time).

Technical cooperation support to health systems will begin under the Lome IV Convention preparative discussions, actually at the demand of ACP States to the Economic European Communities (EEC at the time), as their countries are the most affected by the new AIDS pandemic in the 1980s, with as a result huge economic and social impact at family, national or regional levels.

The EEC gets involved in Health to respond to disease effects on the economic development of the whole ACP region. Health seen as a condition for development has always been the main motivation of the European Union to fund this sector.

These 1980s are also the years when strong civil society movements emerge throughout the world against the negative effects of severe structural adjustment World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund policies on social sectors’ budgets; to the point that the WB and the EU become the main partners in terms of policy and the level of funding in the area of Health in Africa in the 1990s (through EEC grants and WB loans).

Ever since, EU has become a major actor and contributor to: (i) Health and Development in the 1990s, (ii) Health MDGs implementation and Global Health in the 2000s, (iii) Social protection in the 2010s while preparing the post 2015 Development Agenda.

This communication will also discuss current challenges for the EU, among which: coherence between development policies and trade policies, expectations from ACP States in the area of health, the monitoring and evaluation frameworks to measure EU support to Health in Africa, the

recommendations from the European Court of Auditors in this area, their comparative advantage at country level, their implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and Harmonisation (at global level with other partners), as well as the Code of Conduct of Complementarity and the Division of Labour (between EU Member States).

**Hubertus Juergenliemk**  
**University of Cambridge**  
**UK**

Х. Юргенлиемк  
Кембриджский университет  
Великобритания

**Collective EU Action in the DR Congo? Assessing European Union  
Security Sector Reform Initiatives Governance**

**Коллективные действия ЕС в ДРК? Оценка управления  
инициативами Европейского Союза по реформированию  
системы безопасности**

The European Union's Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is often heralded as a new and innovative tool for crisis management. Yet, its most challenging missions

were largely taken over from the UN or NATO with their effectiveness and impact

being disputed. This paper asks if the record of ten years of EU crisis management in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had an impact in security sector reform.

The main argument is that despite anecdotal evidence for convergence in European security the continued divergence of EU member states undermined collective action and undermined the success of the CSDP missions in the DRC: EUPOL Kinshasa, EUSEC and EUPOL DRC. The insight draws on interviews with the EUPOL and EUSEC mission in Goma and Kinshasa and with the UN operation as well as Congolese counterparts.

The theoretical framework chosen is security governance, allowing to test the integration of EU member states towards a collective purpose in European security.

The theory is based on five pillars: (1) the centres of power in EU decision-making, (2) the formal and informal institutionalisation, (3) the role of norms and ideas, (4) the collective purposefulness, and (5) the European capacity to act in crisis situations.

**Agata Joanna Lagiewka**  
**Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona**  
**Spain**

А. Й. Лагъевка  
Автономный университет Барселоны  
Испания

### **Racism in Spain – Spain as an Immigrant Nation**

#### **Расизм в Испании – Испания как нация иммигрантов**

The current economic crisis hit all of the world but particularly the European Union and above all Southern countries like Greece, Portugal and Spain. Due to the situation of hardship it is not only EU-citizens that suffer from the consequences. Although it might only be 14 kilometers that divide Spain with the African continent the journey people who try to immigrate to the EU entering via the Peninsula Iberica is extremely dangerous as shown in the cinematic account in “14 Kilometros” (Spain, 2007, director: Gerardo Olivares) and reaching the shores of the assumed promise land only leads to the start of a difficult struggle as depicted in the motion picture “The Colour of the Ocean” (Spain/Germany, 2011).

Racism in Spain is unfortunately nothing new but due to the current crisis the "Ley de Extranjeria" (Laws of immigration) was even more restricted and not loosened and furthermore surveys reflect that racism and xenophobia in Spain are on the raise as stated by the Observatorio del Racismo del Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigracion. In my paper I would like to shed a light on Spain’s Youth and their attitude towards racism and their knowledge on current issues related to it as well as the public discourse in media concerning the topics of racism, immigration and “otherness” in Spain.

**Olga Kulkova**  
**Institute for African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
О.С. Кулькова  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

### **Africa and the EU: Drifting Together or Running Counter?** **Key Problems of the Dialogue at the Present Stage Африка** **и ЕС: одно- или разнонаправленное движение?**

#### **Ключевые проблемы диалога на современном этапе**

Africa has a long history of relationship with the EU intertwined with the colonial legacy. EU remains main international and trade partner for African countries at least in medium-term.

EU-African relations often tend to be bilateral relations between individual countries. The EU still has to develop its common policies towards Africa. Different EU members often have contradicting visions of co-operation with Africa.

There are a lot of pressing problems in the Africa-EU dialogue: problems caused by the EU's Common Agricultural Policy, questions of regulation of African migration (legal and illegal) to the European countries, the need to solve African ecological problems, cross-border crimes, question of interaction between the civil societies of African and European countries etc.

One of the most important aspects in the relations between Africa and the EU is the growing presence and influence of the “emerging powers” on the African continent. BRICS countries often don't share European positions in regards to Africa but offer an alternative to Africa. They help in realizing major infrastructure projects, provide developmental aid and investment, share technologies, and rapidly boost trade with the African countries. The EU countries have to change their strategy of interaction with the continent on many issues in the climate of competition with the “emerging powers”.

Afro-European relations are still based on the “donor- recipient” model and there are major disagreements between the partners which hamper the productive dialogue. In some aspects European counterparts still don't perceive Africans as real partners, often put pressure on them. One good example is forcing of the conclusion of the Economic Partnership Agreements with African countries – the idea which Africans feel is very controversial for their economies.

Relations between Africa and the EU are in need of a new vision supported by the political will from both sides.

**Лилеев И.Л.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Ivan L. Lileev  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Основные направления стратегии Евросоюза в Африке  
и новые приоритеты «помощи развитию» африканских стран  
Main Directions of the EU Strategy in Africa and New Priorities in  
“Development Aid” to African Countries**

1. Современная стратегия Евросоюза в отношении Африки формулируется как на основе многолетнего опыта взаимодействия двух континентов, так и с учетом требования практической реализации определенных принципов, декларируемых объединенной Европой в качестве универсального фундамента своей внешнеполитической практики.

2. В качестве безусловного приоритета выделяется здесь миротворческая деятельность, реализуемая совместными усилиями Европейского и Африканского союзов. Тем самым подтверждается делом тезис о том, что оказанию экономической помощи и развитию сотрудничества должно предшествовать достижение определенного уровня безопасности и стабильности, а также отработка контроля над распределением полученных средств.

Поддержка Евросоюзом миротворческих усилий Африканского союза включает в себя в частности финансовую поддержку «Африканских сил постоянной готовности, а также создание Африканского тренировочного центра по поддержанию мира и безопасности в Африке «Амани Африка 2».

Руководство Европейского и Африканского союзов неоднократно подтверждало наличие совместных стратегических целей, среди которых не только поддержание режима мира и безопасности на континенте, но и сфера демократического управления государством и соблюдение прав человека в Африке. Кроме того новым аспектом миротворческого процесса в Африке можно считать более тесную координацию действий Европейского союза, Африканского союза и профильных структур ООН

Следует отметить и тенденцию к более тесному сотрудничеству обеих союзов с региональными африканскими организациями (в частности, с ЭКОВАС) в миротворческой сфере.

3. По-прежнему важнейшую роль играет и взаимодействие двух континентов в экономической сфере. Речь идет о новом этапе развития известных соглашений в Котону, а также принятии и реализации «Программы сельскохозяйственного развития Африки».

4. Не менее важна и помощь Африке со стороны ЕС по линии «официальной помощи развитию».

В то же время, по мнению многих исследователей, сложившийся за десятилетия механизм предоставления помощи нуждается на сегодняшний день в значительном реформировании. Необходим детальный анализ механизма расходования этой помощи, реальные меры по борьбе с коррупцией. Не случайно борьба с коррупцией и реформы местного самоуправления также отнесены сегодня к сфере стратегического взаимодействия Европы и Африки.



**Grigory A. Karpov**  
**Institute of African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Г. А. Карпов  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Trends of the Development of the African Diaspora in the UK and  
in the EU in the 2000 s.**

**Тенденции развития африканской диаспоры в  
Соединенном Королевстве и Евросоюзе в 2000-е гг.**

African Diaspora in the EU and the UK presents today one of the most active stratum of the respective societies. The number of Black Africans in 2011 was approximately 8 million people in the EU (in the United Kingdom about 1 million) and was growing rapidly. Each year from 200 to 400 million Africans enter the EU.

The largest communities of established immigrants in the EU consist of people from Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Uganda. In the UK dominate immigrants from sub-Saharan countries, in the EU – mostly migrants from North Africa.

Africans are taking part in the daily life of European society; they are visible in politics, economy, social sphere, sport. The small group of Africans who have succeeded in their new homelands are called the “new Africans”. These can be big businessmen, show business stars, scientists, musicians and teachers.

The life of African communities in Britain is regulated by laws designed to protect against discrimination in public life, in education and at work. During the period from 1967 to 2010 more than two dozen of these laws were adopted to ensure equal rights and opportunities for migrants from Africa. The British authorities enabled the foundation and development of African churches, teaching of African languages, gave full access to education and employment, created opportunities for preserving the identity of Africans and their descendants.

For the EU illegal migration remains a problem, especially after the wave of Arab revolutions, when European countries (Italy, first of all) have seen the big influx of refugees from North Africa.

In 2010–2011 leading European politicians admitted the shortcomings of multiculturalism which leaves open the question of the future of African migrants and their descendants in the EU and the UK.

**Поручиков С.И.**  
**Тамбовский ГУ, Тамбов, РФ**  
Sergey I. Poruchikov  
G.R. Derzhavin Tambov  
State University, Russia

**Сотрудничество между африканскими государствами и  
Европейским Союзом в области интеллектуальной миграции**  
**African States – European Union Cooperation in the Sphere of  
Intellectual Migration**

В условиях усиления глобальных интеграционных процессов проблема международной интеллектуальной миграции приобретает всё большую актуальность. На сегодняшний день Африканский континент, где значительная часть трудоспособного населения, в силу различных неблагоприятных факторов, вынуждена искать перспективы для самореализации за границей, занимает важное место в циркуляции мировых миграционных потоков.

Одним из крупнейших геополитических центров, представляющим привлекательность для африканцев, является Европейский союз. Странами-донорами мигрантов являются: Сенегал, Гамбия, Марокко, Ливия, Кения, Нигерия. Принимающей стороной выступают: Германия, Франция, Великобритания, Мальта, Италия, Испания, Швеция.

В рамках африкано-европейского сотрудничества разработан план действий по стратегическому партнёрству Африканского и Европейского союзов в области миграции и трудоустройства.

Каждые три года проводятся официальные саммиты по решению насущных проблем.

Первая встреча по установлению стратегического партнёрства между Африкой и ЕС прошла в 2000 году в Каире.

В декабре 2007 года в Лиссабоне состоялся второй саммит, где была принята «Совместная стратегия Африки и ЕС».

Третий саммит Африка – ЕС проходил в ноябре 2010 года в Триполи. Были подведены итоги десятилетнего сотрудничества и принята вторая программа действий по реализации «Совместной стратегии Африки и ЕС» до 2013 года.

Проведение следующего заседания намечено на апрель 2014 года.

Молодым африканским учёным вручаются денежные гранты для решения сложных исследовательских задач. Центр африканских исследований в 2012-2016 годах, при поддержке инвесторов из Нидерландов, Франции и Великобритании, проводит конкурс научных работ среди выпускников-магистров африканских вузов по выработке эффективных мер для повышения уровня жизни южноафриканских стран.

Программы академической мобильности: «Nyerere Programme», «Intra-ACP University Mobility Programme», «Tempus Programme» направлены на обмен научными кадрами и сотрудничество между университетами. В них задействовано более 2000 участников из 63 университетов по разнообразным тематическим направлениям.

Таким образом, сотрудничество Европейского союза и Африки в области интеллектуальной мобильности представляет неоспоримую выгоду для обоих континентов. Актуальность заявленной проблематики подчёркивается ускорением темпов глобализации, внедряющейся во все сферы международной жизни. Именно в проведении совместной политики, направленной на устранение всевозможных интеграционных барьеров, видятся перспективы дальнейшей положительной эволюции современного мироустройства.

**Dmitry V. Kochetov**  
**Institute of African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Д. В. Кочетов  
Институт Африки, Москва, Россия

**Trade and Economic Relations between Italy and  
North Africa after the Arab Spring**  
**Торговля и экономические отношения между Италией и  
Северной Африкой после «Арабской весны»**

Italy has very strong economic connections with North African countries, especially with Libya, which is its traditional supplier of hydrocarbons. For a long time Italian government was not paying much attention to personal qualities of the rulers of these countries. That's why it is very interesting to analyze how the Arab spring which changed regimes in the countries being Italian traditional partners influenced trade relationships between Italy and these countries.

According to the data of Italian Ministry of economic development, in 2011 the turnover of Italian export and import with the majority of countries of different regions grew against a background of restoration after world crisis of 2008–2009. During the crisis these figures decreased on almost all directions. In 2012 situation became more alarming, because trade with some countries decreased.

At the same time, in comparison with growth of Italian trade with other international partners in 2011, turnover of export and import with Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya was not so encouraging. While trade with Algeria was developing in 2011–2012, trade with Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt at some moments decreased, at another moments increased. It didn't grow greatly after 2010.

Libya got the heaviest damage from Arab spring. Trade between Italy and Libya is a particular case. Trade turnover decreased very harshly – by two thirds – in 2011, and rapidly increased in 2012 to the nearly earlier existing levels. In general, Italian trade with the North Africa decreased in 2011 and its turnover was restored in 2012.

In the report the reasons of these changes will be analyzed and the positive or negative influence of the Arab spring on economical connections between Italy and North Africa will be discussed.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-2

### **Африка в контексте современного международного права Africa in the Context of Modern International Law**

**Руководители: Prof. Hendrik Strydom  
(University of Johannesburg, South Africa);  
проф. Александр Борисович Мезяев  
(Университет управления «ТИСБИ», Казань, Россия)  
Conveners: Prof. Hendrik Strydom  
(University of Johannesburg, South Africa);  
Prof. Alexander B. Mezyaev  
(University of Management “TISBI”, Kazan, Russia)**

Африканский континент играет важную роль в формировании норм современного международного права. В настоящее время действует ряд международных судов, созданных специально по ситуациям в Африке (Специальный Суд по Сьерра-Леоне, Международный трибунал по Руанде). Деятельность Международного уголовного суда полностью связана с рассмотрением ситуаций в Африке. До настоящего времени Конференции Российской ассоциации африканистов не имели юридических секций. Полагаем, что активное воздействие международного права на внешние и внутривнутриполитические процессы, происходящие в Африке, требует особого внимания к научному исследованию этого вопроса.

The African continent plays an important role in the formation of contemporary international law. Currently, there are a number of international courts created specifically to situations in Africa (Special Court for Sierra Leone, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda). The International Criminal Court works exclusively on situations and cases from Africa. To date, the Conference of the Russian Association of African studies had no legal section. We believe that the active influence of international law on the external and internal political processes in Africa, requires special attention to the academic study of the issue.

**Hendrik A. Strydom**  
**University of Johannesburg**  
**South Africa**  
Х. Стрюдом  
Университет Йоханнесбурга, ЮАР

**International and Sub-State Terrorism in Africa: Causes and Responses**  
**Международный и внутригосударственный терроризм в Африке:**  
**причины и реакция**

Most contemporary writing on terrorism has a strong focus on international terrorism. This bias is certainly inspired by the events of September 11 and the interests of the United States and its allies in the so-called “war on terror”, coupled with a range of anti-terrorist measures of global reach the United Nations has imposed on the international community of states. This approach in combating one of the most serious threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has somewhat neglected a long-standing development in Africa, namely that manifestations of terrorism on the continent are of a sub-state and state-sponsored nature and rooted in the socio-political conditions still prevalent in many African states. In this regard Africa is one of the most affected regions of the world and both insurgent and government forces have come to rely upon intimidation and terror to achieve their political and other objectives as result of which millions of people have been affected, killed or maimed or driven from their homes.

While these circumstances prevail, patterns of global terrorism seem to suggest that international terrorism is also on the rise in Africa with casualties steadily rising as a new tide of amorphous terrorist groups exploit conditions of disorder, political dissent and weak law enforcement in African countries. Moreover, there is a proliferation of vulnerable targets provided by the humanitarian aid industry and the foreign investor community that makes it relatively easy to strike at Western interests. International terrorism in Africa, like elsewhere, also benefits from cross-border organized crime networks that provide the financial and other means for terrorist activities through largely informal and hidden political and economic transactions that characterize most African societies.

In taking note of the rising coincidence between state and sub-state terrorism and international terrorism, this contribution will focus on the legal and policy responses African states have embarked on under the auspices of sub-regional and regional organisations. This focus will include an overview of the significance of some legislative developments on the continent as well as the prosecution of Henry Oka, a Nigerian citizen, under South Africa’s anti-terrorism legislation with extraterritorial reach.

### **Africa and International Criminal Justice**

#### **Африка и международное уголовное правосудие**

The end of XX – beginning of XXI century is marked a qualitatively new development of modern international law. It was marked by the formation of a “new” international law, manifested primarily in international criminal law and procedure, as well as in issues of international legal responsibility. It was also marked by the creation of the new institutions – international criminal courts and tribunals – who took on the role in the process of the creation of international law. As well as in the process of the destruction of some international legal norms. The first component of the “new” international law was the establishment of new international bodies with highly questionable competence: the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, Special Tribunal for Lebanon, the conduct of the special trial in the so-called *Lockerbie case*. The first special international tribunal “for” Africa was the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The main problems was laid in the jurisdiction of the ICTR, especially with *ratio temporis* and *ratio materiae*. Since 2003 in the formation of “new” international law the International Criminal Court (ICC) took it part. During the ten years of its existence, the ICC has been engaged exclusively in situations in Africa: Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Central African Republic, Sudan, Kenya, Libya and Côte d’Ivoire. Analyzing the ways in which these situations became ICC cases one may come to the conclusion that almost all of them in varying degrees, are violating the norms of international law. A number of other cases filed in violation of the UN Charter and even the very foundations of international law, in particular its contractual nature. This applies, above all, to the situations in Sudan, Libya and Côte d’Ivoire. Analyzing the activity of ICC it may be concluded that several decisions were directed not to the resolution of the given cases, but to the formation of the “new” international law. Thus once again we are witnessing that Africa is using as a polygon for the approbation of the new international law.

**Aslan Abashidze,  
Alexander Solntsev  
Peoples' Friendship University,  
Moscow, Russia**

А. Абашидзе, А. Солнцев  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Providing the Social Security in Gabon: Legal Problems**  
**Обеспечение общественной безопасности в Габоне:**  
**правовые проблемы**

The right to social security is of central importance in guaranteeing human dignity for all persons when they are faced with circumstances that deprive them of their capacity. The right to social security encompasses the right to access and maintain benefits, whether in cash or in kind, without discrimination in order to secure protection, inter alia, from (a) lack of work-related income caused by sickness, disability, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, old age, or death of a family member; (b) unaffordable access to health care; (c) insufficient family support, particularly for children and adult dependents. Social security, through its redistributive character, plays an important role in poverty reduction and alleviation, preventing social exclusion and promoting social inclusion.

Gabon has moved up 10 places in the UNDP *Human Development Report 2010*, earning a score of 0.648 and ranking 93rd out of 169 countries, compared with 103rd place in 2009. Gabon is ranked 4th highest among African countries. An analysis of the three main indicators shows significant improvements in the standard of living for Gabonese citizens; for example, life expectancy rose in one year from 60 to 61 years.

The Constitution of Gabon guarantees health protection, social security, the preservation of the natural environment, rest and leisure for all.

The executive branch has adopted new targeted measures designed to have a very strong social impact – particularly with regard to social security – and to improve the material situation of low-income households. These can be illustrated by two ordinances adopted in 2007, one of which sets up a mandatory health insurance and social security scheme and the other a family allowance scheme for Gabonese of limited means. The first covers the risks associated with sickness and maternity, while the second aims to relieve some of the burden of child maintenance (a grant for childbirth, and an allowance at the start of the school year, payable for all legitimate, adopted and fostered children, and for orphans).

The National Health Insurance and Social Protection Fund were launched on 19 December 2008. The Government established the Fund in order to ensure better social security coverage for the most disadvantaged,



most vulnerable and other segments of Gabonese society, and for workers in both the public and the private sectors.

Thus we can conclude that Gabon makes great progress in protection of the right to social security in last years.

**Christopher C. Black**  
**International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda**

К. Блэк  
Международный трибунал для Руанды  
Аруша, Танзания

### **The Anatomy of a War Crimes Trial before the International Tribunal for Rwanda**

#### **Анатомия судов за военные преступления до учреждения Международного трибунала для Руанды**

On May 17, 2011 the International Criminal Tribunal For Rwanda (ICTR) issued its judgement in the Military II case which included charges against the Rwandan Army and Gendarmerie Chiefs of Staff. In its judgement dealing with the case against General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, the Chief of Staff of the Rwanda Gendarmerie, the judges found that the case against him was politically motivated. Specifically, the judges stated: “The Defence submits that Ndindiliyimana’s indictment and arrest “were motivated by political reasons”. The Chamber recalls that before this Chamber, the Defence stated that the Prosecution made every effort to encourage Ndindiliyimana to testify against Colonel Bagasora, but Ndindiliyimana refused. The Prosecution did not deny this. Following his initial refusal to testify, the Prosecution produced a far-reaching indictment charging Ndindiliyimana with a number of crimes...Most of those charges were eventually dropped....”

This paper will present the history of the Ndindiliyimana case, from arrest through trial and appeal, to show why the Defence argued that the charges were politically motivated and why the judges accepted that argument. It will show that the Prosecution engaged in a series of unethical and illegal actions throughout the case in order to first pressure the accused and then to try to frame him when he refused to bow to that pressure and that this case can be viewed not as an anomaly but as a typical example of abuse of justice at the ad hoc tribunals.

**Saidou Waliakoye**  
**United Nations Committee**  
**against Racial Discrimination**

С. Валиакойе  
Комитет ООН по искоренению  
расовой дискриминации, Нигер

**Globalization and Mixed African Destiny**

**Глобализация и неоднозначная судьба Африки**

The historic, social, economic, political and legal trajectory of the African society is marked by positive, negative stages and interrogations. In the current context of globalization, Africa has difficulty in finding its references and the role which it owes exactly played in a complex evolution of the modern international legal rules. How, then set new strategies that can enable the African continent to participate appreciably in this evolution.

The political and legal architecture of the African traditional society is based on one hand on a societal ethnic and tribal organization and on the other hand on pacts which fix the relations of the men and women on the basis of the blood links, of the ground and of the governed spheres.

The colonization affected fundamentally this architecture. The Berlin Conference in 1884 buried in the darkness of division and rupture of the African social cohesion. All established pacts were destroyed and the settlers have imposed their system of law and corporate governance. The African economy was disoriented and the impact of the governance of new teachers has affected the enjoyment of political, economic and social and cultural rights.

Because of its hypocritical nature, the independence granted by the colonial powers in Africa has not benefited the new states. Several sources of law and governance were imposed on States , in favor of making aware of some African leaders have tried to organize and build new patterns that can still afford to play a role in the development standards of international law courses. The creation of the African Union and regional groupings arising from new attributes and the willingness of African participation in the modern evolution of international law. Even if taken consciousness begins to emerge and makes his small way. It must be emphasized that efforts should be multiplied to play fully and without any influence, the role assigned to the mainland in the political, economic , social, cultural and legal context.

**Laurence Juma**  
**Rhodes University, South Africa**

Л. Джума  
Университет им. С. Родса  
Грэхэмстаун, ЮАР

**Beneath the Anti-ICC Rhetoric: Invoking the Support of Domestic Institutions to Promote International Criminal Justice Processes in Africa**

**Что стоит за риторикой против Международного трибунала: призыв к поддержке отечественных учреждений в целях содействия процессам международного уголовного правосудия в Африке**

This paper explores an interesting phenomenon in Africa's relationship with the International Criminal Court (ICC), which is the apparent discord between the external policy agenda, as espoused by political leaders, and the seemingly grounded support for the ICC by internal institutions in most African countries. So, whereas in their collective voice African leaders have condemned the ICC, much of what happens internally have manifested a clear accommodation of international criminal justice principles and even support for ICC processes. Substantially, however, the paper will discuss how the infrastructure and modes of operation of internal institutions make it difficult for these countries to align their anti-ICC rhetoric at the regional and international level with national aspirations. Even in the case of Kenya where recent developments may show somewhat of a different pattern, the process of dismantling the institutions that support international criminal processes, such as the domestic legislations which domesticate the Rome Statute, is yet to begin. Moreover, despite the parliament's recent support for withdrawal from the ICC, it is not clear that the Kenyan government will take this route given the huge outcry among the public and the impending vocal remonstrations by the civil society.

The paper therefore argues that there is still hope for creating a better relationship between the ICC and Africa given that the former still enjoys grass-root support among the peoples of the continent. But that the ICC must play its part by seizing opportunity to demonstrate that it is not targeting Africans or serving interests that are anti-Africans. The paper will suggest that one way of doing this is by the OTP devising creative ways, within its mandate, of dealing with African situations that do not necessarily antagonise the continent but still gets the job done, and actively using its process to promote the goals of peace and reconciliation in the continent, as mandated by article 53 of the Statute, and in collaboration with like-minded domestic institutions. In sum, this paper will appraise the existing goodwill

that could be galvanised to support the work of ICC and ameliorate the tension which currently exists between ICC and African states.

**Casper August Waschefort**  
**University of South Africa**

К.А. Васхефорт  
Университет Южной Африки, Претория

### **Deference, Municipal Prosecutions and the Future of International Criminal Justice in Africa**

#### **Уважение, муниципальное судебное преследование и будущее международного уголовного правосудия в Африке**

The International Criminal Court (ICC), by definition, is hampered by an extremely low capacity to dispense justice. Gravity, as a requirement of admissibility, serves as a triage mechanism, ensuring that the Court's limited capacity be reserved for the pinnacle of international criminals. As it stands, the business of international criminal justice is perhaps the sector internationally where the demands for a product (justice) most exceed the supply of the product. The ICC serves only an elite clientele; the who's who of international warlords and indeed, enemies of all mankind (*hosti humani generis*). The municipal incorporation of the Rome Statute, and in time the increase in such municipal prosecutions, may bring with it an economy of scale to the business of international criminal justice. Ultimately, it is possible that the demands for justice will increasingly be met by its supply.

A number of states in Africa have shown promise in their commitment to end impunity for international crimes through their engagement with the Rome Statute on the municipal level. For example, while no formal prosecutions have commenced in South Africa for Rome Statute offences, the Priority Crimes Litigation Unit within the National Prosecuting Authority has been active regarding situations in Israel, Zimbabwe and Nigeria, among others.

Nevertheless, the Special Summit held by the African Union on 12 October 2013 regarding ICC prosecutions in Africa strongly indicates the measure of discontent with which the Court is currently held in Africa. At this juncture, it is essential to reassess municipal prosecutions and the potential for such prosecutions within African states. Of critical importance is the question whether this discontent towards the ICC is indicative of a general disengagement with the international crimes project from within the continent. In this paper I will consider this question in light of existing implementation legislation among African states party to the Rome Statute.

**Lee Stone**  
**University of KwaZulu-Natal**  
**Durban, South Africa**  
Л. Стоун  
Университет КваЗулу-Наталь  
Дурбан, ЮАР

**Gender Violence and Refugee Status Determination: An African Pursuit**  
**Гендерное насилие и определение статуса беженца: африканская**  
**погоня**

Refugee status determination and protection revolves around the concept “persecution”. Yet, this concept has developed within law, particularly through the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) to take on a narrow, legal-technical meaning, somewhat divorced from its more expansive linguistic meaning. In particular, “persecution” for purposes of refugee determination does not include persecution on the basis of gender. This is so notwithstanding the widespread and often systematic use of rape and sexual violence in Africa in the context of armed conflict, election-related violence and other situations of violence. In parallel to this lack of a gendered legal definition of persecution, often those most central to the protection of vulnerable women display an equally troublesome lack of appreciation of gender violence, and an insensitivity and ignorance of culture. For instance, the first deputy prosecutor of the ICTR was quoted as saying, “it is a waste of time to investigate rape charges in Rwanda, because African women don’t like to talk about rape. We haven’t received any real complaints.”

While the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969) adopts the 1951 Refugee Convention definition, it adds to the definition by also recognizing “external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order” (Art. 1(2)) as bases for refugee protection. This raises the question whether, and if so, under which circumstances, widespread gender violence meets the threshold of “events seriously disturbing public order” for purposes of refugee status determination. In this paper I will interrogate this question, and further explore the currency of the OAU Convention in the African context vis-à-vis the 1951 Global Convention, as a regional African instrument forged in the pan-African tradition of the then Organization of African Unity, a tradition that continues today under the auspices of the African Union.

**Emmanuel Opoku Awuku**  
**Legal Counsel for the ACP Secretariat, UK**

Э.О. Авуку  
Лондон, Великобритания

**African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the context of the  
WTO and International Law**

**Африканские региональные экономические объединения  
в контексте ВТО и международного права**

In this paper I will examine what has motivated African governments to embrace regional economic integration to create Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as an important component of their development strategies. I will seek to identify the role that regionalism (reference to regionalism and regional international law in this paper include bilateral, tripartite treaties or agreements) plays within the context of international law in light of Article 31 (3)(c) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VCLT). The other issue which this paper will look at is whether Regional Trade Agreements on one hand and the WTO Agreement on the other hand contain conflicting rules, and how they can be dealt with (see Article 30 (2) VCLT). What is the legal relation between WTO law and Regional Trade Agreements?

Since the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union) the leaders of Africa have seen trade as an engine for economic growth and development. In view of that they have embraced regional integration as an important component of their development strategies. This has made them to conclude a number of regional integration arrangements: the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Eastern and Southern African Region (ESA), Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Central (CEMAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Historically, most African countries have special relations with the Europeans and have entered into trans-regional trade relations with them. These special relations date back to the Treaty of Rome (1957). At that time, the first of today's African, Caribbean, and Pacific, (ACP) countries (mainly in Africa) had just gained their independence from colonial masters; others were dependent countries and territories of some of the founding Member States of the European Community. The ACP Group's existence is based on its partnership with the EU. The Cotonou Partnership Agreement emerged as a result of successive negotiations between the EU and the ACP Group from the Yaounde Convention to the Lomé Conventions and now the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. The EU has always obtained a waiver under the

GATT Agreement to grant preferential duty to ACP products. However, there were pressures from other GATT/WTO members on the EU to make its trade concessions to ACP States compatible with the WTO. In view of that the EU/ACP states agreed under the Cotonou Agreement to find a new economic route through the new Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which are intended to be WTO compatible trade arrangements that support regional markets and contribute to sustainable development and the reduction of poverty, as expressed in Article 34 (2) of the Cotonou Agreement. Article 36 of the Cotonou Agreement sets out the modalities to conclude the EPAs and bring them into conformity with the WTO Agreement. This relationship between the ACP countries and the EU will be examined within the context of regional economic integration. This paper will conclude by examining whether the WTO rights and obligations conflict with African regional economic integration norms and the role of African leaders in addressing these issues.

**Erick Dann Ochieng**  
**Embassy of the Republic of**  
**Kenya to the Netherlands**  
**and Czech Republic**

Э.Д. Очиченг  
Посольство Республики Кения в  
Нидерландах и Чехии  
Гаага, Нидерланды

### **The African Union and International Criminal Court: Compulsory Co-Existence**

#### **Африканский союз и Международный трибунал: вынужденное сосуществование**

This topic has in recent years created a lot of misgivings depending on whether you are a proponent or opponent. This article seeks to clear the above mentioned misgivings and generalization that is currently emerging that African continent, even though it has most of the signatories of the Rome Statute, still supports impunity and non-cooperation with International Criminal Court (ICC).

The departure point in all these discussions should be the realisation of the fact that some African countries are states parties, some are both states parties and situation countries, some are only situation countries, some are not states parties but situation countries and others are neither states parties nor situation countries. I therefore oppose the generalization of the Africa of the existing relationship hence decision to research on the specific relationship between African Union (AU) and the ICC.

In order to resolve the above mentioned misgivings, the paper will therefore try to achieve the following objectives:

- To pin point the existence or lack thereof of a relation with ICC, character of such relations where they exist and causes of strained relationship between ICC, particular states and /or African Union.
- To elucidate the legal basis of African Union's position.
- To outline Kenya's experience with ICC.

Further to the above, it must be noted that the existence of two organization is compulsory and so each has to find ways of engaging the other. It is an obvious fact that the Rome Statute system is a product of treaty law and subsequently dependant on the international and national politics. Urgent solution is required and avoidance by either party to work towards any sort of solution will be detrimental, particularly to ICC.

It is virtually impossible to analyse the existing relationships between the ICC and 53 or 54 states in Africa. The paper therefore will be limited to 21 cases currently being handled by the Court, in 8 situation countries, of which 34 countries are members to the Rome Statute and 2 (Libya and Sudan) are non-states parties. Kenyan situation is an important limb of these discussions since it has paused some real/concrete challenges to the Court.

The research work will rely on primary research, primary sources of research, descriptive methodology and five years of professional and personal experinces of the author gained during the monitoring of the ICC activities to arrive at conclusions. Secondary research and secondary sources of reserach will also be used evn though in limited form.

**Badreldin Abdalla Hassan**  
**University of Holy Quran**  
**Sudan**

Б.А. Хассан  
Университет Священного Корана  
и исламских наук, Омдурман, Судан

### **UN Security Council Resolutions on Sudan and International Law (2003–2013)**

#### **Резолюции Совета безопасности ООН по Судану и международное право (2003–2013 гг.)**

The UN Security Council has primary responsibility, under the UN Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Unfortunately, the Council has become a tool to achieve the interests of the Great Powers. Instead of solving global problems that threaten international peace and security, such as the disarmament of weapons of mass destruction, and environmental protection, the resolving of disputes by



peaceful means, the Council is departed to intervene in the internal affairs of States.

The UN Security Council issued several resolutions that threaten the unity of Sudan, and contrary to principles and rules of international law. This paper will study some of the UN Security Council resolutions on Sudan, and attempted to answer some questions such as: Are these resolutions compatible with the principles and rules of international law? Are such resolutions achieved security and international peace? What are the criteria for definition of the conflict as the threat to an international peace and security? What reforms required for the UN Security Council? Author also will study some theories and opinions on the reform of the UN Security Council and Sudanese legislation.

**Lawrence Ogbo Ugwuanyi**  
**Great Zimbabwe University Masvingo**  
**Zimbabwe**  
**University of Abuja**  
**Abuja, Nigeria**  
Л.О. УГВУАНЫ  
Университет Абуджи, Нигерия

**Articulating Africa's Crisis of Loyalty to International Criminal Court  
through the African Notion of Justice with Proposal for a More  
Harmonious Relationship through an African Theory of Rights**  
**Артикулирование кризиса доверия Международному трибуналу в  
Африке через африканское понятие справедливости с  
предложением по гармонизации отношений посредством  
обращения к африканской теории прав**

This paper sets out to point out a peculiar African ethic (value) that could validly be applied to account for the crisis of loyalty to the international criminal system especially the International Criminal Court (ICC) at the Hague. The argument I shall defend is that Africans significantly prefer restorative justice to retributive justice and that this moral value provides a strong background to their crisis loyalty to ICC. By restorative justice, I mean the form of justice that would necessarily lead to mending fences and reconciling two persons and parties together and by retributive justice I mean one in which someone is punished proportionately to a wrong done. I argue that modern African leaders and citizens harbor ideals, tendencies and positions that imply or suggest a preference to restorative justice and that this is applicable to crimes against humanity. I shall demonstrate how this is the case and look at the merits and demerits of these notions of justice and whether or not they emphasize and defend higher

human ideals such as should be implied by the idea of ICC. I shall also discuss whether or how criminal justice should be redefined and re-designed to respond to restorative justice. To do this I shall take on the notion of rights in Africa to state how it could be advanced to accommodate the demands of ICC. The argument I shall defend in this instance is that the nature of rights lead to and define the nature and idea of justice that is applied or conceptualized to realize the rights because the idea of justice is founded or rooted on a conception of rights and that there is the need for an African theory of rights that will accommodate the idea of the justice administered by international criminal system.

**Abu K. Mboka**  
**California State University, USA**  
А.К. Мбока  
Университет штата Калифорния  
Станислаус, Тёрлок, США

### **The Critical Roles of Cultural Difference in the Prosecution of African Warlords by the International Criminal Court**

#### **Ключевая роль культурных различий в уголовном преследовании африканских военачальников Международным трибуналом**

The International Criminal Court has successfully prosecuted warlords in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo for using children under fifteen in hostilities (Jorda, Kuenyehia et al. 2006; Fulford, Benito et al. 2012; Lussick, Doherty et al. 2012). Unfortunately the underpinning reality of these historical prosecutions is that the crime of using children in hostilities was constructed and prosecuted within the framework of contemporary western customs and traditions that use dates of birth as a basis for establishing qualification for military duty and for performing most adult-designated functions while in fact the crimes were committed in African countries by African actors whose actions were guided by African customs and traditions that rely on physical appearance and strength as basic distinctions between who is a child and who is an adult.

Indeed broadly speaking there are vast cultural differences between western understandings of who is a child and African interpretation of “children.” In the West, for instance, age is a primary indicator of who is an adult and who is a child. In many African countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, age is not a key factor for determining military readiness. Instead individual responsibilities, including the duty to take up arms in defense of one’s belief, ideologies, property, heritage, traditions, and lands, are dictated by physiological appearance and physical abilities or agilities. This view is well illustrated by the old West

African proverb, made famous by Chinua Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart*, that children who wash their hands well have the right to eat with their elders from the same bowls (Achebe 1959). The justness of the International Criminal Court's prosecution of African warlords is therefore a legitimate topic for academic discussion.

This paper argues that different cultural understandings of who is a child and who is an adult provide reasons for questioning the justness of the International Criminal Court's prosecutions of African warlords for militarizing children. In doing so, it first contrasts contemporary Western traditions and customs of using birth certificates as the basis of differentiating between adults and children with the African use of physiological appearance and physical manifestation of strength as a point of reference for deciding who perform tasks that are usually reserved for adults in Western societies. Further, this paper argues that the prevailing assumption that there is a distinction between the prohibited act of using children in hostilities and the traditionally lawful use of children to perform labor-intensive tasks like mining and farming is very blurred. It concludes by highlighting the failure of the International Criminal Court to recognize distinct cultural differences between African and western thought around the interpretation of childhood and how such failure blurred the justness of the Court's prosecution of African warlords under Article 8(2)(b)(xxvi) of the Rome Statute the Common.

**Alireza Mohammadkhani,**

**Elham Mohammadkhani**

**Azad Zanjan University, Iran**

**А. Мохаммадхани, Э. Мохаммадхани**

**Университет Азад, Занджан, Иран**

### **The Darfur Situation and International Criminal Court**

#### **Ситуация в Дарфуре и Международный трибунал**

On 17 July 1998, the international community reached an historic milestone in international criminal justice when 120 states adopted the Rome Statute of International Criminal Court (ICC), the legal basis for establishing a permanent international criminal court. Since the Rome Statute entered into force on 1 July 2002 after ratification by 60 states, ICC has already been operating for almost ten years.

The creation of the ICC was heralded as a significant milestone in the development of international criminal justice. With the indictment of the incumbent Sudanese President, the Court has achieved a significant milestone and actually contributed to the emergence of a new norm of international law, which makes the official capacity of the perpetrator of core

international crimes irrelevant. However, due to the peculiarities of the Darfur Situation, the ICC is going through an important test in Darfur.

In the early July 2008 the prosecutor of the ICC decided to seek an arrest warrant against President Omar al-Bashir for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur. The decision has drawn fierce resistance from South Africa's former Mbeki-led government in July 2008 sought to defer any investigation or prosecution of al-Bashir for a 12 month period under article 16 of the Rome Statute of the ICC. To demonstrate their pique with prosecutor's decision, the 53-member AU and the 56-member of Organisation of the Islamic Conference have more pushed for action against the Court. To date the arrest warrants issued by the ICC against Sudanese President have not been enforced. In this article we consider the question whether the official status of al-Bashir shields him from prosecution the ICC. To answer this question, we examine the various international law theories related to the heads of state immunity and finally evaluate the likelihood of the arrest of the Sudanese President and explore the legal foundation of each possible.

**Adou Yao Nicaise**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia,**  
**Moscow**  
А. Никээ

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Protection of Human Rights in Africa: Past, Present and Future**  
**Защита прав человека в Африке: прошлое, настоящее и будущее**

International human rights law as a branch of the international law studies human rights situations in the world. The history of human rights law intimately linked to the history of the humanity and particularly to the history of the international law, which constantly develops.

In this purpose international human rights law of Africa is also directly connected to the history of the continent. Unfortunately the first opinion of any common sense about human rights situation in Africa is negative. A lot of conflicts, war crimes, extra-judiciary executions, poverty and others scourges are forged this image on Africa through the word.

The role of the African Union to restore the image of Africa and the questions of human rights up to now is failed comparing to others existed human rights protection system. For example, the European human rights protection system.

The purpose of this summited paper is to analyze the reasons of this failure. Are there any historical reasons related to the current concept of human rights in Africa? Here it is important to analyze the important part of

African history and its impact on human rights protection (Transatlantic Slavery Trade, Colonization, creation of the United Nations, creation of the Organization of African Unity/African Union, etc.)

For refreshing, there where Arabic slavery in Africa during the expansion of the Islam, which has been continued for several centuries, then the Transatlantic slavery trade, which was more massive than the previous, the colonization with its form of segregations, weakness of the Organization of African Unity at the beginning, because of the oppositions between the African leaders (nationalists # federalists or Anglophone # francophone).

Even the creation of the United Nations did not quickly solve the colonial problems.

The first continental document on human rights was adopted only in 1981, which entered into force in five years later. So is it possible at least than 30 years to build a perfect African human rights system that we want?

Only a complete analyze of the history of the African continent should allow us to understand the current and the perspectives of human rights protection in Africa.

**Bertrand Roger Jioque**  
**Lausanne, Switzerland**

Б.Р. Жиог  
Лозанна, Швейцария

### **FDI and Development in Africa:**

#### **How to Mitigate the Negative Effects of Incentives Policies**

#### **ПИИ и развитие в Африке: как смягчить негативные последствия политики их стимулирования**

FDI operations involve conflicting interests: the interests of the development of the host State and the individual interest of the private investor. The whole issue of the analysis on the treatment of foreign direct investment (FDI) is therefore to find a legal technique suitable of ensuring a balance between the freedom to invest and investment security, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the role of the host State and the guarantee that it will enjoy the fruits of the investment.

For African countries, generally host countries, FDI should play a key role in order to mitigate their lack of resources, avoid the burden of their debt, directly address the causes of their poverty and be the catalyst for their development by promoting industrialization

These countries thus show a certain availability vis-à-vis FDI through a liberal economic legislation, albeit cautious, but enough incentive: protection by the State of economic units operating in the country, the right to transfer capital and income, free repatriation of foreign currency in case of cessation

of activity, tax benefits such as the exemption from certain taxes for long periods, etc.

However, some restrictive measures imposed by the host country were still persistent: prior authorization of investment, exchange controls, support to local firms by an industrial policy, technology transfer, environmental protection rules, limits on repatriation of profits, local employment, vocational training, restrictions on employment of expatriates, price controls, security and national sovereignty on telecommunications and public services. Host countries also imposed a stake of local private and public capital in subsidiaries created by multinational companies operating in their territory.

The economic crisis of the 80s resulted in deep reforms: the adoption of new laws that were intended to improve the provisions relating to the admission, treatment, safety and protection investments in general. They led to the deregulation of economic activities and were completed by privatization. Therefore, entire sectors of the economy that were previously protected or preserved in the portfolio of the State were now open to competition.

At the balance sheet, and without passing judgment on the choice of national development policies chosen, we can see that, at best, the effects of these measures are not always positives. Instead there is a loss of income and quality of service; at worst the countries suffer a loss of their authority or their control, not to mention their sovereignty.

Faced with this failure, it is questionable whether an economic policy based on the attraction of foreign investments is not unrealistic to achieve an independent and balanced development. Therefore, what roles can FDI play in the development effort of African countries?

In any law or treaty dealing with foreign investment, it is indeed important to ensure that the needs and concerns of developing host countries are treated as such as to be beneficial to both the development and the investor. The fundamental issue is therefore related to the means and ways to maximize the positive contribution of FDI to the development, by minimizing the potential costs to the host country.

**Celestin Ndayisaba**  
**Burundi Embassy in Russian Federation**

С. Ндайисаба  
Посольство Республики Бурунди  
в Российской Федерации, Москва

**Democracy in Africa: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow**  
**Демократия в Африке: вчера, сегодня и завтра**

Since time immemorial, African societies were built around one authority: a king, a tribal chief, a clan chief, a village chief or *pater familias* whose authority was based on core values of the society, such as integrity, justice, dialogue and consultation. The king had the ultimate jurisdiction; however, he always consulted the Notables when making decisions. Not every citizen could become a part of this group; the person who laid claim to be included in this group must have had the support of the society. The procedure of becoming a Notable was organized through a specific popular ceremony. This model of governance which can be called “the African ancestral democracy” still remains deeply rooted in the souls of the African peoples, despite the efforts of colonialism and religion to minimize its role. It was always popular among African peoples since justice and democracy are considered inseparable; nowadays family and village councils play important role in dealing with disputes. However, throughout history Africa was exposed to influence of other civilizations. The “ancestral democracy” suffered violent attacks by the culture of the colon; the “Western” democracy has become the governance model, by the new leaders since the time of independence to the present day, but they will often adapt this, to serve their own interests. Indeed, sometimes the republics replaced monarchies in tragic ways and the *coup d’etat* has become the common way of the change for accession to power by the military. Ethnicism, despotism and cronyism, as well as the characteristics of countries with high level of corruption are typical for these governments which permit them to subject their populations under dictatorship for a long time. The Conference of La Baule (France) was held in order to strongly call African leaders to establish “true democracy”, so that they could access to development aid in change. Then the period of many political parties and “free and democratic elections” began at that time. However, the politicians still take advantage of illiteracy as well as the ethnical, regional and religious belonging of the populations, trampling underfoot the values of a true democracy. However, Africa moves forward with the rest of the World. The willpower to change is visible. The governing is becoming more transparent than before; the media and civil society take part in controlling the public affairs. The time of *coups* has passed, even though there are still ups and downs. The era of dictatorship is over. The International Court

of Justice and other safeguards are there to punish authors of violations of human rights and crimes against Humanity. Using model of governance developed by its ancestors and considering some of the positive experiences of modern civilization, Africa walks proud and confident to a better tomorrow.

**Olga M. Mescheryakova**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

О. Мешерякова  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**EU-Africa: The European Union's Partnership with the African Union**  
**ЕС-Африка: партнерство Европейского Союза с Африканским Союзом**

This paper “EU-Africa: The European Union's partnership with the African Union” sets out to point out a development of the European Union's partnership with the African Union. The argument I shall defend is that Africa is in motion. Africa is in motion, “Chancellor Angela Merkel said at the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon in the autumn of 2007.

Four years have passed since then, and from the perspective of several NGOs in Africa, there is rather a halt, at least in economic relations with the European Union. This could be after the summit on 29 and 30 November 2010 in Tripoli change.

I argue that EU-Africa summit of 2010 is important for the EU-African Union partnership. I shall demonstrate how this is important. The European Union's partnership with the African Union is just six years old. Six years after their first commitment to work together, the European Union and the African Union held the summit in Tripoli, Libya. At a summit in Tripoli, country leaders and delegates took stock of the progress made and the steps needed in the future. Topping the agenda were the financial crisis, climate change and security.

I shall also discuss the EU-African Union partnership. Delegates of the EU – Africa summit agreed to an action plan that is meant to bring progress in economic development and reduce poverty in Africa over the next three years. The plan also addresses the various security challenges faced by the continent. The stated goal: an Africa that is capable of solving its own conflicts, prospers economically and speaks with one voice. Europe also pledged to support Africa in its efforts to gain a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

“Africa has huge potential”, said Jose Manuel Barroso, president of the European Commission at the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon in the autumn of 2010. This argument I shall defend in this paper. That is why Europe and



member-states are so committed to this partnership and economic and social development in Africa.

**Ekaterina Kiseleva**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Е. Киселева

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **Double Anniversary for Forced Migration in Africa in 2014**

#### **Двойная годовщина принудительной миграции в Африке в 2014 г.**

45 Years To The Oao Convention Governing The Specific Aspects Of Refugee Problems In Africa And 5 Years To The Au Convention For The Protection And Assistance Of Internally Displaced Persons In Africa

Africa is the continent that suffers severely from forced migration. It is on the second place world-wide in overall numbers of forced migrants by countries of asylum and origin, and even the crises in Arab states did not move Africa out of leadership in numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs).

At the universal level, the Geneva Convention on the status of refugees, 1951, with its New York Protocol, 1967, is the most effective instrument to tackle the refugee problems. African states show higher than world-average level of participation in it with only six states out of 54 being not members of either document. At the same time, Africa was the first region to broaden the definition of a refugee. It was done through adoption of OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa in 1969. At present, 45 African states participate in it. Only three states are parties to neither Convention of 1951, Protocol of 1967 or Convention of 1969. Whether the different regimes of states participation in the regional and universal instruments create advantages or obstacles for the protection of refugees in Africa is first subject of this report.

The second part of the presentation touches upon the development of international protection of IDPs for whom, at the universal level, there exist only the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 1998, while Africa has become the first region to adopt a treaty – the AU Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, 2009 (in force since December 6, 2012; 19 member-states as of November 21, 2013), not to mention the sub-regional treaties of 2006.

**Natalia Semenova**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Н. Семенова  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Education for All in Africa: Problems and Perspectives**  
**Всеобщее образование в Африке: проблемы и перспективы**

For the first time at the international level the right to education was enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Later the right to education has been reflected in different international human rights treaties, which have been signed and ratified by the most African countries. According to these international documents African States have at least the following obligations: to recognize the right of everyone to education; to make it free, at least on the initial level, and if possible, on other levels; ensure equal access to all levels of education for all people, depending on abilities; determine the minimum requirements to be met by education in all schools, where it is implemented, as well as in the family; consolidate the role of parents as the primary educators of their children and to ensure their right to educate their children in conformity with their religious, philosophical and/or moral beliefs.

However, to date, despite the established guarantees in sub-Saharan Africa about 75 million children of primary school age have not completed primary education.

In the report will be presented an analysis of the main problems of improving the literacy level among developing countries (poverty, global inequality, gender differences in access to schooling, linguistic, racial and ethnic differences); the main achievements of UNESCO program "Education of All" which has been launched more than 20 years ago; the expression of willingness of numerous African countries in March 2013 to engage in the process of accelerating progress towards the Education for All goals before 2015 and its perspectives. It will be also shown whether the right to education is a right or an obligation, and other related issues.

**On the Question of Legality of Actions Taken by the NATO  
Allies in Libya**

**К вопросу о законности действий союзников по НАТО в Ливии**

In the international legal literature there is an opinion that the NATO actions in Libya in 2011 can be justified as an example of realization of the concept of “responsibility to protect”. The concept is reflected in the UN Secretary General report “In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all”, 2005. According to par. 135 of the document the responsibility to protect the civilians lies primarily with States. If a state fails to fulfill own obligations, the responsibility shifts to the international community, which must take all measures, except for the military, to carry out this task. If necessary, the UN Security Council (SC) is empowered to take a decision on the use of a military force. The SC adopted two resolutions on Libya. In resolution 1973 the Council authorized states to take all necessary measures to protect the civilians.

In Libya, the concept of the “responsibility to protect” has not been realized, as the NATO allies violated the provisions of UN SC Resolution 1973. The aim of the intervention according to the resolution is to protect the civilians. NATO allies have in fact moved from this target to the quite different one, namely, to the overthrow of the government regime in an actively arming the opposition, which also used violence against the civilians. In this regard, it should be noted that the most important achievement since the Second World War is peremptory prohibition of use of force. Unilateral use of force by States in violation of that principle poses a threat to the entire system of international security and must be considered as inadmissible.

**Olga Kazhaeva  
Ekaterina Kiseleva  
Alexey Golovanov  
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia  
Moscow**

О. Кажеева, Е. Киселева  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва  
А. Голованов  
МГИМО, Россия

### **Readmission Clauses in the Relations between the European Union and African States**

#### **Случаи реадмиссии во взаимоотношениях между Европейским Союзом и африканскими государствами**

Readmission is an “act by a state accepting the re-entry of an individual (own nationals, foreign nationals or stateless persons), who has been found illegally entering to, being present in or residing in another state”.

Readmission agreement is an “instrument through which signatory states commit to readmit into their territory their nationals who were apprehended while residing irregularly within the territory of a foreign state, but also other foreigners who transited through their soil”. However, besides procedural value, readmission agreements have a potential to serve as an important instrument capable of equalizing the voices of as different actors as the European Union and states of Africa. The European Union and its member-states are interested in readmission agreements as in an effective tool to struggle against irregular migration, whereas African states used their own pertinacity in agreeing to readmission, as well as nuances of interests between the EU as a whole and its individual member-states, to shift migration to priority issues of the bilateral agenda and to gain benefits in terms of assistance for development, etc.

**Denis Gugunskiy  
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia  
Moscow**

Д. Гугунский  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **The Kimberley Process: 10 Years Behind**

#### **Кимберлийский процесс по прошествии десяти лет**

Exactly ten years ago, in 2003, entered into force Kimberley Process Certification Scheme marked the beginning of the fight against the illegal production and sale of rough diamonds. The Kimberley Process (KP) is open

to all countries willing and able to comply with its requirements. As of September 23, 2013 KP has 54 members, representing 81 countries, including the European Union and its 28 Member States. Members of the Kimberley are about 99.8% of world diamond miners. Candidate members at the moment are: Burkina Faso, the Republic of Chile, Republic of Kenya, Mauritania, Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia.

The main purpose of the Kimberley Process is to stop illegal diamond mining, cutting off their access to the market. There were established several working groups to realize its objectives: Working Group of Diamond Experts (WGDE); Working Group on Monitoring (WGM); Working Group on Statistics (WGS); Working Group on artisanal and alluvial production (WGAAP).

Over the past ten years the Kimberley Process has proved its worth. The registration process of mined diamonds is so effective that now the importing countries have confidence in the fact that the jewels will not be used to fund bloody wars. Regular inspections are carried out, in order to verify the quality of the efforts of a member of the organization to issue certificates to a limited number of trading companies. KP participating countries publish statistics of the results of diamond trade, which greatly facilitates the fight against smugglers. When it was discovered that the Republic of the Congo exports a huge amount of diamonds with a small amount of its fields, its role in the dissemination of false certificates of registration of illegal traders became apparent to all. As a result, 43 countries, which account for 98% of the world diamond trade, decided to impose an embargo on Congolese diamonds. An example of the effectiveness of KP also serve as a work schemes in Sierra Leone – in 2006 from Sierra Leone were legally exported diamonds worth about \$ 125 million, compared with the almost complete absence of exports from this country in the late 1990s, and in 2012, the amount of exports was \$ 140 million and in the first half of 2013, \$ 102 million.

Thus, the Kimberley Process was the starting point that marked the beginning of the struggle not only against financial crimes, but also the violent wars on the African continent, which, since 1990, have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

**Transboundary Movements of Dangerous Wastes:  
The Case of the Cargo Ship “Probo Koala”**

**Трансграничные перемещения опасных отходов:  
пример грузового судна «Пробо коала»**

From 19 to 20 August 2006 in Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) during the night were spilling toxic waste by the ship Probo Koala (chartered by Trafigura). In the largest city of Cote d'Ivoire the toxic fumes killed at least 17 people and more than 100,000 people became ill (shortness of breath, cough, diarrhea, nosebleeds and headaches) caused by illegally imported in this country a highly toxic waste. Complaints against poisoning sought medical assistance for more than 10,000 people. Highly toxic waste is this liquid waste oil refining by Dutch oil company Trafigura Beheer BV. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Abidjan, this waste is very toxic. However, Trafigura's press-release prosecution said that he is not guilty for the proper disposal of waste and put all the responsibility on the company Tommy, which has the appropriate license and the cargo ship Probo Koala, owned by a Greek company, delivered that toxic waste to the port of Abidjan. During the investigation in Netherlands, the general prosecutor's office conducted its investigation. Meanwhile in Côte d'Ivoire were already arrested seven suspects in the case. The scandal has not bypassed and politicians: Prime Minister Charles Konan Banny and all members of his Government resigned.

Criminal proceedings were instituted on November 26, 2006 against the Trafigura Company in Côte d'Ivoire in Côte d'Ivoire. After three months later the Memorandum of understanding between the government of Cote d'Ivoire and Trafigura on February 13, 2007 was concluded. As a result, the main conditions of the present agreement are: the Trafigura Company pay a penalty of 154 million euro (article 2 of the protocol). And the main obligation of the government of Cote d'Ivoire consists in acceptance of all necessary measures for ensuring compensation of victims (article 3 of the protocol). The principle of Non bis in idem was enshrined in a judgment.

**Mensah Cocou Marius**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

К.М. Менса

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a Regional Economic Integration Organization** **Экономическое сообщество западноафриканских государств (ЭКОВАС) как организация, направленная на региональную экономическую интеграцию**

After independence, most African countries that were previously under tutelage, have become politically free, but still connected to European colonizers and were economically weakened. To remedy this situation, the creation of a regional body to coordinate the actions of Independent States was necessary. However, as stressed by M.N Kopylov desire and development process sometimes does not coincide with the norms of international environmental law. In his article “principles of international environmental law: lessons for developing countries”, he recalled that the environment should not be put at the service of industrial development. West African countries have decided to create a common organization to catch up with developed countries. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in May 28, 1975, three years after the Stockholm Conference. The organization ECOWAS was established in accordance with the Lagos treaty signed by 16 countries of West Africa with the aim of creating a community for the promotion of economic integration in the region. This agreement regarding the countries of West Africa was signed by: Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Mauritania. (left the organization in 2000).

Today, ECOWAS is a thriving organization that is trying to accomplish goals fixed by the member states: the establishment of a customs union and a common market of the Union. In January 2014 this should be a dream comes true as the customs union will be a reality. According to original legal documents, revised in Cotonou (Benin), the goals referred by the states of West Africa to put upward the economic community are:

- Agreement on ensuring the free movement of labor,
- Creation of harmonization of economic policies between countries and the elimination of all restrictions when making economic transactions,
- Harmonization of policies in the field of agriculture,
- Coordination of industrial policy, the development of cooperation in the field of transport and communications,

- Achieving food sufficiency,
- Fighting against poverty,
- Fighting against crime and arms proliferation,
- Promotion of disarmament.

**Awa Bouya Inbahim**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

А.Б. Ибрахим

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **Good Practices in Legislation on “Harmful Practices” against Women in Africa**

#### **Надлежащие практики в законодательстве о «вредоносных практиках» против женщин в Африке**

The forms of violence referred to as “harmful cultural or traditional practices” have been addressed by the United Nations for many years. These forms of violence include female genital mutilation, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection, child marriage, forced marriage, dowry-related violence, acid attacks, so-called “honour” crimes, and maltreatment of widows. Earlier attention within the United Nations to these forms of violence focused on their effects on the health of women and children, and on the importance of marriage based on the full and free consent of the intending spouse. Since the 1990s, they have been clearly acknowledged as forms of violence against women constituting gender-based discrimination and a violation of women’s human rights. States are obligated under a comprehensive international legal and policy framework to enact, implement and monitor legislation on all forms of violence against women, including “harmful cultural or traditional practices” (hereinafter “harmful practices”). The international human rights treaty bodies, in particular the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, regularly call on States parties to adopt legislation to eliminate “harmful practices”. Article 16(2) of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* specifies that the betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory. The 1993 General Assembly *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* states that “States should condemn violence against women and should not invoke any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination”. The General Assembly and other inter-governmental bodies of the United Nations have called on governments to



develop and fully implement laws and other measures to eradicate harmful customary or traditional practices, including female genital mutilation, early and forced marriage and so-called “honour” crimes. The General Assembly has called on Member States to “review and, where appropriate, revise, amend or abolish all laws, regulations, policies, practices and customs that discriminate against women or have a discriminatory impact on women, and ensure that provisions of multiple legal systems, where they exist, comply with international human rights obligations, commitments and principles.

Regional legal and policy frameworks also mandate legislative action to address “harmful practices”. For example, the 2003 *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* (the Maputo Protocol) requires that States parties take all legislative and other measures to eliminate all forms of harmful practices which negatively affect the human rights of women including complete prohibition, through legislative measures backed by sanctions, of all forms of female genital mutilation and all other practices in order to eradicate them. The Protocol also requires States parties to enact appropriate national legislative measures to guarantee that no marriage takes place without the free and full consent of both parties and that the minimum age of marriage for women is 18 years.

**Target Shumba**  
**Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**  
Т. Шумба

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Sanctions against Zimbabwe:**  
**Legal, Socio-Economic and Political Perspectives Санкции**  
**против Зимбабве: возможные правовые, социально-**  
**экономические и политические последствия**

Zimbabwe has grappled with sanctions twice in its history; as colonial Southern Rhodesia, and as an independent state in its present form. In the first instance, the British government imposed sanctions following the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 by the settler regime of Ian Smith ostensibly to delay majority rule, while in the second instance the United States of America enacted unilateral sanctions in 2001 through the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). In both instances, it will be noted that the purpose of the sanctions was to effect regime change and influence governance. This paper seeks to interrogate the issue of the acceptability at international law of sanctions imposed against Zimbabwe and their efficacy, juxtaposed with their impact on the social, economic and political fabric of the country. Indeed, much has been written

about the unintended effects of sanctions: from Fidel Castro's Cuba, Saddam Hussein of Iraq to international pariahs such as Myanmar and North Korea, yet still, the question which continues to boggle the mind, including mine, is whether these measures have achieved anything of note to vindicate their proponents, especially when measured against their toll on the generality of the people. In this regard, the article will attach great emphasis on the effects of sanctions on the enjoyment of human rights, both on the side of the imposing state and on the side of the victimised. In the final analysis, it will be posited that far from desiring to promote democracy, good governance and human rights, sanctions are just but a tool by the powerful states to arm-twist the weaker ones to protect their interests and hegemony. This can be observed from the fact that the world is replete with de jure and de facto dictatorships that are recipients of aid from the US and these states are not subjected to embargoes of any sort.

**Bukuru Jean-Baptiste**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Ж.-Б. Букуру  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Racial Discrimination as an Obstacle of Enjoyment of Human  
Rights in Africa**  
**Расовая дискриминация как препятствие на пути утверждения  
прав человека в Африке**

Racial discrimination is a social problem that concerns individuals and groups of individuals in the society. Racial discrimination has an influence on the quality of relations between people, society and the government. As the body of a person is made of different parts such as heart, head, hands, legs, eyes, which together form the organism and contribute to one's life, also people from different cultures and with different aptitudes must work together to make the whole world comfortable for life, to solve global problems facing the humanity. Racial discrimination is based on negative and false stereotypes. Discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, culture, language is the violation of the articles 1, 2 and 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which stipulated that *all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in the Declaration* regardless their *racial and social origin*. UDHR is recognized as a customary law.

There are many other international instruments created for eradication of racial discrimination, e.g. the United Nations Declaration on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (1963), International Convention on

elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (1965), International Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights (1966; art. 2), International Covenant on civil and political rights (1966; art. 2,20,26), Rome Statute of international criminal court (1998; art. 6, 7j), International Convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid (1973), International Convention against apartheid in Sports (1985), etc.

The International Convention on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination defines racial discrimination as *any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life*. Africa had been suffering from discrimination during the period of colonialism, the apartheid regime in South Africa, genocide in Rwanda, civil war in Burundi and other many regional conflicts. Nowadays there are many problems and conflicts which are caused by discriminatory policies, practices and might be solved by the Africans themselves with the support of international community. The lessons should be learned to put together forces to develop our countries and co-exist peacefully, to promote and protect human rights for all.

**Hubert Dudkiewicz**  
**University in Cracow, Poland**

Х. Дудкевич  
Ягеллонский университет, Краков, Польша

### **African Contribution to the Penalization of the Sexual War Crimes** **Вклад Африки в пенализацию военных сексуальных преступлений**

Rape and other forms of sexual violence have been always inextricably connected with armed conflicts. Despite of the condemnation of wartime rape in modern times, its penalization proceeded very slowly. Last two decades brought, however, huge change in the approach to the penalization of international sexual crimes, which was developed in the jurisdiction of the international criminal tribunals, especially International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Conclusions of its judgments were subsequently improved in the articles of the Rome Statute and others acts of International Criminal Tribunal, as well as in the jurisprudence of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which both were considering exclusively African cases.

The aim of the paper is to analyze the development of the sexual crimes penalization in the sources and jurisdiction of international criminal tribunals. The author tries to present the formation of judicial opinions and changes in the approach to such crimes in international law, and especially to

show the huge contribution of judgments in African cases (ICTR: *Akayesu*; *Kayishema and Ruzindana*; *Semanza*; *Gacumbitsi*; *Nahimana, Barayagwiza and Ngeze*; SCSL: *AFRC*; *RUF*). The presentation will show how sexual acts of soldiers and civilians during the armed conflicts started to be recognized as war crimes, crimes against humanity and an element of genocide in the jurisdiction of ICTR and SCSL. From the first case of ICTR, where rape was defined and included into the list of weapons of war, sexual acts were linked to the other types of war crimes as slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and enforced sterilization. All of the crimes elaborated by ICTR were subsequently included into the Rome Statute of ICC. The last action in the penalization of sexual crimes was the judgment in the *RUF* case of SCSL, where the crime of forced marriage was recognized.

**Dmitry Vorobyev**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Д. Воробьев  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **Determination of Indigenous Peoples: An African Approach**

#### **Определение коренных народов: африканский подход**

This paper sets out to point out a specific approach of African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) to the determination of the term 'indigenous people relating to African continent. Despite the existence of international instruments protecting indigenous peoples, their rights are the subject of violation still. One of the reasons is the absence of unified legally-binding definition of such a people. But also do not forget about the various definitions and its interpretations given by different stakeholders.

During the process of decolonization in mid 60s of XIX, African states has faced the problem of 'aboriginality' the key criteria for recognizing one or another tribe or group of people as indigenous. Obviously it couldn't work on the continent. That is why ACHPR made an attempt to stop the resistance of African states and indigenous people's by suggestion a new approach.

May be because of such a situation African continent has moved extremely forward in indigenous issue than the other regions.

ACHPR established the Working Group on indigenous peoples/communities with a mandate to prepare a comprehensive report on indigenous issue. Then its mandate was extended to monitor the indigenous people's situation and to submit annual report to ACHPR.

Perhaps, for the very first time ACHPR could formulate its new position on definition of 'indigenous peoples' during the consideration of *Endorois v.*

*Kenya* case. In the decision ACHPR made a break suggesting a flexible list of criteria for identification a people as indigenous instead of invariable definition. The list is based on factors of marginalization, self-identification and significance of land in cultural aspect in contrast to the widespread 'pre-colonial' criteria.

In 2007 ACHPR adopts an Advisory Opinion on the UN Declaration of Indigenous Peoples recalling African states to vote in favor of the document. This Advisory Opinion has become one more step to strengthen indigenous people's rights not only in Africa but in the world as well. Undoubtedly, African vision of the problem reflecting its own specific will help the other parts of the world to look at indigenous issue in a new light.

**Christina Kiburia**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

К. Кебурия  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Remedies in African System of the Protection of Human Rights**  
**Средства судебной защиты в африканской системе защиты**  
**прав человека**

The African Charter on Human and Peoples` Rights of 1981, as well as other international Human Rights instruments, establishes provisions on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of violations of the Charter. The mandate of the African Commission on Human and Peoples` Rights, which is a quasi-judicial body, does not include an authority to deal with the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Violation. In fact only the court has this privilege. Nevertheless, this situation is not an obstacle for the practice of the African Commission, including making decisions on monetary compensation. The African Court on Human and Peoples` Rights, like the Commission, considers under the concept of the right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims, first of all, the access to justice. Thus, the victim of Human Rights` violation is obliged to pass all levels of the judicial proceedings under national law before to file a complaint to the international body.

**Alexandra Koneva**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

А. Конева

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **The Dissolution of the SADC Tribunal: International Legal Aspects**

#### **Роспуск трибунала САДК: международно-правовые аспекты**

The article is devoted to the analysis of the activities of the Tribunal of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC is a regional economic community in southern Africa consisting of fifteen Member States with a stated aim of creating a “Free Trade Area” among its Members. Although human rights is proclaimed to be one of its organisational principles, protection and promotion of human rights may not be regarded as one of the main activities of SADC. Nonetheless the SADC Member States have decided to establish a court whose mandate is focused on the interpretation of the SADC Treaty, its Protocols and other international treaties signed within the Community. The Tribunal has interpreted its jurisdiction in a way that it deemed itself competent to act in cases where an individual’s human rights were not being protected by the legal system in their home state and they had exhausted all available legal remedies. Through a short history of its existence the SADC Tribunal has considered a number of human rights cases including the most famous one “Mike Campbell v. the Republic of Zimbabwe” – the first human rights case examined by the Tribunal which became the reason for criticism against its activities. This case has motivated the SADC Member States to make a decision to suspend its activity.

This article gives the legal analysis of the mandate of the Tribunal, sets out the overview of the dispute and gives the legal assessment of the decision of SADC Member States to suspend the functioning of the court as well as the international reaction including the complaints brought to the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights and the African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights alleging the violation of the rights enshrined in the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights.

**Conservation of the West African Populations of the African Elephant**  
**Сохранение западноафриканских популяций африканского слона**

According to the 1979 Bonn Convention on migratory species (CMS) “Parties... shall endeavour to conclude Agreements covering the conservation and management of migratory species included in Appendix II” (art. II) and “Parties are encouraged to take action with a view to concluding agreements” for migratory species (art. IV).

The Agreements may range from legally binding treaties (called Agreements) to less formal instruments, such as Memoranda of Understanding, and can be adapted to the requirements of particular regions. The development of models tailored according to the conservation needs throughout the migratory range is a unique capacity to the Convention.

13 African States (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo) signed the Memorandum of Understanding concerning Conservation Measures for the West African Populations of the African Elephant (*Loxodonta Africana*) adopted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2005 under art. IV (4) of the Bonn Convention. The non-binding character of the Memorandum is affirmed in its par. 12. The Secretariat functions are provided by the CMS Secretariat.

The Memorandum stipulates holding of regular meetings at which the implementation of the Memorandum is to be assessed. By this time there have been held two Meetings of the Signatories: 1) in Accra, Ghana, 30–31 March 2009; 2) Niamey, Niger, 20–21 June 2011. At the Second Meeting of the Signatories it was decided that MIKE (Monitoring the Illegal Killing of the Elephants) and CMS meetings would henceforth be held jointly.

The Strategy for the Conservation of West African Elephants (1999) developed by the African Elephant Specialists Group of the IUCN Species Survival Commission (IUCN/SSC) with support from the World Wild Fund for Nature is annexed to the Memorandum “as a basis for conserving all populations of the species in West Africa. The Strategy includes inter alia measures to: (a) evaluate the status of elephants; (b) maintain and increase elephant populations; and (c) improve elephant habitats ” (par.3).

The Strategy lists the following seven results to be obtained during implementation of the Strategy: 1. Information necessary for management; 2. Better understanding and effective control of the ivory trade; 3. Enhanced

institutional capacity for elephant management; 4. Reduction in the rate of loss of elephant range; 5. Illegal killing of elephants contained; 6. Elephant conservation issues better understood at all levels; 7. Regional understanding and cooperation strengthened.

The fact that all West African Range States of the African Elephant are eligible to sign the Memorandum is of great importance.

Despite the non-binding character of the considered Memorandum of Understanding it plays a significant role in preservation of migratory species, as it serves to articulate standards widely shared, or aspired to, by nations.

**Alesj Klunya**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

А. Клуныя  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **The Role of the AU in African Regional Peace and Security Architecture Strengthening**

#### **Роль АС в укреплении архитектуры регионального мира и безопасности в Африке**

Due to the fact, that African Union (hereinafter – AU) is one of the key international organizations, whose jurisdiction includes the maintenance of peace and security on the African continent, AU undertakes concrete steps in order to create comprehensive regional security architecture in accordance with its Constitutive Act and the Protocol relating to the establishment of the peace and security council of AU, which includes the body responsible for making policy decisions (Peace and Security Council), Analysis Center (Continental Early Warning System), military component (African Standby Force), advisory body (Panel of Wise) and reimbursement of costs fund ( the Fund for Peace in Africa).

It should be noted, that the African Regional Peace and Security Architecture development is based more on political than an economic agenda. In the peace and security sphere the AU has approved an official policy that permits intervention in member states in 'grave circumstances'. Constitutive Act of the AU, being based on the interdependence of Member States, provides the right of the Union to intervene in the internal affairs of a member of the organization in case of genocide acts, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in its territory (Article 4), which is the subject of serious doctrinal studies in contemporary international law.

The role of African Union in regional security architecture on the Continent is accordingly twofold: it acts both as a legitimizing institution and as a coordinating body. So far, as the willingness to intervene in the



politically sensitive theatres of Sudan and Somalia has shown, the AU is able to act effectively as a legitimizing body. However, the coordinating role is more problematic.

Examining the past operations, it is clear that the AU faces particular challenges. Recent and ongoing conflicts in Africa such as those in Somalia, the Darfur regions of the Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in West Africa illustrate the challenge. The intricacy, in terms of the range of responses from mediation to intervention, creates demands that are out of all proportion to the availability of resources to address them. In that respect, any recommendations made to address this dilemma should focus on meeting the needs of the African Union and should not necessarily set a precedent for other regions.

**Nina Petrova**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Н. Петрова  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**The Role of the Security Council of the United Nations in Protection  
of Natural Resources during the Armed Conflicts in Africa**  
**Роль Совета безопасности ООН в защите природных ресурсов  
во время вооруженных конфликтов в Африке**

- Conflicts in Africa issue a serious challenge to the UN which serves to safeguard the international peace and security and the human rights.
- Although UN is aimed to address international conflicts it has never remained uninvolved in regional and internal conflicts on the African continent.
- Examining different armed conflicts among African states the Security Council confirmed that the income from production and exploration of natural resources “warm up” a lot of the conflicts and allow armed groups to finance their activities.
- Addressing such conflicts the Security Council initiated the following measures: introduction of sanctions regime, creation of special committees and expert panels, empowering some peace-keeping missions with rights to monitor and implement sanctions regimes.
- The Security Council imposed an embargo on oil and diamonds in Angola and Sierra-Leone, diamonds and timber in Liberia and diamonds in Cote-d’Ivoire.
- The question comes up whether such measures are sufficient and what actions the Security Council can initiate to increase efficacy and efficiency of such measures.

- The solution could be found in consolidation of work of expert panels and creation of a permanent body which will provide different temporary expert groups with help and consultations and will cooperate with UN field missions and judicial authorities in order to bring to justice the violators of the sanctions regimes.
- What is more, the mandates of the UN peace-keeping missions could be broadened with rights to control the implementation of sanctions, as well as with right to help local governments to build effective mechanisms of management and protection of natural resources.

**Francoise Ndakissa Onkassa**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Ф.Н. Онкасса

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**The Role of the European Union and the African Union in the Process  
of Peace Keeping in Different African Regions**  
**Роль Европейского Союза и Африканского Союза в  
миротворческом процессе в различных регионах Африки**

In the XXI century, humanity entered a new phase of international relations. It is characterized by the expansion and deepening of international political, economic and cultural cooperation, intensification of internationalization and globalization. An international community is committed to greater integration, greater predictability and strengthens mechanisms for the organization and management development. Everywhere a strengthening of integration processes, which is a necessary condition successful progress.

EU needs to overcome prevailing prejudices and biases, including racial, against Africans, drop some old stereotypes in the approaches to adequately assess the role and place of the African countries in the international community. EU should look at AC with fresh eyes.

The EU actively supports the strengthening of capacity of the AU in the area of conflict prevention and resolution. EU expresses its support for strengthening the institutional capacity for integration in West Africa. It recognizes the importance of the process of economic integration led by the AU and regional organizations to support the creation of a free trade area and customs union project.

**International Legal Liability Issues in the Case  
of International Court of Justice “Belgium v. Senegal”**

**Вопросы международно-правовой ответственности в деле  
Международного суда «Бельгия против Сенегала»**

On 20 July 2012 the International Court of Justice delivered its judgment on the case “Belgium v. Senegal”, ordering Senegal to prosecute “without delay” the former president of the Republic of Chad, Hissène Habré, accused of crimes against humanity, including torture, or issue him to Belgium. The case has caused a great resonance in the scientific community. For the first time in the history the International Court of Justice concluded that it had jurisdiction in the dispute between the parties of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984. In addition, it defined the obligations of States to prevent torture as “obligations erga omnes partes”, so each State party to the Convention shall have the right to insist that other parties must fulfill their obligations under the Convention, regardless of the nationality of the victims. Professor A.B. Mezyaev claims that this decision of the International Court reversed the words in the principle of “extradite or prosecute”, made a serious intrusion into matters of state sovereignty, which marks a new step to the formation of a new “repressive international law”.

In response to the judgment of the International Court of Justice new president of Senegal Maki Soul has decided to judge H.Habre in a specially created tribunal. In summer 2013 Senegal in cooperation with the African Union created a special tribunal in the Senegal's capital Dakar to prosecute Habré. This Tribunal accuses H. Habre of committing war crimes, crimes against humanity, torture and genocide. For the first time African leader accused of international crimes will be tried by a specialized African court.

### **Prospects for the Development of Regional Cooperation in Space Activities on the African Continent**

#### **Перспективы развития регионального сотрудничества в космической области на африканском континенте**

One of the principles of modern space activities set out in the Outer Space Treaty, is the exploration and use of outer space for the benefit and in the interests of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development. While many systems based on the use of space equipment, currently available in any part of the world, many governments and their associations are trying to create alternative systems to avoid dependence. As an example of such analogs of GPS, the Russian GLONASS and Galileo of the European Space Agency (ESA) can be named.

This situation is the basis for developing the idea of a uniform distribution of space activity within geographic regions with taking into particular account the needs of Developing Countries, which are the majority of African states. At the moment, there is an existing system of institutions for regional cooperation in the sphere of space activity (RASCOM, AISS, ARMS, ALC), and space activities in the region are carried by Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria and South Africa. Some progress in the development of space activities in Africa has been made within BRICS. The major areas of space activities in the region are providing satellite communication and disaster management, which are public by nature. On the other hand, in consideration of the still untapped commercial potential of the continent, it is possible to ensure the security and facilitation of some commercial activities through the provision of certain business services based on space technologies.

In the future, this process can be encouraged by the recent adoption of the Space Assets Protocol to the Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment, which some of the signature States are Burkina Faso and Zimbabwe.

In addition, one of the reasons hampering the development of space activities in Africa is the lack of its own spaceport, and that is why African states are forced to use the launching services of Russia, Brazil, France etc. For the reason that most of African continent is located near the equator, which is the most advantageous geographical region for launching space vehicles, the establishment of an effective regional organization, for which

ESA can serve as the model, in order to create their own spaceport and procure space launches, including commercial ones, can be very promising.

As one of the possible consequences of the Protocol entry into force may be the growth of the total amount of commercial space launches, it may allow the African States to provide services in the future for spacecraft launch and profit from the foreign space activities to finance their own space programs.

**Yekaterina Utenkova**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**

Е. Утенкова

Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**Problems of the Defense of Persons with Disabilities Rights in Africa**  
**Проблемы защиты прав людей с ограниченными физическими возможностями в Африке**

Central to the discourse of disability is the question of systemic disadvantage, characterized by the discrimination, and often complete exclusion, of persons with disabilities in society. In order to solve this problem, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2006, the international community adopted the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which entered into force together with its Optional Protocol on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 2008.

In Africa, before the Convention has been adopted, the idea of a specific treaty on disability rights had surfaced in 2003 at the first AU Ministerial Conference on Human Rights in Africa. During this meeting African leaders admitted the broad violation of the rights of “vulnerable groups including persons with disability in general” and called for the adoption of a “Protocol on the protection of the rights of people with disabilities and the elderly”.

Eventually, in 2009 there has been set a Working Group on the Rights of Older Persons and People with Disabilities to draft a concept paper that would serve as the basis for the adoption of a draft Protocol on the Elderly and People with Disabilities.

As a result of the fact that the UN Convention does not place high emphasis on the peculiarity of the African countries in this context, the Protocol should supplement it strengthening the regional human rights system as a whole. Moreover, the protocol should guarantee the specific protection of women with disabilities and also address disability within the context of HIV/AIDS. And finally it's supposed to prohibit African practices, customs and traditions that promote violations of disability rights.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-3**

### **Китай и Африка China and Africa**

#### **Session IV-3-A**

#### **Китайско-африканские риторика и дискурсы: государство, массмедиа и африканское общество; China-Africa Rhetorics and Discourses: The State, the Media and African Society;**

**Руководитель / Convener: Ambass., Dr. David Shinn  
(The George Washington University, Washington, DC, USA)**

This panel explores Sino-Africa discourses on different levels: the state, in African media, and among African society. Much of Sino-Africa discourse has been framed by media outlets in the United States and Europe, so these papers present voices not often heard. Mario Esteban Rodríguez focuses on the official speeches given at the four meetings of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC); and he examines the two main African partners of China, South Africa and Angola. He focuses on the receptivity of Chinese leaders to African concerns, the consistency of China's official rhetoric on Africa, and comparisons between their official rhetoric in Africa and Latin America. Maddalena Procopio's paper explores how African peoples confront the Chinese state and as African people become more confident they will create new ways of modifying international relations. Bob Wekesa's research investigates the changing media image of China in Africa with a view to determining different perceptions over time, using major Kenyan, Nigerian, and South African newspapers as the backbone of his research. Herman Wasserman draws on content analysis and interviews with journalists and investigates how the South African media reports on China, the attitudes displayed towards China, and the constructions of China operating in South African media. It aims to explore these discourses across a wide range of media in order to probe whether different sections of the South African media might display different attitudes towards China's involvement in Africa, depending on their audiences. Moving beyond the rhetoric of mainstream Western media, probing government proclamations, and interrogating the growing influence of African civil society, these panel participants give texture and voice to Africans as they perceive Chinese involvement in Africa.

This panel will look at the two areas that sometimes get short shrift in Sino-Africa analysis: migration and cultural exchange. China-Africa

discourse tends to focus on economic or diplomatic/political engagement, but there is growing body of research on ground-level interactions. These four papers form part of this much-needed focus on the grassroots and face-to-face encounters between Chinese and Africans. Tatiana Deych chronicles the history of several generations of Chinese migrants to Africa. She pays particular attention to issues of illegal immigration and African perceptions of Chinese migrants in relation to Chinese development. Mothusi Turner examines increasing Chinese migration to the “periphery”, away from major global flows of goods and capital. He examines in inflows of Fujianese merchants to the tiny mountain kingdom of Lesotho. Further, he explores both how they came to dominate the retail sector of the Lesotho highlands, an economic area that previously escaped serious foreign penetration, and whether those same Fujianese merchants feel they are in a “remote” location. Anthonia Akhidenor examines the impacts and influence of Confucius centers in Nigeria, studying the demand for Chinese study amongst Nigerians, and how they perceive the “Chinese Dream” and Mandarin’s role in that dream. In doing so, she argues that Chinese people’s lack of proficiency in English is the main impetus behind so many Nigerians learning Chinese, whether in Nigeria or in China. Finally, Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong investigate the racialization of labor at Chinese enterprises in African countries, with a focus on mines in Zambia, where Chinese investment in the continent has been most controversial. In doing so, they interrogate the meaning of race in Sino-African labor relations. This subpanel attempts to bring to light stories of Sino-African engagement that are often ignored in the macro analyses in this growing sub-field. As this engagement deepens, these sorts of stories will become crucial to understanding future patterns of Sino-African relations.

**Esteban Rodríguez, Mario**  
**Autonomous University of Madrid**  
**Spain**

М.Э. Родригес  
Автономный университет Мадрида  
Испания

**Is China’s Official Rhetoric Responding to African Concerns?**  
**Дает ли китайская официальная риторика ответы на беспокоящие**  
**Африку вопросы?**

One of the main functions of China’s official rhetoric on Africa is gaining acceptance from local leaders and civil society for its growing engagement with this region. The relationship between China and Africa enjoys an enormous dynamism and has stepped up very significantly in

recent years. This has brought significant benefits to both sides, but has also generated tensions between them. Some of the principal African concerns are trade imbalances, negative impact on local labor by Chinese competition and investments, insufficient positive spillover effects generated by Chinese investments, and irregular immigration. Julia Strauss (2012) presents a similar scenario for Latin America and describes how the official discourse of Beijing has incorporated local concerns to maintain its persuasive power in the region. My research intends to determine whether China's official rhetorical discourse towards Africa follows the same pattern. In order to do so, my research focuses on the official speeches given at the four meetings of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) held so far. Although the FOCAC is the cornerstone of China's public diplomacy in Africa, most of the Chinese initiatives in the region continue to be rooted in bilateral relations with individual African states. Therefore, some of the official rhetoric generated by the Chinese authorities in their interaction with their African counterparts is also analyzed. More specifically with regard to the two main African partners of China, South Africa and Angola, after the establishment of a comprehensive strategic partnership with South Africa in August 2010 and a strategic partnership with Angola in November of the same year. Doing so I intend to calibrate how receptive are the Chinese leaders to African concerns, how consistent is China's official rhetoric on Africa and how similar is this official rhetoric to that on Latin America.

**Mntandu Phiwokuhle**  
**Howard University, Washington**  
**USA**

Ф. Мнйанду  
Университет Ховарда  
Вашингтон, США

### **South Africa and China, A Tale of two Developmental States:**

#### **Intersecting and Dissenting Imperatives under Zuma**

**Южная Африка и Китай – сказка двух развивающихся государств:  
пересекающиеся и несовпадающие императивы в период правле-  
ния Дж. Зумы**

Using a “windward-leeward” postulate – where relations are analyzed both in their point-of-origin policy context (windward) and on the point-of-effect policy context (leeward) – the case study of the China Development Bank's operations in South Africa is used in an attempt to evaluate contemporary implications attendant in the Chinese developmental state apparatus for South Africa.

Both South Africa and China perceive themselves as variants of developmental states. The significant structural differences in these coun-



tries' political-economic conditions, however, call for a “qualification” of their respective developmental states vis-à-vis each other. To this end, for its theoretical framework, this paper evaluates the structure of what is the current South African developmental state in comparison to the Chinese using Chalmers Johnson’s “Four Essential Elements” – talented bureaucracy, bureaucratic latitude, market-conforming state institutions, and pilot institutions – as articulated in his seminal 1982 MITI and the Japanese Miracle. Lastly, a prediction is made of the possibility for the emergence from such studies, of a conceptual “way forward” for a South African developmental state that will emerge from the current morass between what may be seen as unsustainable levels of state incapacity, autonomy, and political will to effect sustainable structural re-construction of its economy.

**Park Yoon Jung**  
**Rhodes University,**  
**Kensington, USA**  
Й.Ю. Парк

Исследовательская сеть  
«Китайцы в Африке/африканцы в Китае»  
Кенсингтон, США

**COSATU, the Left, and “Fong Kong”:  
Influencing how South Africans View China and Chinese People  
КОСАТУ, левые и «Фонкконг»:**

**вливание на восприятие южноафриканцами Китая и китайцев**

China has been accused of undermining the fragile textile manufacturing sector in South Africa by “dumping” cheap China-made clothing and other low-end consumer products on local markets via the now seemingly omnipresent “China shops” as well as wholesale distribution centers scattered across the country. In South Africa, cheap and often “copy” or “fake” goods even have a local name: “fong kong”. But retail chains throughout the region targeting various markets (at low, middle and high ends) also buy from China and sell to locals; these seem to be viewed differently from the products sold at “China shops”. COSATU – the Congress of South African Trade Unions – has played a lead role in boycotting China-made goods and leading a “Buy South African” campaign.

Taiwanese- and Chinese-owned textile and garment factories based in South Africa make up a small portion of the textile manufacturing sector; they, too, have been struggling to compete with China-made clothing. They attempt to keep up with the global competition by keeping wages low and they have developed a reputation for their low pay, poor working conditions and anti-labor union positions. Here, too, COSATU has led bitter fights against these factories over minimum wages and better working conditions.

On the surface, it might appear that COSATU is waging an anti-China campaign; however, research indicates that their position vis-à-vis China is much more complicated and nuanced. COSATU's main partner on the South African Left, the South African Communist Party, and individual members of the activist community, also appear to be quite conflicted about China; as a result, there is no clear message about China from these quarters. This paper unpacks some of the complexities surrounding the importation of China-made goods, the garment and textile industry, and the role of COSATU and the Left in influencing views about China, Chinese people, and China-made goods in South Africa.

**Procopio Maddalena**  
**London School of Economics**  
**London, UK**  
М. Прокопио  
Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

**The African Way: Sino-African Relations between the State,  
Society and the International**  
**Африканский путь: китайско-африканские отношения между  
государством, обществом и международной**

While China's state-centric pragmatism does not allow for significant challenges to its state apparatus, namely from civil society actors, in the past few years China has increasingly acknowledged the importance of enhancing relations beyond state-to-state level when it comes to its engagement with African countries. However, within this China-led development scenario, it is not clear to what extent Africans are contributing to raising priority concerns. This paper shows that on a continent where formal and informal institutions have been shaped, re-shaped, contested and challenged by external actors, and where the political space is the result of negotiations between the state, society, and the international, African responses to China's assertion of uniqueness, mainly characterized by economic interests and political non-interference, demonstrate how important it has become to avoid the forced application of known concepts to potentially new domestic and international dynamics. In countries where there is a reasonable degree of economic and socio-political freedom, Africans, confronted by lack of conditionalities, may have found new confidence in expressing their views. The research shows that not only socio-political and economic rights and freedoms have become entrenched in contemporary African cultures, but also that they can co-exist, without being in contrast, with the economic development China is helping to unfold. Should domestic pressures manage

to emerge with more strength in the coming years, we may witness a further step in the evolution of governmental and societal relationships in Africa, one characterised by a more confident and aware “African way” of carrying out international relations.

**Rozalska Monika**  
**Jagiellonian University,**  
**Krakov, Poland**  
М. Рожальска  
Ягеллонский университет  
Краков, Польша

**Chosen African Online Newspapers and News Sites’ Coverage  
of China-Africa Relations and Chinese Immigrants on the Continent**  
**Освещение китайско-африканских отношений в отдельных  
африканских электронных газетах и на новостных сайтах и  
китайские иммигранты на континенте**

Sino-African relations are growing extensively from year to year. The trade volume between China and Africa rose from about 6.5 billion dollars in 1999 to over 198 billion in 2012. It is a natural consequence that stronger and closer economic relations between China and African states have led to the expansion of Chinese migration to Africa. There are an estimated 1 million Chinese living and working on the African continent. Their presence in Africa is not always perceived positively by the Africans. Chinese themselves are not without blame – for instance there are numerous cases of Chinese working in African states without legal permission. Moreover, some Africans have problems with how the Chinese operate in their sectors, such as textiles or petty trading.

This paper will attempt to analyze the picture of China-African relations and Chinese immigrants in chosen African online newspapers and news websites from three countries: Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa. The author would like to answer the questions: 1) How are China-Africa relations framed, especially in the context of each of the three countries? 2) What attitudes towards Chinese (investors, entrepreneurs, migrants etc.) are displayed in the chosen online news resources? 3) What is the coverage of development issues (major initiatives, deals signed by China and African states etc.) 4) How is China presented in the light of other international actors in Africa?

**Wekesa Bob Job,**  
**Communication University of China**  
Б.Дж. Векеса  
Университет связи Китая, Пекин

**Media framing of China in Africa: Newspaper case study of Kenya,  
Nigeria and South Africa**  
**Медиа-сопровождение Китая в Африке: на примере газет Кении,  
Нигерии и Южной Африки**

That Sino-African relations are dynamic is a given. The interlocking and tightening relations across geopolitics, culture and economics are dependent on the cultivation of perceptions about China. Efforts have been directed by the Chinese government to project a positive image of China as part and parcel of smoothening relations and lessening negative perceptions that may put paid to further cooperation. Social science scholars have churned out a lot of literature indicating both a favorable and unfavorable image of China in Africa in what can be termed metaphorical typologies. These studies and treatises however exhibit certain vagueness from a communication perspective in so far as they make generalizations not based on empirical data.

This paper will investigate the changing media image of China in Africa with a view to determining positive, negative and weak (the closest thing to neutral) perceptions over time. The paper will present findings on the basis of key questions revolving around: positive versus negative media perceptions of China, trends and patterns in newspaper reporting over time; a comparative analysis of newspaper portrayal of China between Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa; and a newspaper by newspaper analysis, to mention a few. These nodes of 'central ideas' will inform a discussion on issues decipherable from the units of analysis ranging from a comparison of China to other significant global powers, issues that emerge as the most consistent, persistent and most frequently framed, dynamics in the China-Africa relations from a communication perspective, communications standpoints and underlying factors that inform the findings. The paper will conclude with a wrap up and indeed generalized discussion of the image of China in Africa. The paper will propose further research directions.

**Session IV-3B**

**Китайцы и африканцы в субсахарской Африке:  
мотивации и взаимодействия Chinese and  
Africans in Sub-Saharan Africa: Motivations  
and Interactions**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr Yoon Jung PARK  
(Howard University, Washington, DC, USA)**

This subpanel will look at the two areas that sometimes get short shrift in Sino-Africa analysis: migration and cultural exchange. China-Africa discourse tends to focus on economic or diplomatic/political engagement, but there is growing body of research on ground-level interactions. These four papers form part of this much-needed focus on the grassroots and face-to-face encounters between Chinese and Africans. Tatiana Deych chronicles the history of several generations of Chinese migrants to Africa. She pays particular attention to issues of illegal immigration and African perceptions of Chinese migrants in relation to Chinese development. Mothusi Turner examines increasing Chinese migration to the “periphery”, away from major global flows of goods and capital. He examines in inflows of Fujianese merchants to the tiny mountain kingdom of Lesotho. Further, he explores both how they came to dominate the retail sector of the Lesotho highlands, an economic area that previously escaped serious foreign penetration, and whether those same Fujianese merchants feel they are in a ‘remote’ location. Anthonia Akhidenor examines the impacts and influence of Confucius centers in Nigeria, studying the demand for Chinese study amongst Nigerians, and how they perceive the “Chinese Dream’ and Mandarin’s role in that dream. In doing so, she argues that Chinese people’s lack of proficiency in English is the main impetus behind so many Nigerians learning Chinese, whether in Nigeria or in China. Finally, Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong investigate the racialization of labor at Chinese enterprises in African countries, with a focus on mines in Zambia, where Chinese investment in the continent has been most controversial. In doing so, they interrogate the meaning of race in Sino-African labor relations. This subpanel attempts to bring to light stories of Sino-African engagement that are often ignored in the macro analyses in this growing sub-field. As this engagement deepens, these sorts of stories will become crucial to understanding future patterns of Sino-African relations.

**Adeniran Adebusi Issac**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife,**  
**Nigeria**

А.И. Адениран  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**Transnational Networking and Commercial Expansionism in Africa:  
Exploring Chinese Migrants' Community in Lagos, Nigeria**  
**Транснациональные сети и торговый экспансионизм в Африке:  
исследование общины китайских мигрантов в Лагосе (Нигерия)**

Ostensibly, transnational network process predicated upon ethnic identity has been noted as being stimulated by a relatively advanced measure of risk aversion, especially from the “home-front”. At the point of migrants’ destination, such subsisting ethnic identity has routinely enabled the communal pattern of commercial functioning and day-to-day existence of members of the community. This scenario succinctly depicts the case with the Chinese transnational retailing community in Nigeria. Essentially, Chinese immigration to Nigeria has been closely associated with the rise of globalization and the emergence of Nigeria as a lucrative market for disposing goods and services of Chinese origin. Chinese population in Nigeria in 1930 stood at just 4. By 1965, it has grown to 200 and by 1999; 4,120. From 20,000 in 2005, the number of Chinese immigrants in Nigeria has surpassed 50,000 by the end of 2011. A formidable contributing factor in this respect has been the close-knit nature of the Chinese transnational network system. Equally, the ability of earlier Chinese migrants to Nigeria to assist intending migrants from China to “make the move”, has been impacting, significantly, the growing number of the Chinese in Nigeria. Meanwhile, this study specifically focuses on analysing the logic and the pattern underlying Chinese transnational migration to Nigeria (nay sub-Saharan Africa), and indeed, the subsisting methodology for the Chinese migrants’ group human, business and commercial expansion in Nigeria (nay sub-Saharan Africa). The study engages triangulation technique as its mode of inquiry, while the study’s specificities have been ingrained within the confines of “transnational social field theory”. Essentially, the study unravels the patterns and processes of Chinese transnational practice vis-à-vis the engagement of extant ethnic cleavage and communal pattern of socio-economic interaction in expanding their human and economic presence in Nigeria.

**Akhidenor, Anthonia**  
**Edo State Government**  
**Benin-City, Nigeria**  
А. Ахиденор  
Правительство штата Эдо  
Бенин-Сити, Нигерия

**The Future of Confucius Institutes in Nigeria:**  
**Teach us so We Can Teach Ourselves**  
**Будущее Институтов Конфуция в Нигерии:**  
**учите нас так, чтобы мы могли самообучаться**

It may seem like the Chinese teachers in Confucius Institutes in Africa are here to stay but unknown to others, they are in their hay-day. I highlight scenarios from Confucius institutes in Nigeria alongside those emerging ones. Currently, the number of institutions interested in establishing Confucius Institutes as well as students who are learning Chinese in Nigeria has been escalating ceaselessly. People from various social statuses, regardless of young or old, use their free time to go to study Chinese. Questions then arise based on why would they want to pick up this Asian language? What do they plan for their future after learning Chinese? In order to answer these questions, this article analyzes the growth of Confucius Institutes in Nigeria. With qualitative anthropological research methods, we explore the motivation of Nigerians learning Chinese and their future plans, in order to draft out the China dream in Nigerians' minds. Through this research, I aim to identify the link between learning Chinese in Africa and learning Chinese in China. I argue that Chinese people's lack of proficiency in English finally urges Nigerians to pick up a new language and challenge themselves to increase communication with Chinese people whether in Nigeria or in China.

**Deych Tatiana**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Т.Л. Дейч  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Chinese in Africa**  
**Китайцы в Африке**

The impact of Chinese Diaspora on the African entrepreneurship and the influence of Chinese Transnational Corporations (CTNCs) on African international partnership becomes a sharp problem. The overseas Chinese

play an important role in Chinese politics. In recent years the People's Republic of China has built increasingly stronger ties with African nations. Since the middle 90's the Chinese Diaspora in Africa created local networks of retailing, bringing low-cost products more competitive than European goods never were. Chinese TNC settled in some African countries to get loans from Chinese government. As a result major infrastructure projects in those countries are now held by CTNCs. Many African business people are ill-equipped to deal with competition created as Chinese traders buy their supplies directly and cheaply from China.

The growing influx of Chinese migrants, many of them are illegal, has caused severe damage to China's image in the eyes of the Africans. The fact that many Chinese tend to live in isolation with little or no contact with the local population further aggravates the resentment already present. Africans fear the pressure with which China has rushed to Africa, they see as a threat the growing presence of Chinese at the continent. This forces the elite, interested in cooperation with China, to pay attention of Beijing's leadership to "shadow" side of China's policy.

Nonetheless, it is necessary to admit: Africans say that for many years they received Western aid and follow the Western models of development, but never managed to put an end to underdevelopment. In their view, such countries, as China, can bring into the sphere of economic cooperation with Africa something new. And Africans perceive these countries as donors willing and able to help them to solve some problems of development.

**Giles Mohan, Ben Lampert**  
**The Open University, UK**

Ж. Моан, Б. Ламперт  
Открытый университет  
Милтон-Кейнс, Великобритания

### **Putting (the Middle) Class into Sino-African Encounters: Evidence from West Africa**

#### **Введение (среднего) класса в китайско-африканские взаимодействия: свидетельства из Западной Африки**

Reflecting the widespread framing of China's renewed engagement with Africa as a form of imperialism, the growing presence of Chinese migrants on the continent is often seen as dominating and exploitative. This analysis is based on forms of ethnic essentialism and methodological nationalism that pit "the Chinese" against "Africans". Moreover, such claims of exploitation have generally been based on little evidence. Our extensive ethnographic data from a two-year project on Chinese migrants in Ghana and Nigeria suggest that this emphasis has considerable justification; as elsewhere in



Africa, serious concerns have emerged about Chinese competition in the informal retail sector and the treatment of local labour in Chinese enterprises. However, we also found that these narratives of Sino-African tension and conflict are more contradictory than is generally recognised. It is here that a focus on transnational middle classes and their relationship to other (less mobile) classes is key. We found convivial and cooperative inter-ethnic alliances, which have facilitated important opportunities for some African actors to benefit from the Chinese presence. But these alliances are often class-based and relate to capitalist enterprise and the realisation of surplus value. This means that cross-cultural conviviality can reflect material interests as much as any “multicultural” ideal and that out of these business alliances, African working classes generally remain poorly paid and forced into precarious employment situations. It points to the need for a more complete analysis of the intersections of class, gender, race and other axes of social difference in attempting to understand the implications of Chinese migrants in Africa.

**Sautman Barry, Yan Hairong**  
**Hong Kong University of Science & Technology**  
**China**

Б. Саутман, Х. Ян  
Гонконгский университет науки и технологии  
Китай

### **Racialization and Labor in Chinese Enterprises in Africa**

#### **Расширение и труд на китайских предприятиях в Африке**

The conjunction of “race” and labor has been much-theorized as to Western countries, but understudied as to developing countries, especially East Asian and post-colonial African states. The recent growth of Chinese investment in Africa allows us to change that. Based mainly on interviews with and blogs by Chinese and Africans, our paper examines the racialization of labor at Chinese enterprises in African countries, with some emphasis on mines in Zambia, where Chinese investment in the continent has been most controversial.

The paper illustrates how racialized notions of difference and hierarchy affect both local and Chinese labor in the mines. It theoretically situates several inter-related questions: how and why have notions of difference and hierarchy emerged, empirically and discursively, to make “race” into a category at Chinese enterprises in Africa? Why are such ideas more prevalent in some countries and industries than in others? What role have these notions played in quotidian interaction between Chinese and Africans in Africa and in Chinese conceptions of Africa and Africans and African understandings of China and Chinese? How does “race” impinge on the global China-in-Africa

discourse, including claims of Chinese neo-colonialism and Chinese exasperation at being singled out for criticism over their presence in Africa? Has “race” displaced class in sectors, such as mining, where workers have a history of militancy, as is often supposed in the global discourse?

**Turner Mothusi James Derfel**  
**The University of Oxford, UK**

М.Дж.Д. Тёрнер  
Оксфордский университет  
Великобритания

**Rethinking the Peripheral: A Study of Chinese Migrants in Lesotho**  
**Переосмысливая периферийность: исследование китайских мигрантов в Лесото**

The economic and political reforms initiated in China in 1978 have had a monumental impact on the mobility of Chinese people. In addition to paving the way for huge internal migration, these reforms have created unprecedented opportunities for outmigration from the Chinese mainland, allowing a new generation of Chinese migrants to seek their fortunes overseas. This focus on migration to the centres of the global economy ignores the fact that most transnational movements of persons, including Chinese migration, take people to places that can seem curiously remote. For instance, until recently, studies of Chinese migration have largely overlooked the fact that in the past decade, more than a million Chinese individual migrants are thought to have settled in Africa. Far from being limited to Africa’s urban centres, the effects of Chinese migration have been felt even in the most remote corners of the continent. My research seeks to redress the imbalance in scholarship around this issue by focusing on migration between different sites in the global periphery.

Lesotho’s highland villages are a textbook example of this kind of periphery, and yet they have become a popular destination for a particular class of merchants from Fujian province. These traders have succeeded in establishing a retail stronghold in Lesotho, penetrating corners of the country previously unreached by foreign businesses. I want to discover the aspirations of Fujianese migrants in coming to Lesotho and to identify the specific factors that influence their decision to migrate. Furthermore, I want to understand how they perceive the “remoteness” and “peripherality” of Lesotho’s mountainous hinterland and to discern the strategies and practices that allow them to turn the periphery into a productive space. In carrying out this research, I hope to be able to redress the relative paucity of ethnographic research on the Chinese diaspora in Africa, particularly in small, resource-poor nations such as Lesotho.

### Session IV-3C

## Влияние Китая на экономику стран Африки The Impact of China on African Economies

**Convener: Winslow Robertson**  
(Chinese in Africa/Africans in China Research Network, Arlington, USA)

Much has been written about China's effect on African economies. Whether as a responsible partner of the global south, buying African products at fair prices and supplying affordable products to African markets, or a rapacious superpower plundering the continent's resources, China's impacts on African economies is one of the most controversial topics in Sino-African relations. This subpanel will explore how Chinese policies and products impact African economies at both the state and local levels; based on new research the four papers examine different layers of impact. Alice Sindizngre's paper centers on whether China's macro involvement with Africa since 2000 holds any potential to change the parameters of African economies in moving from commodity exports to light manufacture and industrialization. She predicts that a long period of high growth rates combined with improved finances may structurally transform African economies. Christina Wolf examines the rapidly growing economic flows between China and Sub-Saharan Africa and their effects on the region's opportunities for structural change, moving toward activities with higher value-added such as industrial manufacturing. She argues that, rather than accusing China of potentially causing deindustrialization in Africa, we should be focusing on African policies that will lead to beneficial structural changes. Antoine Kernén points to a multiplicity of Chinese actors on the African continent that do not always act in concert or under the direction of Beijing, and explores what that means for future relations. He looks at the impact of Chinese products on African consumers and how traders interact with African products. Guive Khan's paper looks at the emergence of Chinese motorcycles in Burkina Faso and what that means for existing trade networks in the country, backed by findings based on two years of extensive fieldwork. Through this subpanel, the participants demonstrate the complexity of Chinese-African interactions beyond the rhetoric of partner or predator, and instead emphasize existing and potential future African agency in negotiating the economic spaces various Chinese actors have created.

**Adaora Osondu**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University**  
**Ile-Ife, Nigeria**

О. Адаора  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**A study of Chinese Construction Firms in Nigeria and Work Efficiency**  
**Изучение эффективности китайских строительных фирм**  
**в Нигерии**

China and Chinese businesses or firms are not new in Nigeria. For instance, Chinese firm such as Chinese Civil Engineering Construction Company (CCECC) has been in operation in Nigeria for decades now. The firm has undertaken several projects (more than 70 contracts), and has worked with more than 20,000 locals in their construction activities. Beginning from the 1990s when the first major contract for the rehabilitation of Nigeria railway was awarded to the company by the then Nigerian Military Head of State, General Sani Abacha (when Nigerian government adopted look east policy due to Western sanctions), CCECC began to gain prominence in Nigeria. In the present 21st century, CCECC has won many contracts and is now competing with big names such as Julius Berger in Nigeria. However, the issue that has not been looked into is how efficient as well as effective is this Chinese firm in delivering these projects? Are there shortfalls witnessed in Chinese construction works? What makes Chinese firm increasing being sourced for today by Nigerian government? In other words, what are the advantages of sourcing Chinese firm for Nigeria's infrastructural development? Employing primary (interviews) and secondary sources (library materials- books, journal articles, government reports, memos, briefs etc.) of data, this study seeks to interrogate these questions in a bid to provide answers.

**Kernen Antoine**  
**University of Lausanne, Switzerland**  
А. Кернен  
Университет Лозанны, Швейцария

**The Revolution of Chinese Products in Africa**  
**Революция китайских изделий в Африке**

By focusing on the different actors and using different sources, we give a different picture of the Chinese presence in Africa. This choice allowed us to show the multiplicity of patterns and strategies of Chinese companies on the continent and to challenge the vision the Chinese government as the great

organizer of this presence. Our field studies show that the relationship between the state and “its” companies is far more complex. Chinese multinational companies enjoy considerable autonomy and can no longer be regarded as outgrowths of the administration. Indeed, their objectives of profitability, growth and development, and for some of them, the need to satisfy their shareholders, push them more and more to act as private companies. Noting this fact, we propose to minimize the role of the Chinese state in the internationalization of Chinese enterprises.

Chinese products facilitate also the development of new profitable activities. In rural Burkina Faso and Niger, the motor pumps from China offer new irrigation facilities, while the Chinese motorcycle can be used to sell more easily this production in the city. The multiplication of the importers and the retailers of Chinese products transform also the face of many African cities. Obviously, the multiplication of such traders, leads to increased competition but not only between Chinese and African traders. Indeed, the actors of various origins (African, Chinese, Syrian-Lebanese, Indians, and Europeans) made alliances and collaborations that are not always following “ethnic” criteria. In addition, the supposed “intra community solidarity” does not stand long in the hardness of the competition. The multiplication of Chinese products’ traders raises questions about a possible transformation of the rent link to importations. Are we witnessing a real change in political economy of African states?

**Jiang Lu**

**London School of Economics  
London, UK**

Л. Джианг

Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

### **China's Agricultural Investment in Africa:**

#### **A Tool for Foreign Economic and Diplomatic Goals? Инвестиции Китая в сельское хозяйство в Африке: средство достижения иностранных экономических и дипломатических целей?**

The new millennium has witnessed a high-profile re-encounter and reunion between the African continent and its geographically distant Asian partner, China. Different from their earlier interactions during the Cold War period, the resurgence of the Africa-China ties has been remarkably characterised by its economic orientation, involving cooperation across a wide range of economic areas from resources exploitation, manufacturing, to infrastructure, telecommunication and so on. The bilateral agricultural

connectedness, in this sense, has by contrast remained loose and marginal in the past decade particularly in trade and investment terms. However, with the deepening of China's agriculture "going out" as well as the adjustment of China's African policy, there are strong signs of increased focus on the continent's agricultural sector from the Chinese government and it may well become another prioritized area for China's African investment in the near future. In this light, this paper is mainly going to examine the actors, mechanism and modality of China's agricultural investment in Africa at the current stage, and also trying to reveal how China has utilized agricultural investment in combination with other economic statecrafts, chiefly aid and trade, to achieve its foreign economic and diplomatic goals.

**Khan Guive Mohammad**  
**University of Lausanne**  
**Switzerland**

Г.М. Хан  
Университет Лозанны, Швейцария

**Chinese Motorcycles in Burkina Faso: the  
Cause of a Commercial Revolution?  
Китайские мотоциклы в Буркина-Фасо:  
причина коммерческой революции?**

The importation of Chinese motorcycles in Burkina Faso has increased significantly since 2003. Their arrival is the result of four major international changes: the implementation of structural adjustment programs in Africa, the devaluation of the CFA franc, the emergence of Southeast Asia as a global manufacturing area and the general decrease directly questioning the place of Africa in globalization. Now, arrival of the Chinese motorcycles in Burkina Faso has led to a deep reconfiguration of motorcycles trade sector, defined by the withdrawal of historical traders under pressure of the emergence of a new entrepreneurs' generation. Behind these obvious transformations, the theory of extraversion can offer a more nuanced interpretation of the scope of such a revolution, considering dependence of African countries as a mode d'action by which a rent is captured by political elite. Therefore, I assume that commercial revolution caused by arrival of Chinese motorcycles in Burkina Faso does not extend its influence to a significant modification of the rent control logics. It is due, on one hand, by repositioning of the historical actors on more profitable sectors, but also, on the other hand, by redeployment of State control over the activities of new entrepreneurs. This position is based on numerous interviews and observations made during field surveys in Burkina Faso and neighboring countries between 2010 and 2012.

**Lu Vivian Chenxue**  
**Stanford University, USA**

В.Ш. Лю  
Стэнфордский университет, США

**Nigerian Merchant Mobility amongst the Global South:  
Building up Home from afar**  
**Мобильность нигерийских торговцев на глобальном Юге:  
возводя дом издалека**

My research focuses on the phenomenon of transnational Nigerian merchant travel amongst the Global South as a contemporary aperture to investigate how young Nigerians are using global markets to forge alternate pathways for class mobility within Nigeria. Merchants from dozens of African countries find these trade sites across Asia and the Middle East for their readily available wholesale markets peddling everything from chiffon blouses to metal railings that clothe and house all classes across the Global South. One indication of the scale of this economic shift in Nigeria is the many Chinese shopkeepers in Lagos' Chinatown who are packing up their wholesale shops and returning home after decades of living in Nigeria. Through travel to far-flung trade sites such as Dubai, Guangzhou, Istanbul, and Bangkok, Nigerian merchants are replacing these once booming Chinatown businesses, as this younger generation of Nigerian merchants' ventures further and further to import goods themselves. This paper will explore how African merchants strategically use Chinese trade sites to build up their own homes and families, and how this travel to China, amongst other sites in the Global South, transforms social relations and local identities when they return to the African continent. In particular, this paper will examine how the transnational Igbo ethno-linguistic trade diaspora from Nigeria articulate transnational entrepreneurialism as a creative and necessary response to systematic economic exclusion in Nigeria.

**Shtina Yulia**  
**Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow**  
Ю. ШТИНА  
Российский университет дружбы народов  
Москва

### **Essential Features of Investment Cooperation between China and South Africa (1998-2013)**

#### **Сущностные черты сотрудничества в области инвестиций между Китаем и Южной Африкой (1998-2013 гг.)**

This paper illustrates the main difference between the investment activities of People's Republic of China in the Republic of South Africa. In 1997, South African Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin and Chinese Deputy Trade Minister Shi Guangsheng were upbeat on the potential for trade and investment, and described the two national economies as highly complementary. Presently investment cooperation is one of the most rapidly developing areas of bilateral relations. Practically, the quantity of the South African investors is much bigger than the quantity of the Chinese who invest in South Africa. There are several reasons for this situation: first, the Chinese economy is more attractive for investment and promises a good profit; second, the two largest South African investors are the mining companies, which is a sector given maximum attention from the Chinese authorities, and therefore, the development potential of these companies is high; third, China at this stage is still a developing country for which the development of bilateral trade is more a priority than external investments in other regions of the world; fourth, private South African companies entered the international market earlier, in contrast to Chinese companies that operate by the implementation of the state program for entering foreign markets. In order to stimulate bilateral investments The South Africa China Business Association was established. The five billion venture capital fund was established by the China Development Bank in order to boost the Chinese private companies more active penetration on foreign markets. South Africa is the only African investor in China, with major investors SABMiller, Sasol, the MIH Group and others. Chinese major investors in South Africa are Sinosteel, COSCO and FAW. This paper examines some of the different investment mechanisms that both states employ to facilitate their investment with each other.



**Sindzingre Alice Nicole**  
**CNRS, France**

А.Н. Санжангр

Национальный центр научных исследований  
Париж, Франция

### **Pathways to Structural Transformation?**

#### **The Complexity of China's Impact on Sub-Saharan African Economies**

#### **Путь к структурной трансформации? Многогранность китайского воздействия на экономики стран субсахарской Африки**

China has become a major trading and investment partner of Sub-Saharan African economies. The paper argues that beyond their ambivalent effects, these relationships may foster the structural transformation of African economies. Sub-Saharan African economies' spectacular growth rates since the early-2000s have mainly been driven by China's demand for African goods and China's contribution to high international commodity prices, Sub-Saharan exports being characterised by a high proportion of primary commodities. There are uncertainties, however. Sub-Saharan growth rates stem from distorted export structures (based on primary commodities), and these growth rates may not imply any change – they may even strengthen commodity-dependence, as high growth rates and high prices are incentives to continue the status quo and may lock African economies into the exporting of primary commodities, with its negative effects (vulnerability to volatile prices and external shocks, “Dutch disease”). These processes threaten Sub-Saharan African economies' industrialisation and they may be compounded by the weakening of African industrial sectors by cheaper manufactured products from China. Similarly, African governments' economic policies may not be able to harness the new opportunities offered by China. Against these views, the paper argues that Sub-Saharan African countries' growth rates may stay at high levels, as China's growth (and that of other emerging countries') is expected to remain sustained in the medium term, and as the price of some commodities may stay at high levels during the next decade. A long period of high growth rates, together with an improved fiscal room for manoeuvre, may therefore constitute a genuine opportunity for structural transformation for African economies. Equally, commodities may create linkages towards industrialisation. In addition, China's relationships with Sub-Saharan Africa are also driven by increasing investment, not only in African countries' infrastructure, but also in industrial sectors, both being key determinants of diversification and structural transformation.

**Wolf Christina**  
**School of Oriental and African Studies**  
**London, UK**

К. Вулф  
Школа восточных и африканских исследований  
Лондон, Великобритания

**China's Impact on Structural Change in Sub-Saharan Africa –  
Economic Policies between Flying Geese and Hidden Dragon  
Воздействие Китая на структурные изменения в субсахарской  
Африке: экономическая политика между летящим гусем и  
притаившимся драконом**

This paper studies how the rapidly growing economic flows between China and Sub-Saharan Africa affect the region's opportunities for structural change, i.e. the transformation of an economy towards activities with higher value added such as industrial manufacturing. In particular, it identifies the policy options available to SSA governments aiming to promote structural change in this new context.

This paper argues firstly that this ambiguity reflects the diverse nature of Chinese influence itself. Indeed, China affects the prospects for structural change in Sub-Saharan Africa through a variety of channels, not all of which are equally important. In addition, some channels matter more in some countries than others.

Secondly, this ambiguity also reflects differences in policy responses. Thus, the relevant question is not whether China's presence per se is helping African countries to get their feet on the ladder or blocking the way further up, but rather which policy responses can ensure African countries can make the most out of their relations with China in view of productivity enhancing structural change. However, in order to understand and compare policy responses in a meaningful way, the differences in China's impact on different countries need to be held constant. Therefore, this paper proposes a stratification exercise based on trade data, Chinese overseas contracted projects and investment as well as national accounts data in order to cluster African countries according to the importance of different vectors of Chinese influence to them. The paper then explores correlations between the relative importance of vectors of Chinese influence and measures of structural change. Finally, based on this country clustering, a more detailed analysis of policy responses and their relative merits in supporting structural change is carried out in a sample of country studies.

#### СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-4

#### «Восходящие державы» в Африке: Новый виток отношений? Emerging Powers in Africa: New Wave of the Relationship?

**Руководители: к.и.н. Александра Александровна Архангельская**  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),

**Dr. Gerhard Seibert**

(Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal)

**Conveners: Dr. Alexandra A. Arkhangel'skaya**

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia),

**Dr. Gerhard Seibert**

(Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal)

The changes and challenges of the modifying world in some sectors that were ignored now are needed to be examined and are knocking at the door. The innovative character of BRICS and other rising powers in Africa, such as Turkey, South Korea, if reflected in practical actions of the association, can change perceptions of world realities that traditionally emphasize inter-State disputes and conflicts, and can contribute to the harmonization of international relations and have a significant effect on global governance. Common strategic interests that had brought BRICS states together even before the formal association was established may further prevail over their disagreements on certain issues. With a new rise of interest from the emerging powers towards Africa, it becomes clearer that these states and Africa need each other. Emerging powers represent a vast market not only for African minerals, but for various other goods and products produced by African countries. At the same time, emerging powers activities on the continent strengthens the position of African countries vis-à-vis both old and new other external players. Political and economic significance of emerging powers to Africa is reinforced by the active participation of its members in both the authoritative international organizations, such as the UN, WTO, IMF and the World Bank, and leading informal associations, including the Non-Aligned Movement, Group of 77, G-20, APEC and G-8, as well as in regional organizations in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. That creates objective opportunities for the “co-participation” with other countries in building a fair polycentric world, for exerting a systemic influence on decision-making processes in a wide range of structures - from global to regional, from well-established to relatively new.

**Francisco Simplicio  
United Nations Office for  
South-South Cooperation**

Ф. Симплисио  
Управление ООН по сотрудничеству Юг-Юг  
Нью-Йорк, США

**South-South Cooperation Principles in Practice:  
The IBSA Fund Experience  
Принципы сотрудничества Юг-Юг на практике:  
опыт фонда ИБСА**

An increasing number of developing countries are capitalizing on Southern economic, social and technological dynamism to meet their national priorities amid an established, yet evolving framework of South-South cooperation (SSC) based in a core set of SSC principles. While South-South partnerships among equals, and based on solidarity, has long proved to be a valuable resource for Southern countries in meeting their development priorities, only recently has SSC become a widespread and accepted catchphrase in development discourse.

As a concept, SSC is continually maturing to adapt to the changing needs and capacities of developing countries. In this context, it is important to establish and assess evidence of SSC in practice in order to recognize and support the rich idiosyncrasies that characterise and give strength to SSC as a partnership mechanism.

**Siphamandla Zondi  
Institute for Global Dialogue and  
University of South Africa**

С. Зонди  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**NAASP and ASA:  
why is Africa-Asia-South America-based Southern Axis not Maturing?  
Новое азиатско-африканское стратегическое партнерство и Афри-  
кано-южноамериканское партнерство: почему не укрепляется  
сотрудничество по южной оси Африка – Азия – Южная Америка?**

Africa's geographical positioning in the world geography is strategic both to Asia in the east and South America in the west. Africa's cooperation with the two growing regions of the global south is crucial for the emergence of a southern axis of power to counter-balance the northern axis represented by the North America, UK and Western Europe, not in confrontation to this

but as alternative source of global significance for the peripheralised African continent. As regions of the global south woke up to the significance of region-to-region cooperation in a fluid post-cold war period, the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership (NAASP) and the Africa-South America (ASA) platform were born in 2005 and 2006 respectively. ASA and NAASP held the promise of creating politically significant and economically useful zones across the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, with Africa as the pivot of this axis of power and cooperation. South Africa and Indonesia that proposed the former as well as Nigeria and Brazil that championed the ASA had positioned themselves to play an unprecedented role in constructing inter-regional zone of significance in the south Atlantic and Indian Oceans. This was going to happen at the time when both oceans had become major sites of global economic development and international security cooperation.

But seven or eight years later, the two initiatives have not gone beyond their launch and started to function effectively to change the situation in the southern hemisphere. Using a decolonial Afrocentric prism, this paper will discuss reasons why the promise of a useful tri-regional zone has not materialized to the extent expected. It will offer ideas about how this might be realized while the South is still experience

positive signs of emergence. It will propose how Africa could become the key to this avenue for revitalization of south-south cooperation in response to shifts in global power especially in the aftermath of the global economic crisis.

**Ian Taylor**  
**St Andrews**  
**Renmin University of China**  
Й. Тэйлор  
Университет св. Андрея  
Файф, Великобритания

### **The BRICS in Africa: Diversifying Dependency?**

#### **БРИКС в Африке: диверсифицирующая зависимость?**

The BRICS concept might be seen as a political attempt to further the hegemonic status of liberal capitalism by accommodating emerging centres of accumulation and growth within the extant system. Within the BRICS states, social relations and the dominant modes of production have changed as these states have progressively embraced neoliberalism. This has strengthened the hand of externally-oriented fractions and finance capital. A lot of the hype about the rise of the BRICs stems from the declinist literature and current mood in the West. From Africa's perspective, serious questions need to be asked about the BRICS. Rather than rejecting existing global

institutions, the BRICS embrace them and controversies with the West centre on technical issues such as changes in decision-making rules and procedures in various bodies, rather than any structural interrogation of the extant world order. The BRICS do not provide any serious political alternative for Africa. In the economic realm, FDI flows from the BRICS to Africa are highly concentrated in the infrastructure and extractive sectors. The implications for Africa's continued dependency on primary commodities, particularly in the energy and minerals sector is a worry for the continent's future development trajectories. African agency may well be the deciding factor on whether or not the BRICS bring anything qualitatively new to the continent, instead of simply diversifying (and deepening) Africa's dependency within the global political economy.

**Chetan Tokas**  
**Jawaharlal Nehru University**  
**New Delhi, India**

Ч. Токас  
Университет им. Джавахарлала Неру  
Нью-Дели, Индия

**BRICS - Africa Cooperation: A Paradigm Shift in Cultural, Social and Political Relationships of Emerging Powers in Africa**  
**Сотрудничество между БРИКС и Африкой: парадигмальный сдвиг в культурных, общественных и политических отношениях между «восходящими державами» и странами Африки**

The acronym BRICS, coined by Jim O'Neill, chief economist of Goldman Sachs in 2001 so as to describe the anatomy of four largest developing economies of the world – Brazil, Russia, India and China has graduated to a new level after inclusion of The Republic of South Africa in 2010. The BRICS – Africa cooperation has generated new interest in recent years because Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa are playing an increasingly significant role in global trade which offers varied opportunities of investment, finance, and governance for African countries. The size, potential and voice of BRICS economies on international platforms make them particularly relevant for Africa's development wherein global economy is no longer exclusively dominated by G7/G8, G-20, Group of 77, APEC and other global power regimes.

The BRICS constitute more than 40 per cent of the world's population and consisted of over \$15 trillion gross domestic product (GDP) in 2011 which is estimated at more than one fifth of the global total. BRICS trade is projected to reach \$500 billion by 2015. Diplomatic and cultural relations thus can influence long-term strategic ties to develop some of the key

sources of economic transformation and sustainable development in African continent. BRICS is emerging as a new power which can provide an alternative to WTO, IMF, WB and other international trade regimes.

There has been a big technology shift in the new century where USA is no longer the only technological superpower. BRICS can provide new banking system, new procedures of loans and a new paradigm to international trade regimes providing assistance to developing countries at large. BRICS capital reserve is estimated to surpass many other giants taken together primarily with China emerging as a technological human resource hub empowered with raw material especially effecting African economies and African financial institutions.

**Jelena Vidojević**  
**University of Belgrade, Serbia**

Е. Видоевич  
Белградский университет, Сербия

**South-South Development Cooperation:  
what are the Prospects for Africa? Сотрудничество  
для развития по линии «Юг-Юг»: каковы  
перспективы для Африки?**

South-South cooperation (SSC) is not a new phenomenon. It emerged in a more institutionalized manner after the end of the World War II, with the process of decolonization which was followed by “making of the Third World”. As colonies started to gain independence they were confronted by an international system which was economically and politically unfavourable to them. In the context of the Cold War, they were trying to maintain political independence and, at the same time achieve economic self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, during the “initial” 30 years, SSC was more-less confined to expression of political solidarity due to the fact that all the countries of the South were either underdeveloped or developing.

After the end of the Cold War, political and economic landscape significantly changed. Revitalization of the multilateralism was followed by the economic and political rise of several developing countries and they are gradually increasing their presence in the resource-rich African continent. Emerging economies established and developed quite different, comprehensive approach towards African countries including not only development aid, but also economic, technical and cultural cooperation. Each of the emerging economies has its own “African policy”, pursuing its own interests, especially when it comes to trade and business, and they are highly competitive. However, when it comes to development aid, some common features can be extracted. It is based on completely different premises

compared to the traditional North-South relationship. First and foremost, development aid is provided with no strings attached. Not only it represents additional source of resources for African countries, it challenges the traditional model of development aid established by the North, more than half century ago, with conditionality as one of its main characteristic. Another important feature is the way of providing aid and its purpose aid, so it could be used for “filling the gaps” left behind by the Western aid (especially when it comes to the big infrastructural projects). Countries involved in SSC never use the term “donor”. Instead of “donor-recipient” relationship, they see themselves as (equal) partners.

Aside of providing additional resources for African countries, intensification of this relationship creates a manoeuvring space for them and improves their negotiating position.

The importance of the discourse used by the new donors should not be underestimated; it is explicitly opposite to the discursive of Western foreign aid, and the concepts like “mutual benefit”, “equality”, “partnership”, “non-interference”, are particularly highlighted.

Even though it has a number of advantages compared to traditional North-South development cooperation, it has a lot of challenges ahead. Transparency should be improved as well as the reporting on the realized cooperation. Also, an adequate institutional infrastructure needs to be established so the coordination and cooperation between emerging economies, while providing aid, could be improved. Since the South-South development cooperation do not exclude an existing North-South cooperation, but complements it, the core principles should be re-examined and harmonized. This must be defined as soon as possible since the development assistance from the emerging economies will be expanding over time, in terms of magnitude and direction of flows.

**Ana Cristina Alves**  
**South African Institute of**  
**International Affairs**

А. К. Алвеш  
Южноафриканский институт международных отношений  
Йоханнесбург

**China in Angola and Mozambique Hydrocarbons:  
a Comparative Analysis**

**Китай в гидрокарбондобывающей промышленности в Анголе и  
Мозамбике: сравнительный анализ**

Angola and Mozambique currently figure among the fastest growing economies in the African continent and among the most attractive investment



destinations in the region. This is due largely to their resource bounty, political stability and the lack of serious conflict threats. Being the second largest oil producer in the region and the 5th world largest diamond producer, Angola finds itself in a comfortable economic position only a decade after the end of the civil war as the 3rd largest sub-Saharan economy and about to become a middle income country. While Angolan riches have been known and explored for decades, Mozambique has only recently discovered its subsoil bounty having lived most of its two decade long peaceful period in hopeless poverty and relying on foreign aid. The recent discovery of massive deposits of coal in Northern Mozambique and hydrocarbons in its offshore, considered amongst the largest reservoirs in the globe, have raised its regional stature and dramatically improved its odds drawing unprecedented interest from investors from all corners of the world.

Among the new comers stands out China, whose interest in African hydrocarbons has grown exponentially over the past decade, pressurized by its energy security concerns. Interestingly, while it extent \$11.5 billion oil backed loans to Luanda and managed to rapidly climb to the top of Angolan oil exports destinations, overcoming the US as largest importer of Angolan oil, its oil companies have struggled to progress in the Angolan oil industry over the past decade. In sharp contrast, in Mozambique despite the much more recent and smaller infrastructure loans, a Chinese oil company, CNPC, has recently successfully acquired an important stake in one of the main exploration areas.

This paper proposes to compare the trajectory of China's engagement in hydrocarbons in Angola and Mozambique, looking particularly at how the market structure is impacting the progression of its companies' interests. This study aims at unpacking in what ways well established hydrocarbons markets such as Angola impact Chinese oil companies access to resources (supply and equity) and whether embryonic industries such as the one in Mozambique are easier to access.

**Anastasya Lomova**  
**Diplomatic Academy**  
**Moscow, Russia**

А. Ломова  
Дипломатическая академия  
Москва, Россия

**China's Policy toward Africa: the Case of Madagascar**  
**Африканская политика Китая (на примере Мадагаскара)**

The African continent is the one of the priority areas of the People's Republic of China's foreign policy. China is building a new kind of relations

with African countries – so-called «strategic partnership», based on the principles of political equality and mutual confidence, economic cooperation and cultural exchange.

One of the examples of collective dialogue and efficient expansion of practical interaction is the synergy of China and the Republic of Madagascar.

The reasons for the successful communication between the countries lay in the combination of economic interests and skilful political diplomacy, social and cultural aspects of the so-called «soft power». Not coincidentally that the Chinese expat community on the island is among the most numerous.

Declaring the policy of «non-intervention» China insists on respecting Madagascar's independent choice of its own way of development. China does not criticize the political regime neither it raises the question of legitimacy of the current power. Moreover, China points out the historical similarity of the destiny of dependence and oppression by developed countries. China offers the republic Madagascar strong basis for economic development that is hard to be found among Western countries. This takes place against the backdrop of humanitarian, scientific and cultural cooperation projects and financial investments.

We can assess from the point of modern world, whether it is a real embodiment of one of Chinese strategies or a natural development of the state-to-state dialogue at the current stage and realization of necessity of mutual assistance and support; which consequences of the Chinese-African interaction, including the Chinese-Madagascar, will be reinforced in the global perspective. Following the motto of the Malagasy society «mura mura» (which in Malagasy means «gently-gently»), the Madagascar with assistance of the China makes its first and gentle steps toward the global integration and development of countries of Africa.

**Meibo Huang Peiqiang Ren**  
**China Institute for International Development**  
**Xiamen University, China**

M.Х.П. Рен  
Сямыньский университет, Китай

### **A Study on the Employment Effect of Chinese Investment in South Africa**

#### **Влияние китайских инвестиций на занятость в Южной Африке**

The employment effect of Chinese investment in Africa has always been questioned by the international society. Therefore, in order to clarify the suspicions from international society, this paper tries to use the survey from the iChinese enterprises in Johannesburg, South Africa (SA) to analyze their employment effect in SA. From the survey, we try to find, firstly if these

Chinese investments brought about job increment to the local people, alleviating the employment pressure of many local low-skilled or unskilled labour; secondly, how South African labour laws, its labour unions, as well as the international orientation of Chinese enterprises impact the employment quality of Chinese enterprises in South Africa. Finally, we give suggestion to South Africa government and Chinese enterprises respectively on how to expand the employment effect of Chinese firms to South Africa.

**Gerhard Seibert**  
**University of Lisbon**  
**Portugal**

Г. Зайберт  
Лиссабонский университет  
Португалия

### **The Development of Brazil's Engagements with Africa since 2003**

#### **Развитие связей Бразилии с Африкой с 2003 г.**

When Brazil's former President Lula da Silva (2003–2010) took office more than ten years ago he declared the strengthening of relations with Africa as a priority for his country's external relations. His frequent official visits to African countries and the considerable increase of Brazilian embassies on the continent during his two mandates became a visible expression of this commitment. During Lula's presidency Brazil's trade with African countries and investments by Brazilian companies in the continent's mining, energy, agriculture and construction sectors increased considerably. Besides African countries became the principal destinations of Brazil's technical and educational cooperation. When President Dilma Rousseff succeeded Lula da Silva in 2011 she promised to further strengthen her country's political and economic ties with Africa. However, she has not publicly demonstrated a personal commitment with Africa which distinguished her predecessor. Her different style and attitude, however, are not necessarily indications of changes with regard to Brazil's political and economic engagement with Africa. Nonetheless, more than ten years after the renewal of Brazil's closer ties with Africa, an assessment of these relations in the various sectors in recent years makes sense, especially also in comparison with the increasing involvement of other emerging powers on the continent.

**Mathias de Alencastro**  
**Oxford University, UK**  
М. де Аленкастро  
Оксфордский университет  
Великобритания

**Brazil Foreign Policy towards Africa: Developmental Bottle, Neo-Liberal Wine?**

**Бразильская внешняя политика в отношении Африки:  
неолиберальное вино в бутылке развития?**

This paper discusses the Lula administration's African policy legacy and its implications for the relations between Brazil and Africa in the long term. Many have argued that the arrival of Lula in power led the Itamaraty to view the African subcontinent differently, and that Brazil had altered its conception of political and economic interests in the region. The significant rise in the number of embassies, FDI and aid to the region is noteworthy. The importance of Africa for Brazil's larger international ambitions also suggests a policy shift.

The paper is nonetheless sceptical that these changes represent a paradigmatic shift in policy towards Africa, rather than a narrative adjustment made possible by a conjunction of quite specific circumstances. Indeed, these circumstances provided an opportunity to redefine Brazil's foreign policy towards the region, which the Lula administration has only scratched the surface.

The paper argues that Brazilian presence in Africa, ten years after the arrival of Lula in power, is no different from that of other developed countries in the region: based on personalized relations with countries that share the same cultural background, largely driven by private interests, and primarily focused on commodity trade. As Rousseff enters the defining period of her first presidential term, she faces most of the same conundrums Lula faced in his first mandate, but lacking the charismatic leverage of her predecessor and constrained by a less favourable economic scenario.

**Gerrit Olivier**  
**University of Pretoria, South Africa**  
Г. Оливер  
Университет Претории, ЮАР

**Africa/European Union Cooperation Requires New Thinking**  
**Сотрудничество между Африкой и Европейским Союзом нуждается**  
**в новом мышлении**

The New Agenda for more successful African/European Union cooperation needs adaption and modification. Since the Africa/EU Cairo

summit of 2002, the EU has changed its basic approach towards Africa, bringing in the notion of strategic political cooperation and dialogue among equal partners. The EU thus presents itself as a “privileged partner” to Africa and the latter as a “natural partner”. The traditional trade-and-aid based relationship proved insufficient and inadequate in the light of new regional and global realities. Europe now regards Africa as an important political actor in its own right as well as an emerging economic force and role player. The new approach is necessitated by mundane European interests, particularly Africa’s geostrategic importance, its growing value as a trading partner and investment destination, and the continent’s importance as a role player in the Global South and the multilateral domain. The adoption of the EU’s Africa Strategy in 2005 was an important step, leading to a partnership with Africa, concluded during the Lisbon Summit in 2007 as the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES). After 5 years in operation, the results are somewhat disappointing. There is growing evidence that the traditional European (and Western) influence in the continent is declining due to new competition from Asian role players, China and India in particular and that the JAES is at a crossroad. Deficiencies in leadership, inadequate policy implementation, lack of political penetration, insufficient funding, strategic fatigue, bureaucratic overload and lagging results at the output level, seem to be at the heart of the problem. Therefore, although the JAES may be something of a bureaucratic masterpiece, it is ineffective, falling short on the implementation side and new strategies and tactics are called for to make it work better.

**Alexandra A. Arkhangel'skaya**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**

А.А. Архангельская  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Russia - South Africa: Focus on Multilateral Diplomacy**  
**Россия – ЮАР: фокус на многосторонней дипломатии**

Today in a process of continuous regrouping of powers one of the most important features is the creation of various international bodies that can facilitate the evolution of diplomatic tasks. This study will focus on the history and the nature of Russian – South African relations, as well as Russia’s and South Africa’s perceptions of multilateralism in a view to understand current foreign policy principles of both countries, as it is important to understand their current imperatives on the world arena. The foreign policy doctrines as well as some recent events should be revised to estimate the reciprocal roles in that context. Moreover, the last BRICS 2013 Durban summit’s announcement of creation of alternative financial

institutions to the WB stimulates to address the perspectives of the interaction of its members with Africa in this changing environment as the BRICS format today attracts most attention and gets the main focus of undergoing processes of change. Thus, this paper will evolve around three major themes of bilateral interaction, namely a general comprehension of Russia-South Africa relations and their foreign policy principles and priorities; secondly, Russia and South Africa in a view to global reforms - economy, governance, peace and sustainable development; and Russia - South Africa in the BRICS.

**Thomas Mandrup**  
**Royal Danish Defence College**  
**Institute of Strategy, Denmark**

Т. Мандруп  
Королевский датский военный колледж  
Копенгаген

### **South Africa in BRICS and the “Diplomacy of Ubuntu” – Shaping a Better World?**

#### **Южная Африка в БРИКС и «дипломатия убунту»: создание лучшего мира?**

Much have been said and written about the rising powers of the BRICS and the implications for the current global order. However, the BRICS is not a harmonious group, and discrepancies between the different BRICS states can be found both in terms of actual size, regional role and power, but also in terms of values and norms.

This paper focuses on South Africa as member of the BRICS. It is the newest member of the BRICS, accepted December 2010, and is dwarfed by the other BRICS countries both in terms of size of its population and its economy to an extent that it can be questioned why it has been accepted into the BRICS. This paper will argue that the explanation has to be found at the political level, where South Africa claims to be representing Africa in BRICS. The paper examines South Africa’s role in Africa and scrutinises to what extent South Africa has got the backing of the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) states.

**Nadine Wenzel**  
**University of Fribourg**  
**Switzerland**  
Н. Венцель  
Университет Фрибурга  
Швейцария

**South African Corporations Making BRICS:  
New Waves of Entrepreneurial Thinking?  
Южноафриканские корпорации в БРИКС:**

**новые веяния в предпринимательском мышлении?**

Every BRICS nation has grown a multitude of leading companies over the past two decades. The individual entrepreneurial enthusiasm that fuels such kind of prosperous corporate entrepreneurship was recognizable at the 5th BRICS Summit in Durban. Economic experts grasp indication of an entrepreneurial power of global-minded leaders who seek intra-BRICS opportunities on the African continent to their mutual benefit.

A qualitative case study in the South African mining and minerals sector focuses on a small number of private corporations. The concern is on their reactions to increasingly competitive markets in the regions of Southern and Western Africa as well as on their capabilities to successfully define and communicate interests and imperatives. Pragmatic engagements with strategically selected private and state-owned partners from BRIC economies for achieving a competitive edge seem to be one of the driving logics. What is presented is in fact a first foray into companies' strategies. These are, more often than not, in their initial stages of adaptation.

Whereas initial collaboration experiences tracked in some companies operating in the South African mining industry do not claim to be representative, executives' interview narratives disclose high attentiveness on sustainably improving the creation and maintenance of committed and tight partnerships. Insofar, this contribution is an attempt to examine rationales that would be taken as indicators of a new wave of economic diplomacy at corporate level.

Economic integration efforts would need to ask how South Africa – particularly its private business actors – can facilitate African influence on its economic growth and equally important, to increasing economic diversity. Reciprocally, Africa's relevance for creating economic prosperity and jobs in South Africa is largely overlooked in the debate on South Africa as an 'economic gateway' for BRIC. South Africa's strategic importance is backed by private companies that could act as players with specific strengths and interests to engage with strong partners (be it from BRIC or from Western economies) to the benefit of a more integrated economic development. As

with the country's economic diplomacy, business needs to tread a careful path between touting their own interests and facilitating links on a mutually acceptable basis to economically diversified and more integrated development in Africa (Adebajo, 2010).

**Nansi Paulraj**  
**Jawaharlal Nehru University,**  
**Delhi, India**

Н. Паулрадж  
Университет им. Джавахарлала Неру  
Нью-Дели, Индия

**Russia-Africa Relations – A Geopolitical Compulsion:  
Traditional or Transitional?**

**Российско-африканские отношения – геополитическое принуждение:  
традиционное или переходное?**

Russia has had a versatile experience of geopolitics, initiated as the geographical expansionism in the early centuries, followed by ideological expansionism in the 18th and 19th century. But in the 21st century Russia came with practical geopolitics, which in turn could foster its national interest via politically or economically. The process of change in Russia's foreign policy has both internal and external dimensions; foreign policy debates have been drawn into the arena of political contention within the country, where domestic and external policies are closely interlinked. Historically speaking after the disintegration of the Soviet Union the period of the 1990's

Russia and Africa relation retrogress, every initiative to build up the relationship were broken down. The necessity for Russia to solve its internal problems has taken the toll of Russia-Africa relations. In order to rectify its mistake Russia has to bring out its critical policy to transform its relation as it was before disintegration. Though the Russian foreign policy priority dominates post soviet space but it has larger emphasis in the African continent. Both of them are important to each other as it opens new areas of expansion and opportunity. Africa and Russia complement each other in terms of natural resources. Never the less the "Concept of Pragmatic" approach of

Russia applied in the regions of Africa too. So the underlying question is whether Russia's overture in Africa is going to be "Traditional" or "Transitional" in nature.



**Anton Rodin**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
А. Родин  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Japan and Africa in the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Resume of the TICAD V (Tokyo International Conference on African Development)**  
**Япония и Африка в начале XXI в. Резюме Пятой токийской международной конференции по развитию Африки**

Despite the fact that nowadays, in comparison with current economic positions of BRICs countries (especially China and India) in Africa, role of Japan does not seem very important, we cannot exclude possibility of considerable change of the situation in long-term outlook.

The government of Japan continues to consider Africa as one of the most promising directions for its foreign policy and economy. One of the proofs we can adduce to confirm this point of view are totals of the Fifth Tokyo International Conference on African Development, which was held in Yokohama on 1–3 June of 2013 and turned out to be the largest international conference ever hosted by Japan, surpassing the scale of previous conference.

Japan's part in import and export of Africa is relatively small as well as part of African countries in Japan's import and export. According to WTO's data, Africa as a region now is on the last place in the structure of Japan's foreign trade. Nevertheless, the amount of trade is comparable to Japan's amount of trade with Russia and CIS countries and continues to grow.

Total volume of Japan's foreign direct investment in African countries is still rather small, but, according to "Yokohama Action Plan 2013–2017" issued by TICAD V, government is going to increase the amount of investment and stimulate investment from private sector, especially in infrastructure development, HR-development and innovation, science and technology development. The overall amount to be spent on Africa by Japan before 2018, according to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, is 32\$ billion, including 14\$ billion on official development assistance.

The outcome documents of TICAD V, recognizing its importance, declare intention to finance projects focused on creating new jobs and opportunities, infrastructure development, stimulating science, environmental protection, etc.

The field of economic collaboration between Japan and Africa is becoming wider: classical scheme of import (raw materials and agricultural goods) and export (manufactured goods) is expanded, for example by export of services (education, medical services, etc).

Regardless of the fact that during last decades Japan is (more or less) experiencing economical stagnation, it is usually on one of high positions in list of an ODA donor-country. In addition, there are several non-governmental organizations and programs for assistance to African countries.

There are also some high growth sectors like tourism, education (including distant education through internet), etc.

Thus, we can resume that Japan has a good chances to succeed in becoming one of the most important economic partners for Africa in long-term outlook.

**Paul Capobianco**  
**University of Iowa, USA**  
П. Капобьянко  
Университет Айовы  
Айова-Сити, США

**Japan and African in the 21st Century:  
International Relations Policy and Migration  
Япония и Африка в XXI в.:  
международные отношения и миграция**

In the 21st century Japanese-African relations have seemingly taken a back seat to Chinese-African engagements. However, there exists much benefit for more bilateral collaboration between Japan and Africa. The Tokyo International Conference on African Development in 2013 showed that there were businesses and entrepreneurs hoping to penetrate the other's markets. While there was certainly great potential, one must also consider and question to what extent the images of Africa and actions of the over 5,000 Africans living in Japan today have impacted African-Japanese international relations. This presentation will discuss the current state of African-Japanese relations and through the lens of Africans in Japan today, and will elaborate on the potential benefits bilateral collaborative international relations can have for the development of Africa and fostering advancement in the East Asian context. Enhanced relations between Japan and Africa would be of great benefit to both parties and would also have implications for other realms of social, educational, and business interactions.

**István Tarrósy**  
**University of Pécs, Hungary**  
И. Тарроши  
Университет Печа, Венгрия

**Indonesia to Join BRICS? An Analysis of Emerging Economies  
Dynamics in Light of African Development**  
**Индонезия вступит в БРИКС? Анализ динамики «восходящих эконо-  
мик» в свете африканского развития**

Since the fall of Suharto in 1998, Indonesia has truly exposed herself on the stage of world politics. Being the largest economy in southeast Asia and the fourth largest population in the world Indonesia had many times made her voice heard, in particular in any issue connected with the former Third World, today, the Global South. She has been a leading actor in the developing world since the conference of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) in Bandung, 1955. A number of her achievements make her a potential candidate for membership in the BRICS group – supposing any such call can be posted in the coming years.

There are several pros and cons about a possible future “enlargement” of the intercontinental regional grouping with Indonesia. She fosters a very pragmatic foreign policy, and has been into developing long-term cooperation with the countries of the region and beyond, therefore, can add a lot to Afro-Asian cooperation, together with the attempts by all the members of BRICS to reach a newly defined system of North-South dialogue in an inter-polar setting, with more centres of gravity coming from the Global South. However, as Karen Brooks (2011) points out in an excellent analysis in Foreign Affairs, “the Indonesian score contains some decidedly discordant notes. [Her] ports are overstretched, its electrical grid is inadequate, and its road system is one of the least developed in the region. These conditions make the Indonesian economy inefficient and will stifle its future growth”.

The paper will first look at emerging economies dynamics from a broader perspective, but in light of what that holds for African development in the longer run. Secondly, it will analyze Indonesian involvement across the continent, with some case studies from a bilateral perspective, and thirdly, it will provide a discussion of the chances of the further expansion of BRICS – here, with Indonesia, but also probably with Mexico, too.

**M.F. Shamilov**  
**Kazakh University**  
**Almaty, Kazakhstan**

М.Ф. Шамилов  
Казахский университет международных  
отношений и мировых языков  
им. Абылай-хана  
Алматы, Казахстан

**South Korea's Interests in Africa: Analysis and Perspectives**  
**Южнокорейские интересы в Африке: анализ и перспективы**

When the Republic of Ghana received its independence in 1957, the national income per capita was almost equivalent to the same index in South Korea, namely a little less than \$500. Nowadays, fifty-six years later, the economic data of these two countries have become more divergent, and according to the World Bank, in late 2009 Ghana's per capita income has amounted about \$1,530, while South Korea's index was around \$23,240.

This comparative example attempts to show the typical economic situation development for many African countries, which almost has not endured any changes. However, it has turned to a magnificent and very attractive platform for the emergence and development of different countries interests in this region, including South Korea. Alongside with other African partners, the volume of South Korea's FDI in Africa has increased quite rapidly from \$24 million in the 1990s to \$287 million in 2010. Moreover bilateral trade has reached \$25 billion in 2011 (in comparison with \$6 billion in 2000), which has become one of the fastest growth rates among African foreign partners, according to the OECD estimations.

If taking into account researches of Korean and some foreign scholars, it could be noted that almost all authors agree on the key objectives of the South Korean policy in Africa, which has been shaped due to the Post-Korean War period situation.

This full paper focuses generally on the subject of relations between Africa and South Korea, which is surprisingly unpopular among researchers, in contrast to numerous materials about the interests of China and Japan in the region. The fact that South Korea is in top five African trade partners has undoubtedly motivated the author for the study of this subject, including benefits of cooperation with South Korea for Africa itself, as well as any incentives and impetus for South Korean interests in the region.

**Sukru Inan**  
**Inonu University, Turkey**  
С. Инан  
Университет Инону  
Малатья, Турция

**Catalysts and Impediments of Turkish Geoeconomic  
Policies towards Africa**

**Катализаторы и препятствия турецкой геоэкономической  
политики в отношении Африки**

The rise of geoeconomics makes inevitable for states to transform their foreign relations not only in politics but also in economics and forces them to apply their own geoeconomic policies according to countries' potentials. Geoeconomics is a useful instrument for emerging powers especially applying "soft power" comparing with the traditional powers. Geoeconomic policies like trade agreements, economic cooperation agreements, financial aid, investments etc. make states closer than the geopolitical policies like military and political cooperation agreements.

Turkey's strategic and geopolitical importance has transformed into geoeconomic importance in the new era. Since the 1980s Turkey's import substitution industrialization policy has shifted to export-led growth policy and growth policies have shifted from the realm of public policy to a market-driven domain. And later, with the end of the Cold War, the "Iron Curtain" around Turkey has absented. These two transformations have granted Turkey a great chance with her historical, cultural and economic ties to form a geoeconomic space and to become a regional power. Especially after 2000 Turkey's EU oriented economic and trade policies has shifted to the polycentric policies with Turkey's especially "Neighbor and Surrounding Countries Strategy (2000)" and "Africa Strategy (2003)" has opened new trade and economic dimensions between the region and Turkey.

Throughout the history African colonization has accelerated the rise of the big powers from Phoenicians to Great Britain. However today's geoeconomic relations differ from yesterday's colonialism and relations has evaluated zero-sum game to positive-sum game and Africa also has attracted the new emerging powers in this period especially China, India, Brazil and Russia in order to enlarge reciprocal development.

The study aims to describe the Turkish Geoeconomics towards Africa with compare and contrasting the other emerging powers' policies on the continent. By using SWOT analysis the continent is investigated in terms of trade politics, oil politics, transportation politics and importance in the world geoeconomics relating with the role of Turkey and the other emerging powers in international political economy.

**Chris Alden**  
**London School of Economics**  
**and Political Science, UK**  
К. Алден  
Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

**The Political Economy of Contestation: South  
African Hegemony and its Discontents**

**Политическая экономия оспаривания:**

**Южноафриканская гегемония и недовольство ею**

South Africa's search for international recognition of its status as the continent's sole great power has driven its foreign policy agenda for generations. While the G8, G20 and more recently the BRICs countries have legitimised this position through formal participation in their respective fora, South Africa's standing as representative of the African continent in global settings is still contested by fellow African states. Accusations of hegemonic intent, whether actual or perceived, have circumscribed Pretoria's efforts to promote its vision of a continental agenda and, with that, project its economic power across Africa. The decision to oust the sitting chair of the African Union in 2012 and, after a bruising electoral campaign, occupy the seat suggests that South Africa's once equivocal approach to leadership is at an end. This paper will explore the content, constraints and prospects for South African leadership of the continent.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-5

### **Военно-политическое сотрудничество Африки с мировыми державами и международными организациями Military-Political Cooperation of Africa with Great Powers and International Organisations**

**Руководитель: к.и.н. Андрей Александрович Токарев  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Dr. Andrey A. Tokarev  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции особое внимание предполагается уделить вопросам:

1. Военно-политические связи Африки с США, Францией, Великобританией, Китаем, с блоком НАТО;
2. «Африком»: декларации и реальность;
3. Опыт военно-политического сотрудничества стран Африки с СССР.
4. Направления и перспективы военно-политического сотрудничества Африки с Россией; участие России в миротворческих операциях ООН в Африке.

During the panel's work special emphasis will be made on the following questions:

- Africa's military-political relations with USA, France, Britain, China, with NATO block;
- "Africom": declarations and reality;
- experience of military-political cooperation of African countries with the USSR;
- directions and prospects of military-political cooperation of Africa with Russia;
- Russian participation in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.

**Jim Hentz**  
**Virginia Military Institute**  
**Lexington, USA**  
Дж. Хенц  
Военный институт Виргинии  
Лексингтон, США

**US – Africa Military/Political Relations: Plus ça Change? Военно-политические отношения между Соединенными Штатами и Африкой: *Plus ça Change?***

U.S. relations with Sub-Sahara Africa during the Cold War were framed by the East-West competition. Its policy, therefore, was firmly tethered to Realpolitik notions of security and grand strategy. And, although it often espoused multilateralism, the U.S. approach to Africa was bi-lateral. In the post-Cold War era the U.S. has announced a break with its past. First, the launch of AFRICOM in October 2010 signaled a new approach to Africa – the so-called 3D approach (defense, diplomacy and development). Rather than just a Realpolitik logic, humanitarianism was to be at least a co-driver of U.S. policy. Second, the U.S. stated, often, that it would embrace multilateralism. In particular, rather than relying on bi-lateral programs, the U.S. would reach out to and work through regional organizations, such as the African Union and its regional economic communities (RECs), and Sub-Sahara Africa’s nascent standby brigades. Has U.S. military/political relations with Sub-Sahara Africa been recast? If it has, how so; if not, what explains the lack of change? One way to approach this question is to weigh the balance between the global frameworks used to define U.S. national security and regional frameworks used to do the same. To what extent are the two approaches institutionalized in U.S. policy and practice? For example, if U.S. policy is framed by the Global War on Terror, it is using a global framework. If anticipated competition with China, the BRICS, or others, is at the center of its policy, it is also a global framework. On the other hand, if the U.S. commits tangible resources and institutional innovations for diplomacy and development in regions that are not on the frontline of its national security concerns, such as chasing the LRA, or building up the capacity of RECs and their standby brigades, it is moving toward a 3D approach.



**Degang Sun**  
**Shanghai International**  
**Studies University, China**

Д. Сун  
Шанхайский университет  
международных исследований, Китай

**US Military Deployment in Djibouti: Dynamics of Evolution (1991–2013)**  
**Военное присутствие Соединенных Штатов в Джибути: динамика**  
**эволюции (1991-2013 гг.)**

The US military base in Djibouti is so far the only one deployed by the US in Africa, and its military deployment has transformed from soft military presence to hard military base and from a small outpost to a large-size garrison. The base plays a pivotal role in cutting the links between and among the “al-Qaeda” affiliates in Central Asia, the Gulf, the African Horn and the Maghreb

region. The internal dynamics of the US deployment is geo-political, which is an outlet of US strategies of anti-terrorism, anti-proliferation and anti-piracy; the external dynamics of the US deployment is geo-economic: the Djibouti government as the host nation expects to obtain the base rent and the US aid. In the foreseeable, although it is hard to predict whether, when or where the US African Command headquarters will settle down, its military base in Djibouti will remain the most important one in Africa.

**Mike Omilusi**  
**Ekiti State University, Nigeria**

М. Омилуси  
Университет штата Экити  
Адо-Экити, Нигерия

**Internal Insurgency: Paradox of NATO Intervention and Regime**  
**Change in Africa**

**Внутренний мятеж: парадокс интервенций НАТО и смены**  
**режимов в Африке**

The end of the superpower rivalry has dramatically changed the nature of African conflict. The availability of weapons has escalated the number of armed actors, especially trained militias and insurgent groups, and contributed to the militarization of African political discourse. The diversities of Africa’s nation-states, the fact that they are almost invariably multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multilingual, and multi-cultural in the midst of relatively high levels of material poverty and uneven spatial and social development, and have been dominated by corrupt governments, created a combustible mix that

periodically erupted into open conflict and warfare. The peacekeeping efforts by different International and regional organisations on the continent, therefore, require a thorough examination particularly within the context of their overt mission and covert intended outcomes essentially as it affects regime change. It seems that the study of insurgency and peacekeeping intervention in Africa suffers from the general disregard for this “covert intended outcomes” – the gap which this study attempts to fill with special focus on the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO. Yet, it is observable that due to huge resource gaps, African Union peacekeepers depend upon external assistance, most notably from states within the EU and NATO in form of classroom education, field training exercises, the provision of equipment, and support to deploy African peacekeepers and equipment into the theater of operations. How has this form of assistance transformed from humanitarian intervention to interference? This paper sets to discuss this subtle metamorphosis particularly within the context of the US-led NATO operations on the Continent.

**Шубин В.Г.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Vladimir G. Shubin

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

### **АФРИКОМ: прошлое, настоящее и, не дай бог, будущее**

#### **AFRICOM: The Past, Present, and, God Forbid, Future**

В докладе рассматривается история создания Африканского командования вооруженных сил США в Африке, сравниваются его заявленные цели - инструктаж и обучение местных армий, а то и вовсе помощь гражданскому населению и реальные действия. Хотя официально Пентагон говорит лишь об одной военной базе – в Джибути, фактически военные США действуют в десятках африканских стран. Подлинные цели АФРИКОМ отчетливо проявились во время агрессии НАТО против Ливии, особенно на ее первом этапе. Хотя почти ни одна страна Африки не согласилась разместить у себя штаб-квартиру этого командования, и оно остается в ФРГ, континент все гуще покрывает сеть его «неофициальных» объектов, такие как пункты базирования беспилотных летающих аппаратов (БЛА), топливные хранилища и т.п.

Другая важная тема, требующая анализа – совместимость деятельности АФРИКОМ с так называемой «Африканской архитектурой мира и безопасности» (АПСА) и ее компонентами – от Совета мира и безопасности АС до Африканских сил постоянной готовности (АСБФ) и вновь создаваемых Сил быстрого реагирования.

Будет также сделано сравнение методов, используемых Вашингтоном для укрепления своих стратегических позиций в Африке и действиями Китая на континенте.

**Bruce Magnusson**  
**Whitman College, USA**  
Б. Магнуссон  
Колледж Уитмэна  
Вала-Валла, США

**Global Cartographies of Security in Africa: Censuses and Great Power Imagination from the Colonial Conquest to the Global War on Terror**

**Глобальные картографии безопасности в Африке:  
переписи населения и представления о великих державах от  
колониального завоевания до глобальной войны с терроризмом**

This paper is part of an evolving project on the intersections of security and sovereignty in Africa and their linkage to great power policy. The particular window I am using engages the state-making technology of population censuses since the colonial conquest – building both a grid and content for state knowledge of colonial populations (race, ethnicity, religion) – and imagined security cartographies from colonization through the 21st century Global War on Terror – an imagined crumbling sovereign grid of vulnerabilities and possibilities for great power security (and development) projects in what are seen as liminal, less bounded, unquantifiable “ungoverned territories,” de-linked from “legitimate” sovereign authority whether in resource-extraction communities in Nigeria, densely populated global cities such as Lagos or Nairobi, the Saharan peripheries of Northern and Sahelian Africa, or the international waters off the coasts of Somalia and West Africa. Understanding better the changing cartographies of security imaginations behind great power relationships in Africa will enable us to better understand the changing contours of globalization after 9/11, particularly in its military and economic dimensions in Africa.

**Jack Chola Bwalya**  
**National University of Ireland**  
**Dublin**

Дж.Ч. Бвалья  
Национальный университет Ирландии  
Дублин

**“Riding the Choppy Waters”: China's Gradual Political Rise in Africa**  
**«Плавание в бурных водах»: постепенный политический подъем**  
**Китая в Африке**

A few years into the 21st century and you can read a wealth of newspaper articles, scholarly papers and books on Africa’s current political and economic wellbeing. At the same time you can tune in to international television news channel, especially those of the “West”, where the majority of headlines, documentaries and commentaries on the People’s Republic of China’s activities in Africa, paint a picture as if the Chinese had just landed in Africa at the turn of the 21st century. Actually, Africa’s “reliable friend” has stood by her side for many a year, from the arduous times of the 20th century colonial struggles for independence from the western masters, to the western sanctioned structural adjustment programs of the 1980s to the late 1990s.

Perhaps, the media, “scholars” and the general public’s lenses in the “west” and elsewhere haven’t just been interested in looking at the Chinese outings in Africa with such attentiveness prior to this century?

In order to comprehend the present Chinese foray into the African continent, gleanings from previous relationships between China and Africa offer an insight into how the erstwhile relationship helped to build a strong foundation for the now flourishing 21st century relations between the two regions.

This paper presents a classical theoretical exploration of the imperative political phases in the Sino-African relations that helped to fortify the contemporary relations, including; the political influence Beijing exacted on internal politics within some independent African states. Also the triangular ideological rivalries, between the People’s Republic of China, a post Leninist’s Soviet Union and Taiwan, for a piece of an African “political Pie”. The paper does not intend to be critical of media organisations and scholars in the ‘west’ and elsewhere for not critically scrutinising the Sino-African relations prior to the 21st century, but intends only to place another stone on the pathway toward a better understanding of China’s current standing in Africa.

**Gadi Heimann**  
**Hebrew University of Jerusalem**  
**Israel**

Г. Хейманн  
Еврейский университет Иерусалима  
Израиль

**Israel, France and the French-African Commonwealth**  
**Израиль, Франция и Франко-африканское содружество**

This paper deals with the interesting three-way relationship between Israel, France, and the former French colonies in Africa located south of the Sahara. Several studies have been conducted that deal with Israel's African policies, but the relations that Israel development with members of the French Commonwealth and their unique characteristics have not yet been studied.

The end of the 1950s marked a period of transition in international relations. Africa became liberated from colonialism within a very short period, and most of its nations gained independence by the mid 1960s. Israel viewed this dramatic period as a golden opportunity to end its international isolationism by establishing ties with the new world. It was clear to her that these countries would have significant political impact in the future, particularly within the framework of the U.N. In addition, Israel hoped to acquire new markets and to obtain a source of essential raw materials. Another important factor was Israel's feeling that it had a mission to help failing states through her own successful experience. These considerations led Israel to take up the task and invest resources that were significantly large in relation to her limited ability at the time in order to create friendly relations with these new countries, and to ensure their good will towards her in return. Israel did this by sending agricultural experts, offering military training to new African armies, training the administrations in various areas, and establishing local companies in cooperation with Israeli companies.

The former French colonies in Africa also constituted an objective for Israel's advances. Establishing ties with countries such as the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Gabon, and French Sudan was perceived as important because of their regional influence, their political approaches (opposition to Nasser) or their unique natural treasures they held.

The fact that France was their former governor of these nations placed Israel in a dilemma that did not exist in regard to other African nations. At the time, France was the main provider of weapons to Israel, and was considered the power that was the friendliest towards her. The preservation of close relations with France was perceived as the most important interest, overshadowing any others. France's keen interest in remaining the sole

influence over her former colonies made the relationships that Israel attempted to foster with them particularly complex, delicate, and fascinating.

**Шипилов А.Ю.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander Yu. Shipilov  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Расширение военно-политического сотрудничества Франции и ЭКОВАС на примере антитеррористической операции в Мали**  
**Expansion of Military-Political Cooperation between France and ECOWAS by the Example of the Anti-Terrorist Operation in Mali**

Вооруженная операция в Мали в январе 2013 г. стала новым этапом сотрудничества Франции с африканскими странами в сфере безопасности. Она явилась первым прецедентом относительно равноправного партнёрства бывшей колониальной державы и африканской региональной организацией при осуществлении гуманитарного вмешательства. Но является ли это индикатором сближения позиций Франции и государств Африки?

В период 1960–1980-х гг. французская политика поддержания контроля над бывшими колониями включала односторонние вооруженные вмешательства с целью удержания у власти лояльных ей авторитарных и коррумпированных режимов. После краха биполярной системы, при экономическом и гуманитарном кризисе региона Франция осуществляла самостоятельные «гуманитарные вмешательства» (операция «Бирюза» 1994 г. в Руанде). Но бывшая метрополия не сотрудничала непосредственно в сфере безопасности ни с ЭКОВАС, в это время осуществившим интервенцию в Либерию, ни с другими региональными организациями континента.

Нынешняя африканская политика Франции, несмотря на усиление «гуманитарного» фактора, не включала тесного сотрудничества с ЭКОВАС в сфере безопасности. Страны ЭКОВАС не приняли участия ни в миротворческой операции ООН в Кот-д’Ивуаре, использованной французскими войсками, ни в выполнении резолюции СБ ООН № 1973 по Ливии. Поэтому, несмотря на большую легитимность французской политики в глазах мирового сообщества, африканские организации не взаимодействовали с ней.

Впервые подобное сотрудничество между Францией и ЭКОВАС проявилось в ходе антитеррористической операции в Мали. К нему ЭКОВАС подтолкнула нехватка финансирования для самостоятельных действий. Право вмешаться в Мали СБ ООН предоставил бывшей мет-

рополи, заинтересованной в восстановлении контроля над урановыми ресурсами страны, необходимыми для французской атомной промышленности. Страны ЭКОВАС были вынуждены участвовать, защищаясь от террористической угрозы.

Поэтому совместное ведение Францией и ЭКОВАС вооруженных действий в Мали не сигнализирует о достижении качественно нового уровня отношений африканских стран с бывшими колонизаторами в сфере безопасности. Для этого необходима обоюдная готовность сотрудничать между равноправными и полностью независимыми друг от друга субъектами, которой не наблюдалось.

**Колесова О.Г.**  
**Военный университет,**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Olga G. Kolesova  
Military University  
Moscow, Russia

### **Роль Эфиопии в миротворческих операциях ООН и АС** **The Role of Ethiopia in the UN and AU's Peacekeeping Operations**

Эфиопия третье по численности населения государство в Африке (84 млн человек), располагает хорошо обученными и вооруженными сухопутными войсками, численностью около 150 тыс. чел. Для участия в миротворческих операциях ООН в настоящее время из них подготовлено 6600 чел.

Эфиопия участвовала в различных миротворческих операциях, как по мандату ООН, так и АС: в Корею (в начале 50-х годов), в Конго (в начале 60-х годов), в Руанде (после геноцида 1993 г.). В 2003 г. Эфиопия участвовала в миссии по поддержанию мира в Бурунди.

В 2006 и 2009 гг. без мандата ООН или АС, Эфиопия, заручившись поддержкой США, использовала свои войска на территории Сомали с целью нейтрализации исламских террористических групп, спонсируемых Аль-Каедой. Первоначально эти действия носили «умеренный» характер, без проникновения вглубь сомалийской территории. Использование беспилотной авиации с американских баз на территории Эфиопии против целей на территории Сомали привело к полноценной военной операции с участием эфиопской регулярной армии, тяжелой артиллерии и танков. Результатом этих действий стал захват важного стратегического центра – города Байдоа.

В 2008–2009 гг. воинский контингент Эфиопии численностью около 2000 чел. участвовал в миссии ООН/АС по поддержанию мира в регионе Судана – Дарфур. В июне 2011 г. по единогласному решению

Совета безопасности ООН 4200 эфиопских миротворцев были направлены в Абией для разделения противоборствующих сил южного и северного Судана.

В настоящее время батальон эфиопских вооруженных сил, численностью ок. 400 чел. участвует в операции по поддержанию мира в Либерии.

**Рябова О.Ю.**

**Москва, РФ**

Olga Yu. Ryabova

Moscow, Russia

### **Участие России в миротворческих операциях ООН В Африке**

**(на примере Сьерра-Леоне)**

#### **Russia's Participation in the UN's Peacekeeping Operations in Africa:**

**The Case of Sierra Leone**

В докладе кратко рассматривается история и география миротворческих операций ООН в Африке, а также участия в них российских военнослужащих.

Подробней исследуется история миротворческих операций ООН в Сьерра-Леоне. Дается оценка роли и значению участия в этих миссиях российских миротворцев. В докладе приводится уникальный фактический материал, опирающийся на личные воспоминания российских участников миротворческих миссий.

**Токарев А.А.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Andrey A. Tokarev

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

### **Военно-политическое сотрудничество России с португалоговорящими странами Африки: проблемы и перспективы**

#### **Russia's Military-Political Cooperation with the Lusophone African**

**Countries: Problems and Prospects**

В докладе дается краткий исторический экскурс военно-политического сотрудничества СССР с португалоговорящими странами Африки (Анголой, Гвинеей-Бисау, Кабо-Верде, Мозамбиком, Сан-Томе и Принсипи). Рассматриваются причины и последствия сворачивания двустороннего сотрудничества России с этими странами в начале 1990-х годов.

Со второй половины 1990-х годов наблюдается оживление военно-политического сотрудничества России с Анголой и Мозамбиком.



Автор – с 1970-х годов непосредственный участник этого сотрудничества – исследует его состояние и перспективы, а также проблемы, с которыми сталкиваются заинтересованные в этом стороны.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-6**  
**Неоколониализм в Африке: XXI век**  
**Neocolonialism in Africa: 21st Century**

**Руководители: д.и.н. Василий Рудольфович Филиппов**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),**  
**д.и.н. Елена Ивановна Филиппова**  
**(Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН, Москва, Россия)**  
**Conveners: Prof. Vasilii R. Filippov**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia);**  
**Prof. Elena I. Filippova**  
**(Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)**

На секции предполагается обсуждение особенностей политики мировых держав в отношении африканских стран в XXI веке. Поводом для дискуссий могут стать такие проблемы, как реколонизация Африки, наиболее вероятные формы иностранной экспансии, масштабы использования военной силы в ходе перераспределения зон влияния между «старыми» (Великобритания, Франция) и «новыми» (США, Китай, Индия, Россия) мировыми державами. Особой темой для разговора станет деятельность военно-политических систем (сетей влияния), которые конструируются западными державами для сохранения экономического, политического и военного присутствия на африканском континенте (таких, как «Франсафрик», «Африком» и др.).

The collapse of the colonial empires of the past and proclamation of independence of African countries did not mean the end of an era of exploitation of former dependent countries, both from the former colonial powers, and by the other industrialized world-powers. Classic colonialism, based on military coercion and implying incorporation of colonial territories into the political system of the metropolis, has given way to neocolonialism. The latter is a latent form, not based on direct coercion and deprivation of sovereignty exploitation of developing countries by the developed world-powers. This is the particular system of discriminatory economic and political relations, imposed by the world powers to developing states of Africa. Neocolonialism in the past century, as a special form of expansion of developed countries to African countries, included the whole arsenal of specific methods of political and economic manipulation. These methods include the planting of corruption and outright bribery of African political elites, uncontrolled arms political favorites, the system of bonded loans, the

use of so-called humanitarian aid as a tool of manipulation, the use of armed force, allegedly in the name of maintenance of peace, and the use of inciting tribalist conflict just to transfer state power to controlled leaders. There is no doubt that contemporary competition for access to African raw materials will generate serious conflicts among the countries of the Old World, retained significant influence in its former colonies, the United States, and the new centers of the global economy – China, India, and possibly Russia and Japan, which, though slow, but recovers lost ground in Africa. Also the appearance of new participants of scramble for African wealth not excluded. To large companies have moved from the export of raw materials to its processing and production of finished products in the field, it's necessary to provide them security of tenure of the property. In other words, political stability needs to be. And this can be possible only if the political situation in recipient countries will fully controlled by the armed forces of the donor states. This will mean the actual return to a classic case of colonial relations. It may be supposed that the contingent of military groups stationed in African countries will be largely recruited with the local population. Thus, there will be a gradual merging of the armies of the colonial powers and re-colonized territories. Brief period of post-colonial history made the Dark Continent neither richer nor happier. Why do young African states have failed to produce immunity against neocolonialism? Why the second coming of colonialism becomes visible at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries?

**Lin Dan**  
**Chinese University of Hong Kong**  
**China**  
Д. Лин  
Китайский университет Гонконга

**Exporting Colonialism: How China Dominates Sino-African Relations  
by International Trade and Cultural Manipulation Экспортируя  
колониализм: как Китай доминирует в  
китайско-африканских отношениях благодаря международной  
торговле и культурному манипулированию**

China has become a new global economic center in recent decades, renowned for cheap made-in-China products exported around the world. A large quantity of Africans came to China since around 2000 to trade those goods to Africa. Cheap, usually copy or knockoff, made-in-China products soon became popular in the continent. As a consequence, it attracts more and more African traders to buy in China and sell in their home countries. Economically, China becomes the center in the Sino-African relation by

dumping cheap products, and attaching African market to the Chinese one. During this process, China becomes acting as a dominant role in the relation. Culturally, China assimilates Africans gradually with its popular culture which embedded in the design of the China-made products. Africans also get to know Chinese culture and society better while trading with Chinese in China. Africans are made to accept, then further identify with, Chinese culture in this process. This paper argues that the current one-way Sino-African relation is a colonial relation de facto. By investigating African traders in China and their trading activities between China and Africa, I find that pulling Africans to buy cheap products in China and sell them in Africa is a way for China to dominate African market and the Sino-African relation. I will further discuss why and how the low-cost China-made products, usually bad quality copy ones, enable such a colonial relation.

**A.S. Yaruigam**

**University of Delhi, India**

A.C. Яруингам

Университет Дели, Индия

### **Critical Appraisal of India's Soft Power in Africa**

#### **Критическая оценка «мягкой власти» Индии в Африке**

Joseph Nye defined power as the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes you want. Soft power is to get done this outcome through attraction rather than through coercion. It is also considered the “second face of power” that indirectly allow one to obtain the outcomes he wants. A country's soft power, according to Nye, rests on three resources: “its culture, its political values and its foreign policies”.

A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change by threatening military force or economic sanctions.

This paper is a brief appraisal of India's soft power in Africa. India and Africa relationship, perhaps is one of the oldest. As a result India has bigger social capital in term of partnership with Africa which could help to have deeper ties with African countries. The geographical proximity, the ancient historical ties and trade relations that existed, the identical social cultural and administrative system which inherited from colonial legacy and most of all India's strong educational system and IT power are the available assets India could harness to strengthen its soft power toward Africa. Since the dawn of 21<sup>st</sup> century India has reformulated its policy toward Africa giving more emphasized on the capacity building and investing in infrastructural sectors.

However, it is generally felt that India has not been done enough considering the opportunities available to her and thus harness the existing social capital and establish deeper relationship with Africa. Compare with China India's relation with most of the African countries remains at low level, limiting among the few upper echelon of society.

It is argued that India needs give more focus on soft power diplomacy in order to bring out greater positive result in its partnership with Africa.

**Fabrício Dias da Rocha**  
**Coimbra University**  
**Lisbon, Portugal**  
Ф. Диас де ла Роша  
Университет Коимбры  
Португалия

**A Bit More of an Old Story: An Analysis of a Brazilian Mining Company's Neocolonial Operation in Mozambique and its Attempt to Prevent Participatory Citizenship Claims**

**Еще немного старой истории: анализ неокOLONиалистской деятельности бразильской горнодобывающей компании в Мозамбике и ее попыток предотвратить претензии граждан**

The independence represented a shift in the ideological and political-economic development paradigm in Mozambique as from 1975, and a vaunted rupture with the old system of colonial exploitation. Nevertheless, this advent was not decisive to contain the crisis of the centralized state in the early '80s, which presupposed a global economic crisis and a civil war as an echo of the Cold War. The latter has disrupted the productive forces of the State "forcing" the government, after the collapse of the socialist Mozambican regime, to adopt the neoliberal economic model and adhere to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) advocated by the IMF and World Bank, which signified the opening and deregulation of markets and the entry of this country into a "new cycle of development".

Using data collected in the field through interviews and participant observation, analysis of newspapers and alternative spaces on the Internet, I suggest that the procedures of the Brazilian multinational mining company Vale-Mozambique, is currently continuing a logic of the monoculture of capitalist production with a neoliberal and neocolonial imprint in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Mozambique, and thus, perpetuating through a monoculture of knowledge (Santos, 2006) at least two types of uprooting: of the populations from their territories, and uprooting (or exclusion) of these populations of the decision processes, disallowing the exercise of a participatory citizenship. Still, I try to discuss through the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2005), if the

idea of development, allied with the notion of cooperation, do not currently reproduce the logics of colonialism, of centralized post-independence state and of neoliberalism, while aggravates silences and prevents rural populations in seeking an emancipatory social participation.

**John Bruni**  
**SAGE International (SI),**  
**Adelaide, Australia;**  
**Ming Hwa Ting, Associate SI,**  
**Adelaide, Australia;**  
**Uwe Kaufmann**  
**University of Adelaide, Australia;**  
**Shoo Lin Siah**  
**University of Adelaide, Australia**

Дж. Бруни, М.Х. Тинг  
«САГЕ Интернэшнл», Аделаида, Австралия  
У. Кауфманн, Ш. Л. Ся  
Университет of Аделаида, Австралия

**God, Gold and Power: Tracing the role of 21st Century Chinese and  
Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) Investment in Africa**  
**Бог, золото и власть: роль инвестиций Китая и Совета сотрудниче-**  
**ства арабских государств Персидского залива в Африке в XXI в.**

Since China introduced economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping in 1978, the Chinese economy has experienced an upward trajectory. In the initial years, focus was rightly placed on rehabilitating the domestic market after the ideological excesses of the

Cultural Revolution. A cautious approach, as evidenced by Deng Xiaoping's metaphor of crossing the river by feeling for rocks, was adopted. After all, from the late Qing dynasty to Communist rule under Mao, China's interaction with the global economy has not been positive. However, times have now changed. From a kingdom that sought to turn away European merchants from trading at its ports, China is now the world's second largest economy and the world's largest trader that enjoys a trade surplus with many industrialised states; from a country that continues to be a destination of foreign direct investment, China is now a significant major investor in many states, including Australia. However, unlike investment from most other states, Chinese investment is invariably regarded to be suspicious and suspect, especially in Africa. This perception, rightly or wrongly, is due to the intricate and overlapping links between the ruling political elite and the various state- owned enterprises (SOEs).

The Middle East is a complex player in North Africa. The oil-rich Gulf States of the Arabian Peninsula cast a very long economic shadow over Africa.

While the international discourse on Arab investment is opaque, what is available has correctly established the primary aim of this investment as being food security. The Arabian Peninsula has a growing population and very little arable land. Consequently, Gulf Arab states have aggressively moved to acquire African land to meet their demand for agricultural goods. Such investment is relatively unchecked. The central question therefore is, can African states reserve enough productive, fertile land for their own needs?

**Dominique Keruedan**  
**College de France**  
**Paris School of International Affairs**  
**France**  
Д. Керуедан  
College de France, Paris

### **Global Health and Africa** **Глобальное здоровье и Африка**

The technical and bilateral international cooperation in the area of Health and Development has evolved since the 1960s in direct continuity with the Colonial medical and public health model simpleminded in the former colonial empires, very much inspired by national medical curative paradigms and systems as these were conceptualized and organized inside France and, to a less extent, in the United Kingdom (as the latter has built a different national health financing system).

In the 1990s, the World Bank and the European Economic Communities (as called at the time) got involved in the field of health in Africa. The drivers and determinants of their involvement are the preservation of economic and trade interests, as well as for the World Bank the worldwide implementation of the United States and Western dominant liberal ideology, the effects of which will be examined and presented at the Panel, with respect to access to health services and the effects of these policies on the African population health status.

At the turn of the 21st Century, The Millennium Declaration sets out 3 Health MDGs: reducing child mortality (MDG4), improving maternal health (MDG5) and “combating AIDS, Malaria and other diseases” (MDG6), as well as an MDG8 target which is related to improving access to essential medicines. Since inception of the pandemic, Africa has been the continent the most affected by AIDS: over 70% of new HIV infection cases each and over 70% of death cases, with huge economic and social impact on people and families, countries and regions. Instead of increasing their GDP share to development and keeping their commitments, or acknowledging national and international limitations (not so say failure) of the fighting against AIDS

strategies, and revising them, the United Nations agencies, as well as technical expertise from the Western Governments, supposed to be technical “reference-advising” instances for Africa Development, invented new financing mechanisms, inviting the private sector to be part of Global Public Private Partnerships and creating besides the so-called “innovative financing for health”, behaving as if more funding alone would enable better strategies...

The “Global health” concept emerged in the late 1990s and the early 2000s from three movements in relation to: (i) security concerns in Africa in relation to the AIDS pandemic among the military and peace keeping forces, a new development global governance in the 2000s, and (iii) a common definition among public health specialists. But as we see the concept evolving, it seems that only common problems and solutions worldwide define the reality of “Global Health” and drive international funding for development, as opposed to the African population and countries’ specific needs and priorities, in a context under severe effects of the economic and financial crisis, the spread of armed conflicts, and vulnerable health situation of women and children. Similarly, “sustainable development” seems to be the new paradigm favored for development after 2015, with similar risks of underestimating, if at all considering, the poorest priorities and conditions, the solution to which does not belong to common worldwide environment issues and solutions.

In a nutshell, the objectives of my proposal are to show how global western development evolving concepts and governance less and less address realities in poor countries in Africa (which we’ll show are not assessed with accurate data) with the risk that low consideration and inefficient strategies lead not only to aid waste, which European countries can not afford anymore, but also to political instability and wars, which we are observing, not by chance, mostly in West and Central Africa.

**Kenneth E. Bauzon**  
**Saint Joseph’s College**  
**New York, USA**

К. Э. Бозон  
Колледж св. Иосифа  
Нью-Йорк, США

**The New Scramble for Africa: Land Privatization, Resistance, and  
Emerging Geopolitical Rivalries Over Resources**

**Новая схватка за Африку: приватизация земли, сопротивление и  
возникающее геополитическое соперничество за ресурсы**

The proposed paper seeks to investigate the impact of privatization of land in selected cases in Africa, the various schemes with which this is



carried out, the major players in this process, the impact and consequences of such a scheme on the local population, the role of the state and of external institutions pushing for such a neoliberal scheme, and the forms of responses and/or resistance by civil society at the grassroots level to land privatization in particular and to neoliberalism in general. While neoliberalism has multiple principles, the focus on privatization hopes to shed light on the process of dispossession on the part of the local population of this valued common resource. The paper further hopes to demonstrate land privatization as but a specific tool of neocolonialism that continues to benefit much of those that have partaken in the historical scramble for Africa's resources during previous centuries. Pertinent published data, reports, and studies by governments, international governmental and non-governmental organizations would be selectively used. Scholarly studies would likewise be consulted offering analyses and theoretical perspectives on the issue.

**Большов И.Г.**

**РЭУ им. Г.В. Плеханова, ИАФр**

**Москва, РФ**

Igor G. Bolshov

the Plekhanov Russian University of Economics,

Institute for African Studies, Russia

**«Новый колониализм» Китая, популизм политической риторики и роль китайско-африканского экономического сотрудничества в хозяйственном развитии Африки**

**The so-called New Colonialism of China, the Populism of Political Rhetoric and the Role of Chinese-African Economic Cooperation in Economic Modernization of Africa**

1. Демократический процесс, набирающий в последние годы силу в Африке, обогатился новым явлением. В июле 2011 г., во время африканского турне по континенту, бывший государственного секретаря США г-жа Х. Клинтон «предупредила» Африку о «новом колониализме» Китая.

2. Заявление Х. Клинтон появилось не случайно. Оно явилось одной из попыток США ослабить конкуренцию со стороны Китая на африканском рынке. Оно прозвучало в Замбии – в одной из африканских стран, получающих наиболее массивное экономическое содействие Пекина, и, одновременно, в стране, где антикитайские протесты достигли критического уровня.

3. Причиной антикитайских выступлений африканцев стал рост конкуренции между местным населением и представителями быстро растущей китайской диаспоры в области получения рабочих мест на

объектах сооружаемых и сооруженных при содействии Китая, в мелком бизнесе и других видах предпринимательской и иной, в том числе и криминальной деятельности.

4. Подъем антикитайских выступлений африканцев и соответствующая антикитайская предвыборная риторика уже сыграли свою роль на выборах президента Замбии в 2006 и 2011 гг. Однако использовавший в обоих случаях такую риторику г-н Майкл Сата сумел обрести искомый пост главы государства только в 2011 г., когда придал своей программе взвешенный и умеренный характер. Так, из неё были убраны националистические и экстремистские лозунги типа обещания «выгнать из страны всех желтых неокolonизаторов»... Тем не менее, в переговорах с официальными лицами КНР М. Сата не устает повторять, что китайцев в Замбии слишком много.

5. Несмотря на антикитайскую риторику, Африка пришла к пониманию того, что сотрудничество с Китаем предоставляет одну из возможностей выхода из перманентного экономического кризиса, в котором пребывают африканские страны. Об этом свидетельствует значительный рост объемов такого сотрудничества в XXI в.

6. Вместе с тем, объективные трудности, связанные с дефицитом ресурсов и, прежде всего, квалифицированных кадров при оказании Китаем экономического содействия странам Африки, приводит к снижению качества китайско-африканского взаимодействия. Тем не менее, на современном этапе Китай заявил о себе как об одном из наиболее добросовестных партнерах Африки по экономическому сотрудничеству.

1. A new phenomenon enriches the processes of democratization in Africa that are gathering momentum in recent years. In July of 2011 during her African tour the former US secretary of state Mrs. H. Clinton warned Africa about the “new colonialism” of China.

2. Mrs. Clinton’s statement emerged not as a pure accident. It was one of the USA attempts to ease competition at the African market from the part of China. To say more, she made this statement in Zambia, the country that has been receiving the Peking’s most massive economic assistance among the African countries. Simultaneously the anti-Chinese sentiments reached the critical point at that very country.

3. The reasons for the anti-Chinese sentiments in African countries lies in the growth of contention between natives and members of the fast growing Chinese diaspora. There is a tough competition for jobs at the projects implemented and being constructed with the assistance of China, at the retail business as well as in the different forms of entrepreneurial and other activities including the criminal ones.

4. The anti-Chinese sentiments growth among Africans and the consistent anti-Chinese election campaign oratory already have played their

part at the presidential elections in Zambia in 2006 and 2011. However, Mr. Michael Sata who used this kind of oratory in both cases succeeded in obtaining the desired head of state office in 2011 only after arranging his presidential program in weighted and moderate style. Therefore, he omitted the slogans of the nationalist and extremist nature like the promise “to expel all the yellow neocolonialists from the country...” Nevertheless, up to now in negotiations with the People’s Republic of China officials Mr. Michael Sata repeats all the time that there are too many Chinese are in Zambia.

5. In spite of the anti-Chinese rhetoric, Africa has come to accept that the co-operation with China promises one of the opportunities to overcome the permanent economic crisis in the African countries. The substantial growth of such a cooperation volumes in the beginning of the 21st century testifies it.

6. At the same time, the quality of the Chinese-African economic cooperation in some way comes down due to the objective difficulties of China connected to the resources scarcity and primarily to the shortage of skilled personnel for providing economic assistance to the countries of Africa. Nevertheless, at present one consider China as a one of the most bona fide economic partners of Africa.

**Сидорова Г.М.**  
**Посольство России в ДР Конго**  
Galina M. Sidorova  
Embassy of the Russian Federation  
in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kinshasa

**Военно-политический аспект современного колониализма, или  
экспансия ДР Конго в XXI веке**  
**The Military-Political Aspect of Contemporary Colonialism, Or the  
DRC’s Expansion in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Спустя 50 лет независимости многие африканские страны вступили в XXI век опустошенными и обескровленными гражданскими войнами. Среди них, одна из самых бедных стран Африканского континента – Демократическая Республика Конго (ДРК). Латентная война в восточных провинциях ДРК длится не одно десятилетие, отбрасывая назад демократические завоевания и тормозя развитие страны в целом. Произвол военных, массовые изнасилования, пытки, обращение в рабство детей и подростков заставляют тысячи людей покидать свои жилища в поисках безопасной жизни. В административном округе Итури (провинции Восточная), на севере Катанги, в Северном и Южном Киву и сегодня не прекращаются военные действия. По сведениям международных НПО, гуманитарная ситуация в районах боевых действий оста-

ется катастрофической. В лагерях беженцев не хватает питьевой воды, продовольствия и медикаментов. Возникают очаги опасных заболеваний. Из-за низкого уровня развития ДРК заслуженно называют «Африкой в Африке».

Основная причина необъявленной войны между конголезскими бандформированиями, националистическими группировками, а также формированиями угандийского и руандийского происхождения (по данным Миссии ООН в ДРК, в стране насчитывается около 40 вооруженных группировок различного толка) – экономическая. В недрах страны находятся огромные запасы полезных ископаемых (практически вся таблица Менделеева), включая редкоземельные металлы, золото и алмазы. Их нелегальная добыча и вывоз являются прибыльным делом для большинства конголезских и зарубежных предпринимателей, задействованных в цепочке от «копателей» в шахтах ДРК до потребителей крупных мировых концернов. Контролируют и охраняют месторождения, как правило, нанятые или самостоятельные вооруженные боевики различных бандформирований. Ведется также борьба за передел территорий восточных регионов – с хорошим климатом и плодородной землей, куда устремляются чужеродные этносы, теснящие коренное население и создающие тем самым очаги этнических конфликтов.

Кто провоцирует вооруженные конфликты в ДРК? Ответ на этот вопрос пытаются дать ученые – конфликтологи как в самой ДРК, так и за ее пределами. Многие аналитики склоняются к тому, что, как и во времена колониализма, Африка остается сырьевой базой стран теперь уже четырех континентов – собственно Африки, «старой» Европы, Азии и Америки. Только китайские предприниматели заключают миллиардные сделки с этой центральноафриканской страной, успешно конкурируя со всеми другими «экономическими оппонентами». Причем большая часть добываемых в ДРК минералов вывозится нелегальным путем именно в условиях военно-политического кризиса. Инсценирование вооруженных конфликтов стало одним из условий современного колониализма.

**Филиппов В.Р.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
**Филиппова Е.И.**  
**Институт этнологии РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Vasilij R. Filippov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia  
Elena I. Filippova  
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology  
Moscow, Russia

**«Франсафрик»: африканская политика Парижа**  
**“Françafrique”: Paris’ African Policy**

Учреждение Пятой республики во Франции неразрывно связано с распадом ее колониальной империи. Утратив свои заморские территории, страна утратила и статус великой державы. Не желая мириться с потерей былого политического, экономического и военного могущества страны, генерал де Голь выстраивал свою африканскую политику в соответствии с формулой: «уйти, чтобы остаться».

С этого времени официальная политика Парижа («Мы любим Африку!»), была сопряжена с теневой политикой в отношении своих бывших колоний на Черном континенте. Эта тайная политика, получившая название «Франсафрик», была направлена на конструирование клиентелистских отношений с лидерами суверенных африканских стран, бывших прежде ее колониями. (Впрочем, амбиции Франции не ограничиваются только франкофонными странами Черного континента.)

Официальная политика Пятой республики строилась и строится на декларируемых принципах уважения прав суверенных государств, норм международного права. Однако для того, чтобы добиться обеспечения приоритета собственных интересов в политических, военно-стратегических, а главное – экономических отношениях с африканскими странами, Елисейский дворец должен был добиться особой лояльности их лидеров.

Именно на достижение этой цели и направлена деятельность «Франсафрик». Это особая сеть влияния, созданная Ж. Фоккарром по поручению Ш. де Голя, это способ селекции глав африканских государств, находящихся в интегральной зависимости от Парижа. Для того, чтобы обеспечить становление и сохранение контролируемых политических режимов, структуры «Франсафрик» используют самые разные методы латентного управления политическими процессами: это возбуждение внутренних родо-племенных, конфессиональных, региональных и др. конфликтов, организация путчей и убийств неугодных поли-

тических деятелей, поощрение коррупции, использование наемников и прямые военные вторжения на территории суверенных государств.

В предвыборной риторике президентов Н. Саркози и Ф. Олланда присутствовали обещания покончить с практикой «Франсафрик», однако экономические интересы Франции оказываются куда более весомым аргументом в реальной политической практике, нежели соблюдение паритетных отношений с африканскими странами.

Система «Франсафрик» заметно эволюционирует. Распад СССР и «однополярное» мировое устройство, «уход» России с Черного континента и «приход» Китая в Африку, борьба за передел сфер влияния – все это сделало агрессивную политику Франции более явной. Осознав, что в новых условиях Франция уже не способна на самостоятельную внешнюю политику, Елисейский дворец все более солидаризируется с США. При благосклонном попустительстве Вашингтона, Париж не утруждает себя тонкостями политических интриг и прибегает к прямому военному вмешательству для обеспечения своих интересов в Африке.

Французский неокOLONИализм последних лет камуфлируется политической риторикой, изобилующей такими клише, как «борьба с терроризмом», «противодействие исламскому фундаментализму», «защита общечеловеческих ценностей», «поддержка демократических реформ» и проч. Фразеология заимствованная и уже многократно дискредитированная.

**Шипилов А.Ю.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander Yu. Shipilov  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**«Гуманитарные интервенции» как новый инструмент  
французского неокOLONИализма в Тропической Африке  
“Humanitarian Interventions” as a New Tool of French Neocolonialism  
in Tropical Africa**

После краха биполярной системы африканские страны, ранее вовлечённые в противостояние СССР и США, утратили поддержку прежних патронов и возможность решать многие внутренние проблемы. Это привело к образованию т.н. failed states – государств, неспособных обеспечивать минимальные права своих граждан, и создало предпосылки к подрыву их государственного суверенитета. Их слабость дала повод для новой формы международного вмешательства: гуманитарных интервенций 1990-х гг. в эти страны, и способствовала возникновению кон-

цепции “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P). В отличие от классической трактовки международным правом безусловности суверенитета R2P ставит его в зависимость от выполнения государством своих функций и предполагает право и даже обязанность внешних сил вторгаться в страну для обеспечения элементарных прав её граждан. Так, нарушение суверенитета «проблемных» стран обосновывается гуманитарными целями, что становится новым инструментом внешнего давления.

Наиболее активно этот подход в Африке с 2008г. применяет Франция. Переход к нему был обусловлен снижением французского неоколониального влияния на континенте, вызванным кризисом прежней политики поддержки лояльных авторитарных и коррумпированных режимов, утратой контроля над Бенином, Нигером и Мали, репутационными издержками косвенной вовлеченности в руандийский геноцид и усилением новых незападных игроков в регионе. После прихода к власти Николя Саркози Франция провела санкционированные ООН «миротворческие» операции (в Чаде в 2008г., в Кот-д’Ивуаре в 2011г. и в Мали в 2013г.). Несмотря на «гуманитарный» предлог, бывшая метрополия по сути продолжила неоколониальную политику: она серьёзно превысила полномочия, предоставленные ей СБ ООН, обеспечила приход к власти собственных политических ставленников и приоритетный доступ французских компаний к сырьевым запасам этих стран.

Итак, новая африканская политика Франции демонстрирует возможность бывших колониальных держав посредством гуманитарных интервенций достигать прежние корыстные цели, получая при этом гораздо большее одобрение международного сообщества. Эта возможность вызвана падением способности африканских государств самостоятельно решать свои проблемы и вытекающим из него размытием ранее незыблемых принципов государственного суверенитета.

**Эли Талиб Дикко**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ, Мали**  
Eli Talib Diko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **«Разбитая витрина» малийской демократии** **“The Broken Showcase” of Malian Democracy**

Путч капитана Соного 22 марта 2012 года положил конец 20 летнему периоду в истории Мали. «Демократический мираж» Третьей Республики рассеялся. Острейший политический кризис, латентно назревавший последние годы, разразился коллапсом структур государственного управления. Дестабилизация ситуации на севере Мали поставила

под угрозу территориальную целостность страны. Давно протекавшие дезинтеграционные процессы получили свое логическое завершение. Давление Франции по поводу путей разрешения кризиса, и последовавшая интервенция свидетельствуют о частичной утрате суверенитета при сохранении формальных атрибутов независимости.

Какова природа сложившейся ситуации, какие факторы внутренней социо-политической атмосферы позволили возобладать негативной динамике развития событий. На наш взгляд, мозаика внутренних факторов, сложенная из политических, экономических, социальных и культурных аспектов развития страны, вступила в резонанс с неблагоприятной геополитической ситуацией, что и повлекло за собой обрушение достаточно слабых институтов Третьей республики. Именно внутренние факторы сыграли решающую роль в провале демократического проекта в Мали. Это не отменяет повестки дня о восстановлении страны, но прежде, малийская политическая и интеллектуальная элита должны осмыслить процессы, приведшие к столь трагическому финалу.



**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-7**  
**Россия и Африка в контексте отношений**  
**«Север-Юг» и в рамках БРИКС**  
**Russia and Africa in the Context of “North-South”**  
**Relations and in the Framework of BRICS**

**Руководители: к.э.н. Евгений Николаевич Корендясов**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),**  
**д.и.н. Татьяна Лазаревна Дейч**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)**  
**Conveners: Dr. Evgeny N. Korendyasov**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia);**  
**Dr. Tatiana L. Deych**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

Современные международные отношения характеризуется перемещением центра мирового развития с Запада на Восток и повышением влияния нетрадиционных игроков. Известная как «Вашингтонский консенсус» либеральная модель заменяется новой моделью, отвергающей ряд ультралиберальных догм. В роли нового двигателя глобальной экономики выступают сегодня страны БРИКС. Объектом особого внимания новых международных игроков стал в последнее десятилетие Африканский континент. В новом тысячелетии в большинстве стран Африки наблюдался самый длительный устойчивый рост за весь период независимости. Экономический подъем стимулировался спросом на сырье, что способствовало динамичному увеличению притока ПИИ. В последние годы налицо обострение конкурентной борьбы за Африку между «старыми» игроками – странами «Севера» и новыми, «восходящими» державами, в первую очередь странами БРИКС. Именно на примере африканских стран новые «возникающие» государства, вес которых в международных делах неуклонно растет, демонстрируют желание и готовность сделать то, чего не смог сделать Запад. «Восходящие» державы становятся реальной альтернативой традиционным партнерам африканских стран. БРИКС открывает африканским странам возможности доступа к новым источникам финансовых и инвестиционных ресурсов, к новейшим технологиям. Взаимодействие Африки с новыми игроками придает импульс процессу перехода к новому миропорядку, основанному на принципах полицентричности, сбалансированного и устойчивого развития.

Вместе с тем, повышение международного веса «возникающих» государств и укрепление их позиций в Африке вызывает растущую озабо-

ченность традиционных акторов на африканской сцене. Расценивая деятельность этих государств как наносящую ущерб их экономическим интересам в Африке и как препятствие реализации проекта либеральных демократических и рыночных реформ в странах континента, страны Запада прогнозируют новую «схватку за Африку». Напряженность подпитывает и конкуренция среди крупных развивающихся рынков за экспорт, инвестиции, рабочие места и глобальное влияние. Обостряется борьба не только за африканские ресурсы, но и за политическое влияние на континенте, 54 государства которого представляют собой растущую политическую силу в глобальном мире, на которую рассчитывают как «старые», так и новые игроки в своей схватке за Африку.

В последние годы расширяются сферы российско-африканского экономического партнерства. Россия рассматривает развитие отношений с Африкой как один из приоритетов своей внешнеполитической стратегии; она, имеет на континенте долговременные интересы и намерена продолжать прилагать усилия в целях развития многоплановых отношений с Африкой.

Изменения в соотношении сил на мировой арене в новом тысячелетии актуализируют исследование проблемы международных отношений в целом и растущей роли в мировых делах стран Африки, в частности. Заслуживают внимания взаимоотношения африканских стран как с США, Великобританией, Германией, являющимися и поныне их ведущими донорами, так и с упорно вытесняющими с континента «старых игроков» «восходящими» державами. К числу проблем, привлекающих внимание исследователей, относятся и конфликты, которыми все еще богат Африканский континенте, а также пути и возможности их урегулирования.

В ходе заседания секции предполагается обсудить новые тенденции во внешней политике стран Африки, роль этих стран в международных организациях и на мировой арене в целом, политику ведущих государств «Севера» и «Юга» на континенте и в отдельных его странах, проблему межафриканских отношений и конфликтов в Африке. Особое внимание будет уделено различным аспектам российско-африканских отношений и перспективам политики России в Африке.

Contemporary international relations are characterized by the shift of center of global development from the West to the East and by growing influence of new global actors. The liberal model known as the “Washington Consensus” is being replaced by a new model which rejects a range of ultraliberal dogmas. Changes in the global power balance make it more urgent to explore the growing role of the “emerging” powers in the world affairs, in particular their relations to Africa. Today the BRICS countries play the role

of new engine of the global economy. At the same time, in the new millennium most African countries have experienced the longest ever period of sustainable growth. This is one of the reasons why the continent in general has become the focus of new global actors' foreign policies. Africa's economic growth was stimulated by the demand for raw materials, which contributed to a dynamic increase in FDI inflows. In the recent years, there has been increased competition for Africa between the "old" players – the countries of the "North" – and the new "emerging" powers, especially the BRICS countries. The new "emerging" powers demonstrate their will to do what the West failed to do in Africa and persistently force "old players" out of the continent. In particular, BRICS are giving African countries more access to new financial and investment resources and to the latest technologies. Africa's interaction with new global players helps it to better integrate into a new world order based on polycentrism, power balanced and sustainable development. However, the increase of international weight of the "emerging" countries and their strengthening positions in Africa are of growing concern for the traditionally leading actors in the African scene. Western countries see BRICS' activities in Africa as a threat to their economic interests, and as an obstacle to liberal democratization and market reforms in the continent. Tensions are also fuelled by competition among major "emerging" markets for exports, investment, and impact on the global arena. They struggle not only for African resources, but also for political influence in Africa. The 54 African countries are a growing political force in the global world, which both the "old" and the new global players in their fight for Africa have that force in view. In recent years the Russian-African economic partnership has been expanding in many areas. Russia has long-term interests on the continent and considers development of multidimensional relations with Africa as one of its international priorities. Among other issues to be discussed are the present-day violent conflicts in Africa and the ways to resolve them. The panel will also discuss new trends in African countries' foreign policies, the role of African countries in international organizations, the relations of major countries in the "North" and the "South" to the continent and to individual African countries, problems of inter-African relations and, in particular, aspects of violent conflicts in Africa. Special attention will be given to various aspects of the Russian-African relations and the Russian prospects in Africa.

**Внешняя политика африканских государств на современном этапе:  
новые возможности и новые вызовы African  
States' Foreign Policy at the Present Stage: New  
Possibilities and New Challenges**

1. Ускорение экономического роста, распад биполярной системы международных отношений, появление восходящих экономик, в частности БРИКС, способствовали росту влияния африканских государств в мировой политике и в мировой экономике. Африка обрела новые материальные, интеллектуальные и институциональные ресурсы для активизации внешнеполитической деятельности.

2. Суть происходящих изменений во внешней политике стран континента состоит в укреплении их внешнеполитической независимости, во все более решительном отстаивании и продвижении своих экономических и политических интересов, в реформировании системы глобального управления.

3. Во внешней политике африканских государств превалирующую роль сегодня играют вопросы межафриканских отношений. При этом идеалы panafricanism в его классическом понимании стираются, если не уходят на второй план. На авансцену выдвигаются проблемы субрегиональной интеграции, формирования на континенте внутриконтинентальных полюсов влияния, соперничества за обретение более высокого статуса на региональном и субрегиональном уровнях. Даже согласование позиций по принципиальным проблемам международной безопасности требует энергичных усилий африканских дипломатов.

4. В концептуальном плане внешняя политика африканских государств склоняется скорее к либеральным и неолиберальным канонам в сфере международных отношений. «Учредительный акт Африканского союза», в известной мере, представляет собой компромисс между концепциями реализма и либерализма в теории международных отношений.

5. Африканское государство перестало быть единственным творцом (актором) внешней политики. Возросла роль неправительственных организаций, общественно-политических структур, диаспоры.

В этой связи вызывает растущее беспокойство влияние трансграничных сетевых объединений, создающих и контролирующих трансграничные потоки людей, товаров, капиталов, наркотрафика, перемещения оружия, подпитывающих коррупцию, в том числе на уровне принятия внешнеполитических решений.

**Хазанов А.М.**  
**ИБ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Anatoly M. Khazanov  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Арабская весна: концепция «клапанов парового котла»**  
**Arab Spring: The “Valves Steam Boiler” Concept**

У автора есть собственная концепция, объясняющая бурные события в исламском мире. Он назвал ее «концепцией клапанов парового котла». Как известно, подавляющее большинство населения исламского мира жило и живет в нищете. Поэтому главная забота правящих верхов состоит в попытках найти подходящий клапан, чтобы выпустить из этого «парового котла» пар социального протеста. В период колониализма таким клапаном был национализм – синоним антиколониализма.

После завоевания национальной независимости странами Азии и Африки лозунг национализма уже больше не работает. Чтобы выпустить из котла пар социального «протеста», нужен был «новый клапан», и правящие верхушки взяли на вооружение лозунги социализма и социалистической ориентации, бывшие тогда очень популярными.

Однако ввод советских войск в Афганистан в 1979 г. привёл к дискредитации социализма в исламском мире. После этого исламские лидеры (Каддафи, Хомейни и др.) взяли на вооружение всевозможные доктрины «третьего пути». Но когда и это не помогло улучшить жизнь народных масс, понадобился «новый клапан», чтобы в очередной раз «выпустить пар из котла». Тогда-то и был выдвинут лозунг борьбы против диктаторских режимов, приведший к «арабской весне». Но здесь возник исторический парадокс: революции в арабских странах сделали носители западных ценностей, а их плодами воспользовались носители традиционных исламских ценностей. Однако экономическая ситуация в Египте и других исламских государствах после этого резко ухудшилась. В итоге давление «пара социального протеста» в этих странах приблизилось к критической точке. И вот, чтобы перевести стрелки народного гнева на кого-то другого воспользовались пресловутым фильмом «Невинность мусульман». Антиамериканские выступления охватили весь исламский Восток. Опять был найден «удачный клапан» для снижения давления «пара социального протеста». Если поискать исторические аналогии, то это похоже на то, как дело Бейлиса в начале прошлого века было ловко использовано правящими верхами РФ для направления народного недовольства в русло примитивного антисемитизма. Таким образом, бурные события в исламском мире во многом объясняются тем, что правящей элите каждый раз удаётся отво-

дить от себя стрелки и выпускать в другую сторону гроздь народного гнева из кипящего котла социального протеста.

**Natalia Sepeleva**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Н.В. Сепелёва  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Analysis of Humanitarian Situation in Sub-Saharan Africa  
(The Case of Great Lakes Region)**

**Анализ гуманитарной ситуации в субсахарской Африке  
(на примере района Великих озёр)**

The global problem of refugees and internally displaced persons is one of the most challenging issues facing the international community today. This problem is the subject of intense debate in the United Nations (UN), which continues to search for more effective means of these highly vulnerable populations protection and rendering assistance to them.

Since its inception, the UN has provided assistance and protection to refugees in different parts of the world. In 1951 when the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established, about 1 million refugees fell under its mandate. Today the number of refugees has increased to 17.5 million, and the number of internally displaced persons exceeded 26 million (Africa accounts for more than 10 million of them).

The refugee problem in Africa is related to the destabilization of the political regimes in a number of African countries and to the negative effects of internal and regional conflicts.

The most typical example of conflict zone in Africa is the Great Lakes region. The effects of the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (1998–2003) and the genocide in Rwanda (1994) are still deeply felt here. The analysis of humanitarian situation in the region and the solution to this problem should be comprehensive and address all its aspects: from the causes of mass exodus to the development of the necessary response measures in a variety of situations that arise in connection with the problem of refugees – starting from the provision of emergency relief to measures aimed at facilitating their repatriation.

If the causes of refugee flows are violent conflicts, the solutions can be found in the areas of preventive diplomacy, the promotion of mediation as the means of conflicts resolving and also in compliance with the provisions of humanitarian law.

**Урнов А.Ю.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Andrey Yu. Urnov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Политика администрации Б.Обамы в Африке к югу от Сахары** **Obama Administration's Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa**

После того, как Африка перестала быть объектом противоборства в «холодной войне», интерес США к этому континенту поначалу утратил прежнюю остроту. Но не надолго. Новый «поворот» США в сторону Африки наметился в середине 90-х годов прошлого века при президенте Б. Клинтоне. В африканской политике администрации Буша-младшего преобладающая тенденция сочеталась с ростом активности и серьезными новациями.

Б. Обама продолжал линию своих предшественников на наращивание политических, экономических, военных и других связей с африканскими государствами. Уделять повышенное внимание и активно действовать в Африке Вашингтон побуждает ряд факторов: геополитические и геостратегические – в контексте курса США на закрепление своего глобального лидерства; экономические – прежде всего, заинтересованность в минеральных ресурсах и рынках Африки, в борьбе за которые Соединенным Штатам успешно противостоит, а то и берет верх Китайская Народная Республика; специфически африканские – многочисленные конфликты, нестабильность, наличие неуправляемых и неконтролируемых территорий, гуманитарные катастрофы, что благоприятствует активности международного терроризма и организованной преступности на континенте. Все это не только ведет к утрате Соединенными Штатами части политических и экономических дивидендов в Африке, но и придает континенту потенциал генератора глобальных потрясений, в чем США видят угрозу собственной безопасности.

В обобщенном виде и с использованием официальной лексики основные программные установки африканской политики США следующие:

- укрепление демократических институтов;
- поощрение экономического роста, торговли и инвестиций;
- содействие созданию возможностей развития;
- упрочение мира и безопасности, урегулирование конфликтов.

Политика США преподносится в нарядной пропагандистской упаковке. В Дар-эс-Саламе, к примеру, Б.Обама говорил о «новых отношениях между Соединенными Штатами и Африкой, которые коренятся в равенстве и общих интересах». В американском понимании «равенство

и общие интересы» вполне совместимы с претензиями США на главную роль в мировых делах. «Мир ждет от нас лидерства», утверждал Госсекретарь Дж. Керри в обращении к Конгрессу, в котором обосновывался проект зарубежных расходов США в 2014 финансовом году.

В выступлении на конференции имеется в виду кратко охарактеризовать активность США в Африке в политической, экономической, военной и гуманитарной областях.

**Olga Kulkova**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
О.С. Кулькова  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**“The Cameron's Doctrine”: African Vector of British Foreign Policy under the Coalition Government (2010–2013)**

**«Доктрина Кэмерона»: африканский вектор британской внешней политики при коалиционном правительстве (2010–2013 гг.)**

I would like to analyze the conceptual underpinnings and practical content of contemporary African policy of David Cameron's government. The main themes of his activities towards the continent can be called “Cameron's African doctrine”. They are:

1. Continuing British aid to Africa, even in a climate of economic crisis, but redefining its goals, objectives and methods of implementation.

The government's Strategic defense and security review (2010) considered the diplomacy and development aid as a means of preventing many external threats. It provided for a doubling of aid to the conflict-prone countries, including the African ones. Regarding the development aid the coalition government has put forward a rule to achieve “more with less”.

2. The fight against Islamic extremism in Africa and in the UK.

3. Promoting trade in Africa and the UK trade with Africa. Trade is more important than aid.

4. UK's efforts in resolving African conflicts, including peace-building.

5. Interaction with Africa in the spirit of liberalism, implying that Britain should promote the values of democracy, respect for human rights and others.

6. Development of relations with new partners – Francophone African countries.

7. Careful attention to African countries affected by the “Arab Spring”.

Former British foreign minister, Tory MP David Davis called for the creation of the British “Marshall Plan” for the Middle East and North Africa,



saying: “We must support the Arab Spring with huge sums of money. It is in our own interests”.

8. The struggle to maintain British influence in Africa in the context of activity of the BRICS on the continent.

Britain has recognized the growing influence of the BRICS in Africa, especially in the field of development assistance, and has already started to implement pilot joint projects in Africa with the BRICS countries in the field of development.

**Ermelinda Liberato**  
**Instituto Universitário de Lisboa,**  
**Portugal**  
Э. Либерато  
Лиссабонский университет,  
Португалия

**The Cooperative Relations between Africa and Russia:  
Challenges and Prospects**  
**Отношения сотрудничества между Африкой и Россией:  
вызовы и перспективы**

The relationship between Russia (at time USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and African countries was essentially marked during the second half of the twentieth century, by an exchange in all sectors: political (socialist policy), military (sending weapons and technicians), economic, social (sending soviet teachers and doctors to work in those countries and on the other hand, reception of African students in soviet schools). The fall of the socialist policy in the beginning of the 1990’s also meant, for most of these countries, a change in their policy and economic model. New scenarios have emerged, giving a new direction to bilateral relations between the different African countries and Russia, and in most of them, the distance was quite evident.

The international relations are always in constant mutation, leading to periods of constant withdrawal approaches. Recently, we can witness an approach from Russia to African countries, in an attempt to resumption the previous ties from the past. We intend to analyze the evolution of the relations between Russia and Angola after the fall of the socialist bloc. What is Russia’s position in Angola today? What are the main fields of intervention of Russia in that country? Is there a cooling or an intensification in bilateral relation between Russia and Angola? What future for Angola-Russia relations? On what basis is based cooperation between Russia and Angola? These are just examples of issues that we intend to bring on to the debate.

**Samia Rebiai**  
**University of Batna, Algeria;**  
**Mohamed Hamchi**  
**University of Batna,**  
**University of Oum El Bouaghi,**  
**Algeria**

С. Ребиаи, М. Хамши  
Университет УМ-эль-Буагхи, Алжир

### **Russian-Algerian Relations in a Multipolarizing World: What Future(s) for an Exceptional Past**

#### **Российско-алжирские отношения в многополярном мире: каковы варианты будущего для исключительного прошлого?**

Russian-Algerian bilateral relations have recently gained more significance for both parts. For Russia, as a (re)emerging global actor following the Soviet era decline, Algeria continues to be an indispensable partner to any global actor's strategy seeking more engagement with Africa. Regarding Russia-Africa complex, in which Algeria's component-ness is – and will continue to be central, Russia has never been a newcomer to the continent if compared with other BRICs (Brazil, China or India). Both parts should do their utmost to take advantage of their exceptional history. This exceptionalness traces back to the hard times of the Algerian War of Independence (1954–62); USSR then generously provided Algerian revolutionaries with political, military as well as financial assistance. Therefore, diplomatic relations have been established between USSR and Algeria early on March 1962, just after Algeria proclaimed its independence. Accordingly, it is no wonder that Algeria has eventually become the first Arab country to sign recently a strategic partnership agreement with Russia (2011). Considering the multidimensionality of such partnership, this paper offers three endeavours. First, it describes the main fields of cooperation/coordination between Russia and Algeria. Second, it analyzes the very interrelatedness between Russia's – more crucially than the other BRICs' – approach(es) to reconstructing the current global governance system, with particular focus on the international system multipolarization question, from on hand and maintaining a high level of thinking and acting strategically in terms of its relations with Algeria, and with Africa broadly speaking from another hand. Third, it reflects prospectively on the future(s) of Russian-Algerian bilateral relations; it attempts to do so through paying special attention to the potentials to develop more friendship-based relations that promise equal benefits for both countries. Such potentials do rely heavily on the exceptional heritage of Russian-Algerian relations history.

**Galina Smirnova**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Г. Смирнова  
Институт востоковедения  
Москва, Россия

**Prospects for Economic Cooperation between Russia and the Republic of Sudan (RS) and the Republic of South Sudan (RSS) in Context of the “North-South” Relations**

**Перспективы экономического сотрудничества между Россией, Республикой Судан и Республикой Южный Судан в контексте отношений «Север-Юг»**

Two new independent states – the Republic of Sudan (RS) and the Republic of South Sudan (RSS) appeared on the world map on 9 July 2011. They have many problems related to the choice of models of political order and other social, political and economic issues. Russia, which has a rich experience in the sphere of commercial and economic cooperation with African countries, may help them with the solution of their numerous problems. Sudan lost most of its oil deposits and income of foreign currency. President Bashir declared that the development of agricultural sector, especially the cultivation of cotton, must become a priority of economic policy. It will require foreign investment and foreign specialists. Russia can help achieve this goal by supplying equipment and chemical fertilizers. Another important direction of economic policy is the development of mining industry. The Republic of Sudan is going to explore its terrain and look for new oil deposits. In October 2013 Minister of oil industry of Sudan Avad Ahmet el-Juz visited Moscow together with representatives of a state-owned *Sudapet* company and invited Russian oil companies to take part in this work. The development of power engineering and manufacturing industry, as well as the transport and tourism branches, may also become important directions of bilateral cooperation.

Russia is also interested in trade and economic cooperation with the young Republic of South Sudan. This country has financial resources from oil exports, but the production and social infrastructure is almost absent there. The prospects of cooperation between Russia and this country are especially bright in the fields of manufacturing industry, agriculture, infrastructure, for example, railways construction, health care, education, human resources training *et al.*

**Mamoudou Gazibo**  
**University of Montreal, Canada**  
М. Газибо  
Университет Монреаля, Канада

**Conditions for Beneficial Cooperation between China and Africa**  
**Условия взаимовыгодного сотрудничества между Китаем и Африкой**

China has become over the last decade, one of Africa's most important partners. Whether in trade or oil exploitation, the construction of infrastructure or even cultural exchanges, it is impossible to count all the sectors in which China and Africa cooperate. Most of the analyses produced on this relation can be classified in two main competing views. The first group of analysts interprets China's presence as a threat, a view that has been recently stressed by the Nigerian Federal Reserve chief who warned that China is harming Africa's industrialization prospects. The second group sees China as a helpful and «win-win» partner. These analyses lack precision and nuance. Rather than analyzing the relationship in general terms or putting the focus on China, the purpose of this paper is to identify the domestic factors which explain either African States' capacity to benefit China's presence or the risk they face to be harmed by it.

**Alice Nicole Sindzingre**  
**CNRS, France**  
А.Н. Санжангр  
Национальный центр научных исследований  
Париж, Франция

**Pathways to Structural Transformation? The Many Impacts of China on Sub-Saharan African Economies**

**Пути структурной трансформации? Многообразное воздействие Китая на экономики стран субсахарской Африки**

China has become a major trading and investment partner of Sub-Saharan African economies. The paper argues that beyond their ambivalent effects, these relationships may foster the structural transformation of African economies. Sub-Saharan African economies' spectacular growth rates since the early-2000s have mainly been driven by China's demand for African goods and China's contribution to high international commodity prices, Sub-Saharan exports being characterised by a high proportion of primary commodities. There are uncertainties, however. Sub-Saharan growth rates stem from distorted export structures (based on primary commodities), and these growth rates may not imply any change – they may even strength-

en commodity-dependence, as high growth rates and high prices are incentives to continue the status quo and may lock African economies into the exporting of primary commodities, with its negative effects (vulnerability to volatile prices and external shocks, “Dutch disease”). These processes threaten Sub-Saharan African economies’ industrialisation and they may be compounded by the weakening of African industrial sectors by cheaper manufactured products from China. Similarly, African governments’ economic policies may not be able to harness the new opportunities offered by China. Against these views, the paper argues that Sub-Saharan African countries’ growth rates may stay at high levels, as China’s growth (and that of other emerging countries’) is expected to remain sustained in the medium term, and as the price of some commodities may stay at high levels during the next decade. A long period of high growth rates, together with an improved fiscal room for manoeuvre, may therefore constitute a genuine opportunity for structural transformation for African economies. Equally, commodities may create linkages towards industrialisation. In addition, China’s relationships with Sub-Saharan Africa are also driven by increasing investment, not only in African countries’ infrastructure, but also in industrial sectors, both being key determinants of diversification and structural transformation.

**Tatiana Deych**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Т.Л. Дейч  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

### **China’s Role in Africa in XXI-st Century**

China has a long involvement with African countries. But the current level and intents of China’s policy are different. What has changed is not only China’s growing need in African resources, but its emergence as a significant world player on African scene. The millennium sees dramatic intensification of China activity in Africa. Chinese demands for raw materials continue to grow, prompting Beijing to engage in fierce competition with other actors on the African continent. In this struggle China uses multiple “soft power” tools. Diplomatic support and cultural ties, loans and credit lines, development aid and investment help China to win favor with African governments. China’s success in Africa is largely due to its key principle of non-interference in the other states internal affairs. China’s doesn’t link business with demands for democracy, good governance and so on. “Chinese menace” is popular cliché in Western media. But is China’s

policy a real “neocolonial” menace to Africa? Aid packages, investment not only in raw materials, but also in African industry and infrastructure, benefit African economies. When Western companies are often afraid of high investment risk in Africa, China fills up the vacuum. China-Africa cooperation based on win-win approach is attractive for the Black continent. Last five years Africa demonstrates an average growth of 5,5 percent, partly thanks to Chinese investments. Not everything in Chinese policy suits Africans. They fear the pressure with which China operates in Africa, they don’t like the growing presence of Chinese people and the influx of Chinese goods. But they appreciate the advantages from China’s aid and investments. After the Cold War the West has reduced attention to Africa; China forced it to refocus attention on the African problems. The paper seeks to answer the questions: What tools does China use to attract African elite? What helps Beijing to achieve its goals? What are the results of this actor’s efforts in Africa?

**Yulia Shtina**  
**People’s Friendship University of Russia**  
**Moscow, Russia**

Ю. ШТИНА  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

**China and South Africa: Evolution of Relations**  
**Китай и Южная Африка: эволюция отношений**

Relations between China and South Africa have a long history. In the first phase they did not have official status. South Africa, a colony of the UK, acted within the policy which was proposed by the mother country. The Chinese workers were imported to the Cape Colony. At present times, the descendants of these people and the Chinese from Taiwan, constitute one of the biggest Chinese diaspora in Africa. Official relations between the ROC and the RSA were established in 1949, relations between the PRC and the RSA – in 1998. Cooperation with the ROC allowed South Africa to maintain high growth rates, to solve the problem of limited access to the Western countries markets. At the same time Pretoria in Hong Kong purchased the goods re-exported from China. The accession of black majority to power, the growing influence of China in the world, the Chinese Go Out and One China policies, the transfer of Hong Kong sovereignty from UK to the PRC – all these factors provoked the end of relations between the ROC and the RSA. The RSA recognized the PRC. South Africa's high economic status, the harmonizing of relations with African countries intensified China's African policy. This time the development of South – South cooperation, the positioning of the two countries as the developing economies, China's support of

the “African renaissance” successfully influenced on Beijing-Pretoria bilateral relationship. South Africa's accession to BRICS promoted the deepening of mutual cooperation. China became the main partner of South Africa for imports and exports. Diversification of exports, restriction on imports of Chinese goods, support for its own production are the main aims of the current RSA policy. South Africa is often used as a launching pad for the promotion of Chinese business into Africa.

**Смертин Ю.Г.**

**Кубанский государственный университет**

**Краснодар, Россия**

**Yuri G. Smertin**

**Kuban State University**

**Krasnodar, Russia**

### **Китай и Африка: взаимный интерес**

#### **China and Africa: Mutual Interest**

В последнее десятилетие КНР сумела упрочить влияние в Африке. Китайское правительство и бизнес заинтересованы в африканской нефти (1/3 китайского импорта углеводородов), рудах и цветных металлах. Для обеспечения продовольственной безопасности Китай создает на континенте сельхозпредприятия на арендованных или купленных землях. Африка становится важным рынком экспортируемых Китаем товаров. Для достижения своих целей в Африке Пекин использует разные стратегии, которые выстраиваются в четкую систему. Во-первых, он апеллирует к истории, делая упор на общее прошлое с африканскими народами (колониализм и расизм, поддержка национально-освободительных движений). Во-вторых, проводится наступательная политика в области образования и культуры. Китай предоставляет стипендии для африканских студентов, обучает технических, военных и медицинских специалистов. Так формируется африканская элита, лояльная Пекину. В африканских странах открываются Институты Конфуция. В-третьих, важным элементом китайского влияния в Африке стала дипломатия. Китай предлагает вместе бороться за демократизацию международных отношений, включая реформу ВТО и ООН, и укрепление в них позиций африканских стран. Пекин продвигает концепции многополярного мира, сотрудничества по линии Юг-Юг. Укреплению позиций Китая на континенте способствует практика частых государственных визитов. Важным инструментом развития отношений Китая с Африкой стал Форум китайско-африканского сотрудничества. На Форуме принимаются программы сотрудничества, определяются конкретные его цифры.

Но и Китай привлекателен для Африки по многим причинам. Китай не связывает свою помощь с соблюдением прав человека, демократией,

искоренением коррупции и т.п. КНР ввел нулевую пошлину для 95% товаров беднейших стран, предоставляет гуманитарную помощь (строительство больниц, школ и т.п.), реализует крупные инфраструктурные проекты. Интерес Китая к Африке побуждает развитые страны и экономические субъекты вкладывать инвестиции в Африку. Разумеется, сотрудничество Африки с Китаем не свободно от проблем, связанных с нестабильностью африканских режимов, со слабым привлечением китайскими компаниями местной рабочей силы в условиях массовой безработицы и т.д.

**Nina Lebedeva**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Н. Лебедева  
Институт востоковедения  
Москва, Россия

### **IBSA vs. BRICS in a Changing World** **ИБСА и БРИКС в меняющемся мире**

South Africa entry BRICS equally with its membership in IBSA raises a number of different issues in comparative analysis of their general and specific features. Will BRICS bury IBSA? Do we need both IBSA and BRICS? What is the next step in the evolution of either or both blocks?

This paper will represent 3–4 recent aspects of their activities and the role of India in them. BRIC is not IBSA + 2, but IBSA faces and will face a strong competition from BRICS. Under these conditions IBSA should enforce some its advantages.

1. As IBSA possesses significant potential for geo-strategic cooperation on the basis of IBSAMAR exercises, so member-states can transform it into platform for engaging the world other major actors in working toward the establishing of a *Global Ocean Maritime Symposium*. Such an undertaking could serve as a multilateral framework for security and functional cooperation in Southern oceans extending from South Atlantic and Indian Ocean into the Indo-Pacific.

2. India may take the leadership to enlarge IBSA into IBSAA (India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa, and Argentina) in order make this block of developing democracies more relevant on the international arena.

3. Since any international organization is likely to become less efficient without a permanent executive secretariat (as we have learnt from the NAM experience), India must offer her facilities to create it in New Delhi a for an enlarged IBSA forum.

4. Perhaps, the newly enlarged group should aim for IBSA Fund for poverty alleviation of 1 bill. \$ per year.



Finally, it will be paid some attention to motives and arguments against China's inclusion into IBSA and Chinese efforts to establish more close relations with IBSA on bilateral and multilateral basis.

BRICS and IBSA can find own niches and co-exist side by side in a changing world.

**Nina Tsvetkova**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Н. Цветкова  
Институт востоковедения  
Москва, Россия

### **Transnational Companies of the Asian BRICS Countries in African ICT Sphere and the Interests of Russia**

#### **Транснациональные компании азиатских членов БРИКС в сфере ИКТ в Африке и интересы России**

In the 2000-s the role of "Asian giants" China and India in international economy increased. China has become the second largest country by the amount of its GDP and in terms of GDP to PPP. India has ranked the fourth. At the microeconomics level the number of companies and banks from China and India in the international ratings increased immensely. There are 182 companies and banks from China (including from Hong Kong) and 56 companies and banks from India among the 2000 companies of the Forbes list published in 2013. China occupies the second place among the 500 Global companies of the Fortune magazine lists and has already superseded Japan. China and India actively participate in the Information and Communications Revolution (ICR). China is the leading world exporter of ICT goods, and India is the first world exporter of computer services and business proceedings outsourcing services.

The aim of the paper is to trace the presence of Chinese and Indian ICT transnational companies (TNCs) in African countries and to analyze how some African countries follow the Indian example by developing business proceedings outsourcing. In 2005–2010 the number of mobile phones per 100 inhabitants in Africa increased significantly. Chinese companies produce both mobile phones and equipment for mobile telephone systems and the Indian company Bharat Airtel is an important mobile phone services provider in Africa. The paper intends to explore the presence of these companies in Africa. Russia possesses some competitive advantages in the ICT sphere. The Soviet Union had a well-developed system of rendering technical assistance to African countries; there is a significant number of graduates from Soviet institutions of higher education in Africa. This potential could be

used to develop the cooperation between Russia and African countries not only in raw materials field, but also in technology spheres.

**Alla Borzova**  
**People's Friendship University of Russia,**  
**Moscow, Russia**

A. Борзова  
Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва

### **Brazil's Cooperation with Africa** **Сотрудничество Бразилии с Африкой**

For Brazil, the sixth economy of the world, the expanding of cooperation with Africa is one of foreign policy priorities. Brazil develops cooperation with African countries on several levels: South – South cooperation in the frames of summit “South America – Africa” (ASA), in the IBSA, as well as through the Community of Portuguese-speaking countries (CPLP). South Africa and Brazil have a leading role in the intensification of cooperation with Mercosur, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), with the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Brazil has rather deep cooperation with the African Union (AU). Both parts signed the agreement on technical cooperation (2007), agreement on the implementation of projects in the field of social development (2009), innovative projects for sustainable development. Brazil and AU cooperate in solving the problems of food security and agricultural development in the framework of COMBASA (Joint Bilateral Commission on Agriculture and Food Security), which includes representatives from the AU and NEPAD. Brazil companies expand investment in Africa in the oil and mining industry, agriculture, transport and construction. Petrobras plans to invest more than \$3 billion from 2009 to 2013. Odebrecht, Vale promote the development of infrastructure, build highways, airports, ports. Brazil signed more than 50 agreements with 18 African countries in agricultural development, 53 agreements with 22 African countries in area of health care. Brazilian Medical missions were opened in Zambia, Namibia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique. Brazil has 55 agreements with 20 African countries in the field of education. Under the program for students from 2003 till 2012 4326 people from 20 African countries graduated from universities in Brazil, 237 people got master degree. The dynamic of Brazil – Africa multilateral cooperation is different from China or India policies. Brazil is rich in natural resources; it does not pursue a strategy of raw materials import, and its policy is aimed to change social and humanitarian situation in Africa.

**Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto**  
**University of Cambridge, UK**

Д. М. де Соуза Нету  
Кембриджский университет  
Великобритания

**Narratives and Expectations about Brazilian South-South Cooperation  
in Mozambique**

**Факты и ожидания от сотрудничества Бразилии по линии  
«Юг-Юг» в Мозамбике**

Although Brazil has been involved in South-South cooperation since the mid-1970s, the past ten years have signified a rapid increase in the scope and volume of official South-South development cooperation initiatives, the majority of them of technical nature. With those issues into consideration, the paper will look at Mozambique, the largest recipient of Brazilian cooperation, as an example of cooperation provided to Africa. The paper addresses the two main areas of health and agriculture and will employ discourse analysis methods. In addition, Brazil-Mozambique cooperation will be interpreted and unpacked through the framework of gift theory. The research is also based on fieldwork and interviews conducted with the international donor community in Mozambique and with Mozambican actors between October-December 2013.

The main argument developed in the paper is that Brazilian cooperation involves the constitution of a series of narratives regarding the bilateral relation between Brazil and Mozambique creating therefore different expectations and demands on both sides of the relation. The paper claims that Brazilian development cooperation cannot be understood as taking place in a political vacuum, instead, it is informed and reconstituted by the existence of specific commercial and economic interests that Brazil has in Mozambique. In addition, it has to be taken as co-existing with a wide number of development cooperation initiatives by OECD and non-OECD donors operating in Mozambique, with elements of both contradiction and complementarity with the Brazilian approach. As a conclusion, the paper addresses to what extent the findings related to the Brazilian involvement in Mozambique can be illustrative of a general Brazilian approach to the African continent as a whole.

**Vjacheslav Usov**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
В.А. Усов  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Ensuring Access of Russian High Technologies to African Markets and  
BRICS Potential**

**Обеспечение доступа российских высоких технологий на аф  
риканские рынки и потенциал БРИКС**

Contemporary Russia can hardly offer a great variety of competitive and relevant high tech products to African markets. Only some of them including space and satellite technologies are really important and interesting for African countries to overcome so called 'digital gap'. While real gains to Russia from high tech penetration into African markets are few, formation of BRICS can give Russia a chance to achieve its goals in Africa in cooperation with its partners in BRICS some of which, for example India, can boast a number of successful stories in Africa.

India has launched and continues to implement Pan-African Network project endorsed by all the African governments, public opinion and NGOs and aimed at development of telecommunication, telemedicine and tele-education sectors in Africa.

Russia has so far possessed cutting-edge space and satellite technologies while India gained a lot of experience in promoting profitable and effective businesses in Africa. While Russian companies have suffered from a lack of governmental support and excessive interest rates for years formation of Development Bank of BRICS has created a chance to start a number of projects in Africa which can be both fruitful and mutually beneficial for all involved parties.

**Sehlaré Makgetlaneng**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**  
**Pretoria, South Africa**  
С. Макгетланенг  
Институт Африки ЮАР, Претория

**The Theoretical Marginalisation of South Africa's Membership to BRICS by some South African Scholars: Key Issues** Допущение  
**маргинализации южноафриканского членства в БРИКС**  
**некоторыми южноафриканскими учеными: ключевые**  
**вопросы**

The paper provides a critical analysis of the political, economic and ideological background to the formation of BRICS and South Africa as a representative of Africa in North-South relations. These issues are useful in taking issues with South African scholars who theoretically marginalise South Africa's membership to BRICS and key reasons behind this factor. South Africa's membership to BRICS is of strategic importance for key reasons. Firstly, its position in a hierarchy of political, economic, financial, trade, human resources development, technological and military international power relations that extends from the United States of America at the centre of capitalism to the African continent at the periphery of capitalism is such that its membership to BRICS was inevitable. Its intermediate position in international power relations helps to explain its role in African affairs and why there is a higher level of expectations placed on it by Africa and the rest of the world for it to play an increased role in African affairs and in the relations between Africa and the rest of the world. Secondly, it is consolidating its status as the Southern African regional and African continental power. Thirdly, it is seeking to achieve its global objectives to be an international power, a major force within the Group of 20 countries and BRICS and an important actor within the United Nations as a permanent member of its Security Council. Fourthly, it is in a better position than any other African country in contributing towards the creation of a continental and global environment conducive for Africa to be able to determine and control its limitations and programme of actions continentally and globally. Fifthly, it is also in a better position to contribute towards the continental defeat of the external reduction antagonistic to the realisation of the continental strategic popular interests.

**Aya Abenova**  
**The Ablai Khan Kazakh University**  
**of international relations and world languages**  
**Kazakhstan**

А. Абенова  
Казахский университет международных  
отношений и мировых языков  
им. Абылай-хана, Алматы, Казахстан

## **The Role of South Africa in Cooperation between BRICS and African Countries**

### **Роль Южной Африки в сотрудничестве между БРИКС и африканскими странами**

The main purpose of the report is to analyze the development of the BRICS, the strengthening of South Africa's role in this group and identification of new perspective forms and areas of cooperation between the BRICS and African countries. All BRICS countries are among the leading economic powers in their regions. This also applies to South Africa. This country has one of the most stable political and social systems in Africa. South Africa is a country with the most developed economy in the south of the continent, and its excellent infrastructure allows it to act as a gate to the African continent. It is the largest investor in Africa, as well as a major contributor to peacekeeping operations, and a mediator at negotiations for conflict resolution in Africa. This allows South Africa to play an active and influential role not only in the regional integration, but also in many other issues important for all Africa.

This report will look into the activities of BRICS in Africa and South Africa's participation in BRICS. This forum has strengthened the political and economic cooperation of South Africa with other African countries and also increased the prestige of the Republic of South Africa. Besides, the paper will offer a comparative assessment of the interests of BRICS countries, their strategies and policies towards the Sub-Saharan Africa. This study is based on the analysis of results of high-level visits from South Africa to other BRICS countries, economic and political ties between South Africa and BRICS, and the results of BRICS summits.

**Justin S. Van der Merwe**  
**Stellenbosch University, South Africa**  
Ю.С. ван дер Мерве  
Университет Стелленбоша, ЮАР

**The BRICS as “New Imperialism”: towards a Theory of South Africa as  
a Regionally-Mandated BRICS State**

**БРИКС как «новый империализм»: к взгляду на Южную Африку  
как на государство, наделенное «мандатом БРИКС» в регионе**

Since the end of the Cold War and the winning over of neo-liberalism globally, a prosperous cycle of expanded rounds of accumulation has given rise to new poles of accumulation outside of the West amidst a relative decline in American power, leading to the prospect of a distinctly more multi-polar world. As global capitalism enters a period of deep uncertainty, it appears that the time is right for a critical re-assessment of the role of global Southern or non-Western emerging powers, grounded within their regions, to be understood as independent actors directly seeking to devise their own form of “imperialism”. What is unique about the modern state-capital relations forming at this level? How do they complement or challenge global processes of capital accumulation and neo-liberalism? What is the theoretical link between emerging powers of the global South and sub-imperialism? What are the physical spaces and places where sub-imperialism arises? What is the state of intra-regional competition amongst the BRICS states but also in relation to the traditional powers from the West? Are we experiencing a new historical epoch in global capital accumulation? The initiatives by the BRICS states to develop their own Development Bank signals a fundamental challenge to the American and European-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The term “new imperialism” was recently used to refer to a resurgence of American imperialism. However, the real “new” imperialism appears to be the wave of global Southern or non-western powers whose rise will most likely shape the 21st century. For better understanding of these questions, I attempt to put forward a theory of South Africa as a sub-imperial state. The theory is embodied in the concepts of a “government-business-media (GBM)” complex and “counter-imperialist discourses”. So I hope to provide a clearer understanding of political-economic relations within the respective regions of the BRICS states.

**Региональное измерение экономики и политики в БРИКС The Regional Dimension of Economics and Politics in the BRICS** Анализ

стратегических, демографических, технологических и иных показателей подтверждает глобальный потенциал Группы БРИКС и указывает ее нацеленность на преодоление сложившейся логики развития в рамках системы отношений центр-периферия. В области политического и экономического управления страны БРИКС стремятся к полицентричному мировому порядку, в котором они займут все более значимые позиции, соответствующие их растущему глобальному и региональному экономическому и политическому значению. Проблема соотношения политики и экономики для будущего формата взаимодействия в рамках Группы БРИКС становится ключевым. Критическое значение, очевидно, учитывая современный этап социального развития мира, сохранит политическая воля руководителей стран Группы, ставшая основанием возникновения и функционирования БРИКС, то есть политика должна «вести» экономику. \_

Каждая из стран БРИКС является неотъемлемой частью сопряженных региональных рынков (Восточная и Южная Азия, Африка, Латинская Америка, северная Евразия) и геополитических пространств. Поэтому учет фактора регионального измерения взаимодействия становится одним из обязательных условий при разработке стратегий экономического и политического сотрудничества в рамках БРИКС.

В сопряженных регионах кооперация «пятерки» как партнеров на внутрирегиональных рынках должна отличаться от уровня традиционного двустороннего сотрудничества и решать задачи формирования торговой, экономической, финансовой, гуманитарной, международной инфраструктуры регионального сотрудничества, то есть создавать предпосылки для интеррегионального партнерства. Регионализация в этом случае получает тройное измерение: глобальное, региональное и локальное. И здесь следует увидеть иное измерение взаимодополняемости экономик стран группы БРИКС – в области взаимодействия с соседями – малыми региональными партнерами.

В целом, БРИКС выступает как пятерка лидеров за вхождение в глобализацию в возникающих самостоятельных подсистемах международной организации труда. Не умаляя значимости развития двусторонних и многосторонних отношений между странами – участниками Группы отметим, что в ближне- и среднесрочной перспективе фокус



глобального многостороннего сотрудничества для всех стран БРИКС, с учетом их совпадающих и пересекающихся интересов и международного участия в глобализации, более всего должен быть направлен на регионы. В сфере международных отношений подобный экономический регионализм станет ключом к добрососедству, определив логику новой дипломатии (основание экономическое, управление политическое).

Analysis of strategic, demographic, technological and other indicators confirms the global potential of the BRICS Group arose and indicates its focus on overcoming the prevailing logic of the development within the center-periphery relations. In the field of political and economic governance BRICS seek polycentric world order in which they will occupy more significant positions that match their growing global and regional economic and political significance. The problem of relating politics and economy for the future format of interaction within the Group becomes a key for BRICS . Critical value, it is obvious given the current stage of social development of the world, is to save the political will of the leaders of the Group, which became the basis of origin and functioning of the BRICS, ie policy must “lead” the economy.

Each of the BRICS countries is an integral part of conjugate regional markets (East and South Asia, Africa, Latin America, Northern Eurasia) and geopolitical spaces. Therefore, integration of the regional dimension of interaction is becoming one of the prerequisites in developing strategies for economic and political cooperation within the BRICS.

In conjugate regions cooperation “five” as partners in intraregional markets should be different from the traditional level of bilateral cooperation and solve the problem of formation of trade, economic, financial, humanitarian and international infrastructure of regional cooperation that is to create the preconditions for of interregional partnership. Regionalization in this case receives a triple dimension: global, regional and local. And here it should see another dimension of complementarity of the economies of the BRICS group – in the field of interaction with neighbors – small regional partners.

In general, BRICS serves as the top five leaders for joining the globalization of emerging independent subsystems of new international labour system. Without belittling the importance of the development of bilateral and multilateral relations between the countries – participants of the Panel noted that the near- and medium-term focus of global multilateral cooperation for all the BRICS countries, given their overlapping and intersecting interests and international participation in globalization, more likely to be directed to regions. In international relations, a similar economic regionalism will be the key to good neighborly relations, defining logic of the new diplomacy (economic base, political guiding).

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IV-8

### План «Архитектура мира и безопасности» Совета безопасности ООН и военные интервенции в Африке UN SC APSA and Military Interventions in Africa

**Руководители / Conveners: Prof. Kay Mathews**  
**(Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia),**  
**Ricardo Real Pedrosa de Sousa**  
**(Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands)**

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is being developed to be the main framework for conflict management in the continent. This regime in the making is formally structured on the responsibility to protect to justify military action and on subsidiarity to allocate the onus of that decision and implementation. With the approval of the constitutive act of 2000 creating the African Union (AU), the then Organization of African Unity (OAU) member states accepted for the first time the interference into the domestic affairs of their states in circumstances of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. Six years later the principle of subsidiarity entered explicitly into APSA in the Memorandum of Understanding between the AU and African sub-regional organisations (SRO) in 2008. The principle considers that action should be left to the lowest possible level and only when such level is inefficient should a more central organ assume such responsibilities. This can be applied both to the relationship between AU and UN or AU and SRO like ECOWAS, SADC or IGAD. The utility of both of these rules can be questioned on the grounds of its real use or the extent of its legality or merit. The clauses of the responsibility to protect enshrined in the AU constitutive act have not been used to justify an intervention so far. Therefore it is doubtful if and when would a civil war meet such general criteria. Additionally the principle of humanitarian interventions have been permeable to political interest and military interventions authorized with such mandate have been considered to deviate significantly from it when implemented, such as was the case with the UN authorized intervention in Libya. Subsidiarity itself is prone to the resource dependence, which constrains lower level organizations from acquiring independence on decision and action on military interventions. This means that the advantages of regional ownership and initiative are plagued by out of the region interests more likely alienated from local conditions and possible humanitarian crisis. At the same time subsidiarity is not a guarantee that regional and local action is motivated by humanitarian considerations and is equally subjected to the

political interests that the current centralized systems have. This panel welcomes papers who seek to explore these two dimensions of APSA and in what way its formulations can contribute more or less to the establishment of an international security regime based on the rule of law and humanitarian action.

**Ricardo Sousa**  
**Erasmus University of Rotterdam**  
**Netherlands**  
Р. Соуза  
Университет Эразмус, Роттердам  
Нидерланды

**Evolving UN Security Council Primacy and the African Peace and Security Architecture' (APSA) Subsidiarity**  
**Эволюция первичности Совета безопасности ООН и вторичности Африканской архитектуры мира и безопасности**

The United Nations Security Council (UN SC) has primacy over the decision to enforce peace in a country. With the end of the Cold War the negotiations over this primacy intensified involving not only states but also emerging regional and sub-regional organizations particularly in Africa. Using regime theory and process tracing this paper analyses to what extent UN SC de jure primacy on authorising peace enforcement military operations has been contested in Africa after the end of the Cold War. A central point of contention involves security structures, particularly the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the role of the “principle of subsidiarity” in safeguarding UN SC primacy. This paper demonstrates that the post-Cold War period involved neorealist interaction for most actors (US, ECOWAS, SADC), but after the year 2000 the African Union and European Union have engaged in a more neoliberal approach to developing APSA. UN SC primacy exceptions are inscribed at different levels of policy and the “principle of subsidiarity” and APSA do not explicitly fully safeguard UN SC primacy. The author concludes that the way subsidiarity is implemented may or may not reinforce UN SC primacy as a foundational principle of the security intervention architecture.

**Toyin Oluwaremilekun Oluwaniyi**  
**Redeemer's University**  
**Mowe, Ogun State, Nigeria**  
Т.О. Олуванийи  
Университет Спасителя, Мове, Нигерия

**African Union, African Peace and Security Architecture and  
International Peacekeeping: Lessons Drawn for Future Missions**  
**Африканский Союз, Африканская архитектура мира и  
безопасности и международное миротворчество:  
уроки для будущих миссий**

The dramatic change from the Organisation of African Unity to African Union on 25 May 2002 was considered imperative for African states to resolve its civil wars. However, the African Peace and Security Architecture in 2004 further strengthened AU's role in intervening in Africa's mire of conflicts with its first deployment of international peacekeepers to Darfur. This paper argues that going by past and current missions' challenges, AU has a better chance of success when it embarks on focused operation with a clear mandate and effective resources, including, financial, logistics, cooperation among member states and manpower, to ensure effective implementation. This brings to the fore, the impact of the African Peace and Security Architecture in catapulting AU to a responsive and responsible peace body in Africa. It concludes that while AU has moved away from non-interference to intervention in Africa's conflict scenarios, significant transformation is still required, one of which is the emphasis on the need to engage more in preventive diplomacy, which is cheaper and easier to achieve. But as a short term goal, commitment, focus and external assistance for funding are key essentials for success in AU's military intervention in Africa's conflicts.

**Ian Liebenberg**  
**Stellenbosch University, South Africa**  
Й. Лиебенберг  
Университет Стелленбоша, ЮАР

**Unilateralism and its Allies: The Subversion of the R2P in Libya, 2011**  
**Одностороннее разоружение и его союзники: ниспровержение  
«обязанности защищать» в Ливии в 2011 г.**

What the media termed the Arab Spring demonstrated that European interests in scarce resources on the Africa continent remains undiminished. Unlike in Tunisia and Egypt, social disturbances in oil-rich Libya in 2011 received immediate interventionist treatment from France, the UK and the

USA; interventionism justified one has to add, by UN Resolution 1973. The paper will investigate the reasons for the selective treatment of Libya and the foreseeable outcomes for other non-pliant (African) states. The abuse of Resolution 1973 can be seen as a new “gateway” to Africa and poses questions about those countries that did not forcefully countered the resolution’s subversion, i.e. South Africa, China, Russia and Brazil. The author argues that what was seen in Libya is not a conspiracy. It is about the forceful re-assertion of long standing USA/European mentalities that stems from the past and that under current economic conditions and the reality of the implosion of the USA and Western economies may lead to more forceful and militarist projections of foreign policy by the USA and whoever wishes to join a “coalition of the willing”. In conclusion the paper poses relevant questions about the future.

**Kay Mathews**  
**Addis Ababa University**  
**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

К. МЭТЬЮС  
Аддис-Абебский университет, Эфиопия

**Title: The Case of the 2011 Foreign Military Intervention in Libya**  
**Зарубежная военная интервенция 2011 г. в Ливию**

Military interventions in Africa, often justified as humanitarian interventions, have commonly been used by foreign powers particularly during the Cold war era to pursue their parochial national interests, prop up local despots and perpetuate spheres of influence. There is thus a basis for concern by some African governments that the new principle of “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P) is yet another means of powerful countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of weaker countries. Despite strong opposition of the African Union (AU) not to let any foreign force to intervene in the internal affairs of Libya, in 2011 NATO conducted a “successful” military operation to the dismay of the AU and Africa. Through the AU’s Constitutive Act of 2000, African leaders recognized the responsibility of the organization to intervene as the last resort in the internal affairs of member states to protect citizens during humanitarian crises implementing the R2P principle thus recognizing “sovereignty as responsibility”. However, deep concerns have also been expressed in Africa that interference in the internal affairs of African countries will continue to grow, (as we are witnessing in the on-going French intervention in Mali), and that countries with weak government structures are more vulnerable. African governments could come under even greater influence of external actors economically and the plunder of Africa’s resources, particularly oil, could increase. Once Africa lose the

authority to find “African solutions to African problems” opportunities are presented to external powers with their own interests and agendas to intervene. This paper will explore the dynamics, dilemmas and dangers of increasing foreign military interventions in Africa in the light of the 2011 foreign military intervention in Libya.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK V**

### **ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ LINGUISTICS**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL V-1**

#### **Язык и общество в Африке Language and Society in Africa**

**Руководители: д.ф.н., проф., чл.-корр. РАН Виктор Алексеевич  
Виноградов**

**(Институт языкознания РАН, Москва, Россия),**

**д.филол.н., проф. Виктор Яковлевич Порхомовский**

**(Институт языкознания РАН, Москва, Россия)**

**Conveners: Prof. Viktor A. Vinogradov**

**(Institute of Linguistics, Moscow, Russia),**

**Prof. Viktor Ya. Porkhomovsky**

**(Institute of Linguistics, Moscow, Russia)**

В рамках секции будет рассмотрен широкий круг вопросов африканского языкознания, включающий как проблемы фонетики, лексики и грамматики, так и социолингвистические проблемы языков Африки.

Тематика лингвистической секции:

Социолингвистические исследования культурно-языковых ситуаций.

Типологическое изучение языков Африки.

Сравнительно-историческое изучение языков Африки. Проблемы генетической классификации.

Полевые исследования африканских языков: теория и практика.

Африканская диалектология и ареальные исследования.

Языковые контакты в Африке: синхронный и диахронический аспекты.

The panel will be devoted to the wide range of problems related to languages in Africa, including phonetics, lexicon and grammar, as well as sociolinguistics of African languages. The topics for discussion in the panel include:

- sociolinguistic studies of cultural and language situations;
- typological studies of African languages;
- comparative studies of African languages;
- problems of genetic classification;
- field studies of African languages: theory and practice;
- African dialectology and areal studies;
- language contacts in Africa: synchronic and diachronic aspects.

**Бабаев К.В.**  
**ИВ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
 Kirill Babaev  
 Institute of Oriental Studies RAS  
 Moscow, Russia

**Тоногенезис в языках Африки и Юго-Восточной Азии:  
 к сопоставительному анализу Tonogenesis in African  
 vs. Southeast Asian Languages: Data for a Comparative  
 Analysis**

Доклад является постановкой проблемы сопоставительного анализа тоногенезиса и развития тонологии в языках Африки и Азии.

Большинство языков Африки к Югу от Сахары принадлежат к числу тональных и используют ряд супрасегментных смыслоразличительных признаков, используемых в системах фонологии и морфосинтаксиса. Наиболее распространенными и изученными из них являются тональные оппозиции – уровневые и контурные тоны.

В последние годы тональные языки являются предметом пристального внимания лингвистов, появляется множество детальных описаний тонологии африканских языков, относящихся к различным регионам и языковым семьям. Предпринимаются также попытки реконструкции праязыковой тонологии. При этом вопрос о происхождении тонов в африканских языках практически не исследован, и хотя существует целый ряд теоретических работ на эту тему, на практике реконструкция путей диахронического развития супрасегментной фонологии языков Тропической Африки остается актуальной задачей.

Между тем в литературе неоднократно отмечалось, что ключом к пониманию и реконструкции тоногенезиса в языках Африки может быть исследование диахронического развития супрасегментной фонологии в языках Восточной и Юго-Восточной Азии, где тональные противопоставления зародились (а в некоторых языках продолжают зарождаться) в исторический период. Источником формирования тонологии в языках этого обширного региона является мощный процесс моносиллабизации, проходящий – или уже завершившийся – практически во всех



без исключения языках Индокитая, многих языках современного Китая. Левосторонняя редукция двусложных слов приводит к формированию моносиллабов, в которых с целью смысловозначения зарождаются новые фонологические оппозиции на основе супraseгментных явлений. Помимо собственно уровня тона, в качестве таких явлений выступают различные типы фонации (придыхательная, напряженная и т.п.), глоттальная смычка. Эти явления весьма поздно попали в сферу внимания лингвистов. Весьма вероятно, что проекция опыта исследования супraseгментных явлений и фонологических процессов в языках Восточной и Юго-Восточной Азии на изучение африканских языков может пролить свет на проблемы тоногенезиса и «расщепления тонов» в Африке, где также могут быть отслежены процессы моносиллабизации некогда многосложных слов.

The paper specifies the problem of comparative analysis of tonogenesis and tonal development in the languages of Sub-Saharan Africa and East / Southeast Asia.

The majority of Sub-Saharan African idioms are tonal i.e. use a number of suprasegmental traits effective in both phonology and morphosyntax. The most widespread of and well-studied of them are tonal oppositions: level tones and contour tones.

Tones have been subject of intensive studies during the two last decades. However, while synchronic description of tonal systems are frequently published, the issues of diachronic development of tones and their genesis are still to be studied in detail. The reconstruction of the ways of diachronic development of tones in Africa is an actual task for today's African linguistics.

A possible key to at least some of the questions is the research of tonal languages of another region: East / Southeast Asia, where suprasegmental phonology is also quite productive. The source of tonal genesis in the languages of the region lies mostly in the strong process of monosyllabization, ongoing or completed already in the majority of the region's languages. The reduction of disyllabic lexemes produces a new level of sense differentiation – a suprasegmental one. However, in parallel with tones per se, some other suprasegmental features develop, such as phonation (breathy voice, creaky voice, glottal stop, etc.). This phenomenon can be researched in more detail in comparison with African languages, where new conclusions may be drawn on the basis of a comparative analysis.

**Серджио Балди**  
**Университет Неаполя, Италия;**  
**Рудольф Легер**  
**Университет Иоганна-Вольфганга Гёте, Германия**  
Sergio Baldi  
Università degli studi di Napoli;  
Rudolf Leger  
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität

**Названия растений и суеверия народности купто  
(Северная Нигерия)**

**What are plants good for? Plant Names and Superstitions of the Kupto  
People (Northern Nigeria)**

Хорошо известно, что в традиционной Африке флора играет большую роль не только в качестве пищи, но и применительно к медицине, поэтому растения используются в этих двояких целях. Медицинское использование, правда, свелось ныне к изготовлению лекарственных препаратов. Тем не менее, воспоминания о том, что боли и недуги могут быть излечены различными травами, еще живы. Память об определенном использовании растений для медицинских целей сохранилась, в частности, в маленьких этнических группах, которые живут в сельской местности, далеко от городов. Одной из таких групп является народность купто, говорящая на языке чадской семьи и живущая в срединном течении реки Гонгола в северо-восточной Нигерии. Численность их не превышает двух тысяч человек, большинство в настоящее время исповедуют ислам. Но, несмотря на это, среди них всё еще есть несколько стариков, приверженных традиционной религии. Среди них – несколько так называемых «травников», которые сохранили глубокие знания о флоре. Почти все травники имеют репутацию мудрецов, они очень хорошо понимают причину и происхождение хвори, от которой страдают люди. Исследовав источник болезни, они знают, какие растения нужно использовать в качестве снадобья. Некоторые растения, которые они используют как лекарство, будут описаны в нашем сообщении. Мы обращаем особое внимание на те растения, имена которых нам знакомы, и приводим их названия на хауса и купто, поясняя их использование в медицинских целях.

It is a well known fact that in traditional Africa flora plays a great role not only in respect to foodstuff, but also in respect to medicine. Many plants, therefore, are used in these twofold manners. Even in modern times African societies heavily rely on the two fundamentals. The medical usage, however,

has been nowadays reduced to chemical drugs. A remembrance, nonetheless how sicknesses and pains can be cured by various herbs is still alive. A memory of the distinct usage of plants for medical purposes concerns in particular small ethnic groups who live in rural areas with difficult access far away from great towns or cities. One of the groups are the Kupto, a Chadic speaking community, leaving on the middle Gongola River in North Eastern Nigeria. The number of their population might not exceed two thousand peoples of which most of them have nowadays converted to Islam. This, however, does not exclude that there are still few aged men and women, who adhere to their traditional religion. Especially among them there is a certain number of the so-called “herbalists” who have preserved a profound knowledge about flora. Nearly all members of the herbalists can be considered as a source of wisdom who do very well understand the origin and reason of sicknesses people has befallen. After having analysed the main source of sickness they know what kind of plants should be used for treatment. Some medical plants they use for healing will be described in our paper. Here, we have in particular concentrated on plants whose specific names are known to us and we furthermore have given the Hausa and Kupto denominations for the plants, explaining the usage in regard to the medical employment in their society.

**Иса Эспадон Блайден**  
**Фонд Эдварда Вилмота Блайдена,**  
**Вашингтон, США**  
Isa Espadon Blyden  
Edward Wilmot Blyden Foundation,  
Washington, USA

### **Эволюция языка крио в Сьерра-Леоне** **Krio Language Evolution in Sierra Leone**

Язык крио (Сьерра-Леоне) – это лингва франка, на котором говорят около 80% населения страны (около 6 млн. человек). Исторически язык происходит от идиомов плантаций, на которых говорили африканские поселенцы из Америки и Канады, принимавшие участие в американской Революции в 1776 году, а также ямайские мароны, прибывшие из Канады в 1799 году. Язык крио, в отличие от многих креольских языков, включил в себя языков, на которых говорило коренное население Сьерра-Леоне. В процессе адаптации значение и использование глагольных форм, предлогов и наречий претерпело существенные изменения. Например, глагол *luk* “смотреть” к настоящему времени заменен глаголом *wach* “наблюдать”. В докладе будет рассмотрена эволюция и использование наречных частиц *de* (частица, наречие) и предлога и наречия *pon* (на, сверху), которые

превалировали в структуре с конца XVIII века. До недавнего времени *de* использовался как вспомогательный глагол при смысловом глаголе в настоящем продолженном времени. Например, *e de kam* “Он приходит”, *We de kam* “Мы приходим”. Сейчас структура настоящего продолженного времени формируется с участием частицы *de*, наречной частицы *pon* и глагола: *e de pon kam* “Он приходит” или *we de pon kam* “Мы приходим”. Локативный предлог *pon* (ср. *e de pon top table. De baby lay dom pon de bed*) используется и как наречие. В докладе я бы хотел обсудить свойства этих двух наречных частиц в современном крио по сравнению с их более ранним использованием.

The Krio Language of Sierra Leone is the lingua franca and spoken by approximately 80% of the overall population (about six million). Historically, This social language evolved from the original plantation dialect spoken by African settlers (who'd fought in the American Revolutionary War of 1776), from America and Canada and that of Jamaican Maroons who arrived from Canada in 1799. The Krio language unlike many creole languages has expanded to incorporate idioms, structures of languages spoken by the indigenous population in Sierra Leone. In the process, meaning and use of verb forms, prepositions and adverbs have undergone a significant change. For example, the verb *luk* “look” has now been replaced by the verb *wach* “to watch”. In this paper I would like to examine the evolution of the use of adverbial particles – *de*-(participle, adverb,) and preposition and adverb *pon* (on, upon,) which have been prevalent in the structure since the late eighteenth century. Until recently, *de* was used as the auxiliary verb with a main verb in the present continuous tense. E.g. *e de kam* ‘he is coming’. *We de kam* – “we are coming”. Today, the structure for the present continuous tense for example is formed with the participle *de* + the prepositional adverb *pon* + the verb: *e de pon kam* – “he is coming” or *we de pon kam* “we are coming”. The prepositional (locative) *pon* – *e de pon top table. De baby lay dom pon de bed. pon* is used as an adverb thus: *ah de pon am* – I’m on it. In this paper I would like to discuss the impact of these two particles on the Krio language today compared to their former use.

**Виноградов В.А.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН,**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Viktor Vinogradov  
Institute of Linguistics RAS,  
Moscow, Russia

**Просодическая аккомодация заимствований в ганда<sup>14</sup>**  
**Prosodic Accommodation of loans in Ganda**

При изучении языковых контактов и инноваций, обусловленных ими, обычно в центре внимания находятся лексические заимствования, их возможная семантическая модификация и фонетическая ассимиляция в языке-реципиенте. Менее изучена просодическая аккомодация как первый шаг натурализации иноязычного слова.

Исследование заимствований в этом направлении предполагает четыре возможных ситуации:

- 1) заимствование из акцентного языка в акцентный (АЯ → АЯ);
- 2) заимствование из тонального языка в тональный (ТЯ → ТЯ);
- 3) заимствование из акцентного языка в тональный (АЯ → ТЯ);
- 4) заимствование из тонального языка в акцентный (ТЯ → АЯ);

(в отношении акцентных языков не лишен смысла вопрос, дают ли, например, арабский, суахильский или английский прототип одинаковый просодический рефлекс в ТЯ).

Примеры таких ситуаций демонстрируют следующие пары языков, связанные отношением заимствования:

- 1) арабский → суахили;
- 2) ньоро → луганда;
- 3) суахили → луганда;
- 4) хауса → сонгай-короборо.

В докладе рассматриваются некоторые из этих возможностей.

Studies in language contacts and innovations caused by them usually are focused on lexical borrowings, their possible semantic deviation from prototypes and their phonetic assimilation to the recipient language. Less was considered their prosodic accommodation as a first step of the gradual naturalization of a loan.

Studying of borrowings in such clue may present four possible situations:

- 1) borrowing from an accent language to an accent one (AL → AL);

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<sup>14</sup> Доклад подготовлен по проекту № 14-04-00488 «Языковые контакты в Африке», находящемуся на экспертизе в РГНФ.

2) borrowing from a tonal language to a tonal one (TL → TL);  
3) borrowing from an accent language to a tonal one (AL → TL);  
4) borrowing from a tonal language to an accent one (TL → AL);  
(concerning the accent languages, a question seems to be not senseless if, say, Arabic, Swahili or English prototype has the same prosodic reflex in tonal language).

The above situations may be illustrated by the following pares of languages connected by the relation of borrowing:

- 1) Arabic → Swahili;
- 2) Nyoro → Luganda;
- 3) Swahili → Luganda;
- 4) Hausa → Songhay-Koroboro.

The paper deals with some of these cases.

**Выдрин В.Ф.**  
**INALCO – LLACAN – СПбГУ**  
Valentin Vydrin  
INALCO – LLACAN  
St. Petersburg State University

### **Два типа глагольной редупликации в дан-гуэта<sup>15</sup>** **Two Types of Verbal Reduplication in Dan-Gwεεtaa<sup>16</sup>**

В дан-гуэта (< южные манде < манде < нигер-конго) допустимы два типа глагольной редупликации, при этом каждый из них возможен далеко не для всех глаголов. Ограничения носят лексический характер, поэтому в обоих случаях речь идет о словообразовательных, а не словоизменительных средствах.

1. Полная редупликация выражает различные варианты плюриакциональности: неоднократное действие, совершаемое одним и тем же деятелем (при переходности глагола – над одним и тем же объектом); множественность объектов или множественность деятелей. При полной редупликации каждый редуликанд полностью сохраняет и сегментную, и тоновую структуру исходного глагола. Если исходный глагол имеет преверб (в дан превербы могут отделяться от глагольной основы модификаторами и детерминативами), то удваивается вся словоформа, включая преверб:

*gú-mā* ‘понимать’ → *gú-mā-gú-mā* ‘понимать (все проблемы)’.

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<sup>15</sup> Данное исследование выполнено в рамках проекта № 2.38.524.2013 «Языки народов Африки южнее Сахары: от структурного морфо-синтаксического анализа к функциональному синтезу парадигматических элементов языковой картины мира».

<sup>16</sup> This study has been carried out within the framework of the project № 2.38.524.2013 “Languages of Subsaharan Africa: From structural morphosyntactic analysis to a functional synthesis of paradigmatic elements of the world vision”.

2. Частичная редупликация выражает значение интенсивности, длительности или полноты осуществления действия. Она реализуется как удвоение конечного гласного двусложной стопы, сопровождающееся повышенной интенсивностью произнесения (при этом исходный тон не меняется):

*gbìḽḽ* ‘тянуть’ → *gbìḽḽḽ* ‘тянуть долго’.

Если исходная форма имеет структуру CV, то гласный триплицируется (впрочем, для большинства глаголов такой структуры эта деривация оказывается невозможной):

*bí* ‘сиять’ → *bíwíwí* ‘сиять очень интенсивно’.

У глаголов структуры CVη (где -η – гласный нулевой ступени открытости с ограниченной дистрибуцией) удвоению подвергаются обе конечные гласные:

*klòḽ* ‘сгибать’ → *klòḽḽ* ‘сгибать с усилием’.

Судя по имеющимся материалам, «собственно-превербные» глаголы частичной редупликации не подвергаются, зато она оказывается возможной для сложных глаголов (структуры «именная основа + глагольная основа», при этом именная основа часто не встречается вне таких сложных глаголов). При этом удваивается гласный именно именной основы, а не глагольной:

*dḽḽ-dḽ* ‘продавать’ → *dḽḽḽ-dḽ* ‘заниматься торговлей (с большим усердием)’.

*gbḽḽḽ-kpḽ* ‘прятаться’ → *gbḽḽḽḽḽ-kpḽ* ‘прятаться так, чтобы никто не мог найти’.

Аналогичным образом, гласный именно первого компонента удваивается у так называемых «глаголов на -nū»:

*dḽḽnū* ‘останавливаться’ → *dḽḽḽnū* ‘останавливаться надолго’.

Аналогичный механизм оказывается задействован и для образования формы одной из степеней интенсивности прилагательного.

There are two types of verbal reduplication in Dan-Gwεetaa (South Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo); both are possible for a limited number of verbs. The limitations are of a lexical nature; therefore, in both cases, we deal with mechanisms of derivation, rather than inflexion.

1. Full reduplication expresses various pluriactional meanings: a multiple action performed by one doer (and, for a transitive verb, applied to one object); one action applied to multiple objects or performed by multiple doers. Each of the reduplicants maintains both the segmental and suprasegmental (tonal) structure of the original verb. If the original verb has a preverb (and preverbs in Dan are easily separable from the verbal stem by modifiers and determinants), the entire word-form, including the preverb, is reduplicated:

*gú-mā* ‘understand’ → *gú-mā-gú-mā* ‘understand (all the problems)’.

2. Partial reduplication expresses the meanings of intensity, of a long duration, of a plenitude of the action. It manifests itself through reduplication of the final vowel of a dissyllabic foot accompanied by an elevated intensity of pronunciation; the original tone of the verb is maintained:

*gbìḡḡ* ‘pull’ → *gbìḡḡḡ* ‘pull for a long time’.

If the original form has a CV structure, the vowel is triplicated (though the great majority of the verbs of this structure cannot undergo this kind of derivation at all):

*ḡwí* ‘shine’ → *ḡwíwíwí* ‘shine intensely’.

Verbs of the structure CVŋ (-ŋ is a zero-aperture vowel characterized by a limited distribution) reduplicate both vowels:

*klòŋ* ‘bend’ → *klòòŋŋ* ‘bend with an effort’.

According to the data available, “true preverbal verbs” do not undergo the partial reduplication; on the other hand, it is possible for compound verbs of the structure “noun stem + verbal stem” (the noun stem often does not exist apart from these compound verbs). In this case, it is the nouns stem vowel that is reduplicated, rather than the vowel of the verbal stem:

*dḡḡ-dḡ* ‘sell’ (lit. “market-make stand”) → *dḡḡḡ-dḡ* ‘perform a commerce (with a great application)’.

*gblḡḡ-kpɔ́* ‘hide oneself’ → *gblḡḡḡ-kpɔ́* ‘hide oneself very thoroughly’.

In the same way, it is the vowel of the initial component of so-called “-*nū*-verbs” (rather than the final element -*nū*) that undergoes reduplication:

*dḡḡnū* ‘stop’ → *dḡḡḡnū* ‘stop for a long period of time’.

It should be mentioned that a similar mechanism of a partial reduplication is used for the derivation of one of the degrees of intensity of adjectives.

**Громова Н.В.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Nelli Gromova  
IAAS Moscow State University,  
Russia

### **К вопросу о языковой норме в современном суахили** **The Issue of Language Norm in Modern Swahili**

Первые серьезные попытки нормализации и кодификации языковых процессов суахили относятся к 1930 г., когда был создан Восточно-африканский межтерриториальный языковой (суахилийский) Комитет, задачей которого была стандартизация языка суахили. Однако рекомендации Комитета оставались таковыми лишь на бумаге.

Кардинальная языковая ситуация с нормированием суахили изменилась после получения Танзанией независимости. Язык суахили должен был постепенно заменить английский язык во всех коммуникативных



сферах. При этом функционирование современного суахили в условиях многоязычия, влияние родных языков и языковая интерференция создают практические и теоретические проблемы, особенно в области унификации письменного языка и регламентирования новых словесных образований.

Нарушения языковой нормы обнаруживаются не только в случае изменения лексической семантики слова, но и в области синтаксиса и даже морфологии. В современном суахили фиксируются две языковые нормы – литературная (или стандартная), имеющая отношение к письменно-литературному языку, и нелитературная, базирующаяся на устно-разговорной разновидности языка. Обе эти нормы развиваются параллельно, взаимодействуют друг с другом и образуют в то же время единую систему, каждый элемент которой нуждается в постоянном наблюдении для теоретических и практических выводов.

The first serious attempt to normalize and codify the Swahili language processes relates to 1930, when the East African inter-territorial language (Swahili) Committee was created, whose task was to standardize the Swahili language. However, the recommendations of the Committee remained ink on paper.

The language situation and normalization processes in Swahili changed fundamentally after the independence of Tanzania. Swahili was supposed to replace the English language in all spheres of communication. In this case, the functioning of the modern Swahili in the conditions of multilingualism, the influence of native languages and linguistic interference create practical and theoretical problems, especially in the field of unification of the written language and the regulation of new word-formations.

Violations of linguistic rules are found not only in case of lexical semantics changes of words, but also in the syntax and even in morphology. In modern Swahili two linguistic rules are fixed: literary (or standard), concerning writing-literary language, and non-literary, based on oral colloquial speech. Both of these norms are developing in parallel, cooperate with each other and form a single system at the same time, where each element needs regular observations for theoretical and practical conclusions.

**Давыдов А.В.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Artyom Davydov  
St. Petersburg State University,  
Russia

**К диалектологии фута-манинка и восточных говоров какабе**  
**Towards the Futa-Maninka and Eastern Kakabe Dialectology**

В докладе будет рассмотрен вопрос о соотношении говоров манден и моколе, распространенных на границе регионов Верхней и Средней Гвинеи (Республика Гвинея), на следующем материале.

(1) Говор какабе деревни Saramoussaya (столица супрефектуры в составе префектура Мамои).

(2) Говор фута-манинка деревни Dibamba Silala (супрефектура Bissikrima, префектура Dabola).

(3) Говор фута-манинка деревни Fello-Lamo (супрефектура Dialakodo, префектура Dingiraye).

(4) Говор манден деревни Watagala (супрефектура Dialakodo, префектура Dingiraye).

(1) представляет собой типичный говор какабе. (2) и (3) – переходные говоры между моколе и манден, фонологически и грамматически более близкие к моколе, а лексически – к манден. (4) – говор манден с субстратом моколе.

The conference talk will discuss the question of Manding and Mokole dialects relationship with a special focus on fuuta-maninka and kakabe dialects spoken in the border zone between regions of Upper-Guinea and Mid-Guinea (Guinean Republic). The particular dialects in question are:

(1) The dialect of Saramoussaya (the capital of Saramoussaya sub-prefecture, Mamou prefecture).

(2) The dialect of Dibamba Silala (Bissikrima sub-prefecture, Dabola prefecture).

(3) The dialect of Fello-Lamo (Dialakodo sub-prefecture, Dingiraye prefecture).

(4) The dialect of Watagala (Dialakodo sub-prefecture, Dingiraye prefecture).

(1) is a typical Kakabe dialect. (2) and (3) are transitional forms between Mokole and Manding. Phonologically and grammatically they are closer to Mokole, but lexically they are closer to Manding. (4) is and Manding dialect with a Mokole substratum.

### Типологические особенности структуры относительного предложения в языке томо-кан<sup>17</sup>

#### Typological Features of Relative Clause Structure in the Tomo Kan<sup>18</sup>

Объектом настоящего исследования является язык томо-кан, принадлежащий к семье догон. Языки этой семьи распространены на территории государств Мали и Буркина-Фасо.

Одна из особенностей языка томо-кан, отличающая его от остальных языков семьи, – структура относительного предложения, представляющая большой интерес с типологической точки зрения. Независимо от того, какой член предложения является мишенью релятивизации, субъект относительного предложения оформляется особой частицей *né*:

(i)	à: <sup>n</sup> ó-sò= <sup>n</sup>		<b>né</b> bàʔ <sup>n</sup> á	ɲ-dó	wéɾí	
	мужчина	Rel	1Sg-Dat	деньги	давать-Fut=Ptpl	вла- делец
	<i>né</i> :	<i>mà</i>				
	где	Q				

Где человек, который должен принести мне деньги?

(ii)	á <b>né</b> yá:	ɲ-dó	wéɾí	ùbí	<i>né</i> :	<i>mà</i>
	2Sg Rel	вчера	1Sg-Dat	деньги	давать. Pfv	где Q

Где деньги, которые ты мне дал вчера?

Частица всегда занимает позицию правой периферии именной группы подлежащего относительного предложения и не может занимать никакую другую позицию. Анализ этой частицы – проблема, требующая комплексного изучения структуры придаточных предложений в томо-кан. В частности, в ходе исследования первоначально были выдвинуты следующие гипотезы:

- 1) частица представляет собой особый показатель номинатива (для относительной клаузы) – поскольку модифицирует ее подлежащее;
- 2) элемент *né* является относительным союзом;

<sup>17</sup> В работе использованы собственные материалы автора, собранные во время его полевой работы с томо-кан в 2011 – 2013 гг. Исследования выполнены при поддержке гранта РФНФ 10-04-00215 «Языки Мира. Язык догон. Язык бангери-ме» и гранта NSF BCS-0853364.

<sup>18</sup> The paper uses the author's own data collected during his fieldwork. The investigation is supported by the RFN grant 10-04-00215 “Yazyki mira. Yazyk dogon. Yazyk bangeri-me” and NSF BCS-0853364.

3) употребление частицы связано с актуальным членением предложения и, в частности, с такой категорией, как топик; если это верно, тогда в позицию левой периферии относительного предложения могут попадать другие составляющие;

4) частица связана с таким параметром, как длина подлежащей оставляющей (в словоформах) и ее употребление может варьироваться в зависимости от этого параметра;

5) частица – маркер синтаксической зависимости целой клаузы.

В работе будут проанализированы различные аргументы за и против каждого варианта анализа. Мы постараемся показать предпочтительность последнего варианта и описать характер этой синтаксической зависимости.

The subject of this paper is the Tomo Kan language which belongs to the Dogon family. The languages of this family are spoken on the territory of Mali and Burkina Faso.

One of distinctive features of Tomo Kan (which distinguishes this language from other languages of the family) is the structure of the relative clause. Without connection with what part of the sentence is the goal of relativization the subject of the relative clause is always marked with a special particle *né*:

(i) à:<sup>n</sup>      nɛ́      ɲ-dó      wɛ́rí      ó-sò=<sup>n</sup>      bàʔ<sup>n</sup>á  
man      Rel      1Sg-Dat money give-Fut=Ptpl      owner

*né*: mà

where      Q

Where is the man who must bring me the money?

(ii) á      nɛ́      yá:      ɲ-dó      wɛ́rí      ùbí  
2Sg      Rel      yesterday      1Sg-Dat money give.

Pfv *né*: mà

where      Q

*Where is the money you gave me yesterday?*

The particle always takes its place on the right periphery of the subject nominal phrase and cannot be placed in another position. The correct analysis of this particle requires complex investigation of the relative clause structure in Tomo Kan. In particular, the following hypotheses were suggested:

1) the particle is a special nominative suffix (for it always modifies the subject);

2) the element *né* is a relative conjunction;

3) the usage of the particle is associated with such category as topic; if this suggestion is right other constituents can also be placed in the left periphery of the relative clause;

4) the particle is associated with such parameter as length of the subject constituent and its usage can vary depending on this parameter;

5) the particle is the marker of syntactic dependence of the whole clause.

The paper is aimed to analyse different arguments *pro et contra* all the hypotheses. We will try to demonstrate the preference of the hypothesis (5) and describe the character of the syntactic dependence.

В докладе рассматривается структура трех африканских креольских языков: крио (Сьерра-Леоне), креоль-морисьен (Маврикий) и кабувердиану (Кабо-Верде).

Существенные структурные различия между этими креольскими языками ставят под сомнение существование общей креольской типологии.

Общие типологические свойства этих языков являются общими для всех языков, тяготеющих к корнеизоляции, в том числе заведомо не являющимися креольскими. В том числе типологические различия в известной степени сближают их с языками-источниками и одновременно отдаляют друг от друга.

По-видимому, при рассмотрении различных языков, причисляемых к креольским, продуктивнее типологизировать процесс, а не результат их формирования.

**Mark Diachkov**  
**Institute of Linguistics RAS,**  
**Moscow, Russia**

Дьячков М.В.  
Институт Языкознания РАН,  
Москва, РФ

### **Krio, Creol-morisyen, Kabuverdianu – Pluribus Unum or Pluribus Diversum?**

#### **Крио, креоль-морисьен, кабувердиано – Pluribus unum или Pluribus diversum<sup>19</sup>**

The analysis of the three African Creoles (English-based Krio in Sierra Leone, French-based Creol-Morisyen in Mauritius and Portuguese-based Kabuverdianu in Cabo Verde) shows that they have significant structural differences. Some of them have been inherited from their source languages. At the same time, their common structural features may be found in numerous other languages drawn to structural isolation which have never been identified as creoles. The analysis produced prompts to conclude that

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one should more expediently typologize processes of creolization rather than their results.

**Желтов А.Ю.**  
**СПбГУ / Музей Антропологии и**  
**Этнографии РАН,**  
**Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Alexander Zheltov  
St.Petersburg State University,  
Museum of Antropology and Ethnography RAS,  
St.Petersburg, Russia

**Некоторые элементы морфосинтаксиса простого предложения**  
**языков ньонг и майя (адамауа, нигер-конго)<sup>20</sup>**  
**Some Elements of Simple Sentence Morphosyntax in Nyong and Maya**  
**(Adamawa, Niger-Congo)**

В докладе предполагается обсудить некоторые аспекты морфосинтаксиса языков майя и ньонг, относящихся соответственно к группам мумуйе и леко языковой семьи адамауа (макросемья нигер-конго). Материалы, представленные в докладе, были собраны в ходе работы Петербургской лингвистической экспедиции в провинцию Адамауа, Нигерия в 2012–2014 гг.

На основе предварительного анализа собранного полевого материала в докладе будет проведен сравнительный анализ структуры простого именного (идентификативные, квалификативные, локативные, презентативные и посессивные конструкции) и глагольного предложения в указанных языках. Представленный анализ включает порядок слов, обзор прономинальных серий, видо-временных форм глагола (преимущественно аспектуальные системы с использованием сирконстантов для различения настоящего и прошедшего времени, но с особой морфосинтаксической конструкцией для футурума), типов глагольных основ (инфинитив, причастие, личная форма), базовый морфосинтаксис именной группы в данных языках (атрибутивная и посессивная конструкции, порядок слов в именной группе).

The paper deals with some aspects of the morphosyntax in Maya and Nyong languages, which are related respectively to Mumuye and Leko groups of Adamawa language family (Niger-Congo macro-family). The materials

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<sup>20</sup> Материалы, представленные в докладе, собраны в ходе работы по гранту СПбГУ «Языки народов Африки южнее Сахары: от структурного морфо-синтаксического анализа к функциональному синтезу парадигматических элементов языковой картины мира», шифр 2.38.524.2013

presented in the paper were collected during the fieldwork of St. Petersburg linguistic expedition to the province Adamawa, Nigeria in 2012–2014.

The of simple nominal (identificative, qualificative, locative, presentational and possessive) and the verbal clause will be a subject of a comparative analysis on the basis of the preliminary analysis of collected field data. The aforementioned analysis includes a analysis of word order, the review of pronominal series, TAM forms of a verb (mainly aspectual systems with the use of circonstants for Past/Present distinction, but with a special morphosyntactic structure for Future), types of verbal bases (infinitive, participle, personal form), basic morphosyntax of a noun phrase in these languages (attributive and possessive phrases, word order in a noun phrase).

**Капчиц Г.Л.**

**Государственная радиовещательная  
компания «Голос России», РФ**

Georgi Kapchits  
SBC “Voice of Russia”  
Russia

### **К социолингвистической ситуации на юге Сомали Towards the Socio-linguistic Situation in Southern Somalia**

В 1981 г. Марчелло Ламберти предпринял масштабную исследовательскую работу в Сомали, результатом которой стала серия новаторских публикаций о диалектах языка сомали. В “The linguistic situation in the Somali Democratic Republic” (1984), “Map of Somali dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic” (1986) и “Die Somali-Dialekte” (1986) он нарисовал, по замечанию Анджея Заборского, «четкую картину разнообразия и распространения диалектов языка сомали».

Со времени появления работ Ламберти социолингвистическая ситуация на юге Сомали претерпела глубокие изменения в результате потрясений, вызванных многолетней гражданской войной, вспыхнувшей в 1991 г.

Массовая миграция племен привела к сложному взаимодействию диалектов, часть которых ранее друг с другом не соприкасалась. Сегодня лингвисты, занимающиеся изучением языка сомали, оказались перед лицом новой диалектной реальности, осмысление которой представляется неотложной и увлекательной задачей. Ее решение нуждается в тщательных полевых исследованиях, организация которых, с учетом ситуации в Сомали, сейчас, к сожалению, невозможна. Оказалось, однако, что полезную информацию можно извлечь из интервью с мигрантами из южной части Сомали, наводнившими Европу в поисках убежища. 300 записей таких интервью были любезно предоставлены мне коллегами из Германии и Нидерландов. Их расшифровка и изучение позволили сделать два важных вывода.

1) Диалекты группы Дарод (Хабаргидир, Маррехан и, в меньшей степени, Огаден), на которых говорят, в основном, в центральной части Сомали, глубоко проникли в ареалы бытования «южных» диалектных групп Бенадир, Май и Дигиль.

2) Нынешние обитатели южной части Сомали говорят не на «чистых» диалектах, а на языковых «конструкциях», включающих в себя изоглоссы двух или более диалектов.

Данная работа исследует фонологические, морфологические, синтаксические и словарные особенности языковых типов, на которых общаются жители городов Афгое, Корйолей и Балад, расположенных на юге Сомали, и двух районов столицы Могадिशу, которую я посетил в 2009 г. и образцы речи обитателей которой записал.

In 1981 Marcello Lamberti undertook a scale research work in Somalia which resulted in a series of pioneering publications on Somali dialects. In “The linguistic situation in the Somali Democratic Republic” (1984), “Map of Somali dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic” (1986) and “Die Somali-Dialekte” (1986) he had drawn, as justly mentioned by Andrzej Zaborski, “a clear picture of dialect differentiation and dialect spread of the Somali language.”

Since the issue of Lamberti’s publications the socio-linguistic situation in South Somalia has greatly changed due to the tectonic social shifts which followed the collapse of the Somali statehood and the outbreak of the civil war in 1991.

The massive tribal migration has resulted in the intricate interaction of the dialects some of which had not been in contacts before. Today the linguists engaged in Somali studies are facing a new dialectal reality the study of which seems to be an urgent and intriguing task.

The thorough observation of more than 300 interviews with Somali refugees seeking asylum in Europe which had been kindly placed at my disposal by three German and the Netherlands’ linguistic enterprises, has revealed two important phenomena.

1) The expansion of the Daarood dialects of Habargidir, Marrehaan and (to lesser extent) Ogaadeen into the Benaadir, the May and the Digil speaking areas.

2) The contemporary inhabitants of South Somalia settlements do not speak in pure dialects, but communicate in the varieties which combine isoglosses of several dialects.

The paper explores the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexical properties of the dialectal varieties spoken by the dwellers of three settlements situated in South Somalia and in two districts of Mogadishu which I visited in 2009 and the language samples of the inhabitants of which I recorded.



**Филипп Кассюто**  
**Университет Экс-ан-Прованса,**  
**Франция;**  
**Порхомовский В.Я.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН,**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Philippe Cassuto  
Aix-Marseille Université, France  
Viktor Porkhomovsky  
Institute of Linguistics RAS,  
Moscow, Russia

**О месте субьюнктива в семито-хамитской глагольной системе<sup>21</sup>**  
**The Position of Subjunctive in Hamito-Semitic Verbal System**

Проблема места и статуса субьюнктива среди финитных глагольных форм рассматривается на основе модели реконструкции и диахронической эволюции аспектной системы в семито-хамитских (афразийских) языках, разработанной одним из авторов настоящего доклада (см. Порхомовский 2003, 2013, Porkhomovsky 2008). В соответствии с этой моделью в рамках бинарной аспектной оппозиции «*перфектив: имперфектив*» первоначальный перфектив получает статус слабого (немаркированного) члена оппозиции и используется в специальных синтаксических конструкциях, а также в функции субьюнктива. Его место занимает новый маркированный перфектив. Эта реконструкция основывается на материале семитских, берберских и некоторых чадских языков и может быть обозначена как первая стадия диахронической эволюции глагольной системы.

Ситуации, которые реально фиксируются в семитских языках, относятся ко второй стадии эволюции. При этом появляются существенные различия между языками, особенно в том, что касается субьюнктива. Возникающий на основе слабого (немаркированного) перфектива субьюнктив (юссив) может оказаться самостоятельной финитной глагольной формой, как в эфиосемитских и южноаравийских языках, а может выступать в качестве одной из функций полифункциональной глагольной формы старого перфектива, как, например, в чадском языке хауса. Наконец, в семитских языках центральной группы возникают вторичные различия в рамках исходной префиксальной глагольной формы с редуцированным вокализмом, т.е. общесемитской формы старого (немаркированного) перфектива. В настоящем докладе проблема статуса и функций субьюнк-

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<sup>21</sup> Доклад подготовлен по проекту № 14-04-00488 «Языковые контакты в Африке», находящемуся на экспертизе в РГНФ.

тива рассматривается на материале некоторых чадских языков, прежде всего хауса, а также семитских языков центральной группы, прежде всего древнееврейского и арамейского, в сопоставлении с семитскими языками Эфиопии и современными южноравийскими языками.

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The position and status of Subjunctive within the framework of finite verbal forms is examined on the basis of the model of reconstruction and diachronic evolution of Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) aspect system suggested by one of the authors of the present paper (cf. Порхомовский 2003, 2013, Porkhomovsky 2008). This model claims that the original Perfective acquires the status of the weak (unmarked) member of the binary aspect opposition “Perfective: Imperfective”, hence it is used as the Subjunctive and in special syntactic constructions (negative perfective, coordinated verbs, etc.). In its original function it is replaced by the new marked Perfective. This process can be seen as the first stage of the diachronic evolution of the verbal system.

Situations attested in documented Semitic languages belong to the second stage of the evolution. Differences between languages may arise at this stage, especially with regard to the Subjunctive. The Subjunctive (Jussive) emerging on the basis of the weak (unmarked) Perfective may function as a specific finite verbal form or otherwise as one of the manifestations of a multifunctional verbal form of the Old Perfective, e.g. in Hausa (Chadic branch). In Central Semitic languages secondary differences emerge within the framework of the prefix conjugated form with reduced vocalism, which is the common Semitic form of the Old (unmarked) Perfective. Our analysis of the status and functions of the Subjunctive is based on the data from Hausa and some other Chadic languages as well as from Central Semitic languages, primarily Ancient Hebrew and Aramaic as compared with Semitic languages of Ethiopia and Modern South Arabian languages.

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**Коваль А.И.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН,**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Antonina Koval  
Institute of Linguistics RAS,  
Moscow, Russia

### **Towards the Practice of Annotating a Typological Rarity** **К практике аннотирования типологического раритета**<sup>22</sup>

Анлаутно-корневые чередования в пулар-фульфульде (именуемые также пермутацией, консонантной мутацией, инициальной альтернативой согласных и др.) обладают сильно выраженным типологическим своеобразием. Феномен этот редок в языках мира, хотя он и не уникален – см.: обзор похожих явлений в африканских и других языках в книге [Holst 2008].

Под общетеоретическим углом зрения типологическое своеобразие анлаутно-корневых чередований в грамматической системе пулар-фульфульде определяется следующими тремя основными моментами.

(1) Пулар-фульфульде – язык с богатой морфологией. Это означает, что подавляющее большинство грамматических категорий выражается в этом языке посредством *прибавления* к корню/основе морфем, которые либо несут одно категориальное значение, либо кумулятивно отображают значения более чем одной категории. На фоне этой *аддитивной* морфологической стратегии резко выделяются анлаутные чередования, которые не могут быть отделены от корня как реализующиеся *симультанно* с корнем.

(2) Господствующий принцип морфологической аранжировки пулар-фульфульде – *посткорневое* расположение грамматических морфем. Грамматические морфемы присоединяются либо непосредственно к корню, либо к основе, уже морфологически осложненной. Тем самым, линейная морфоструктура языка – языка, практически не знающего префиксации – подчеркивает специфичность системы правил, регулирующих видоизменения элемента в абсолютном *начале* словоформы.

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<sup>22</sup> Доклад подготовлен по проекту «Теоретическое и техническое обеспечение корпуса текстов на языке пулар», выполняемому в рамках Программы Президиума РАН «Корпусная лингвистика».

(3) Каковы бы ни были исторические истоки данного явления, в синхронном состоянии языка отсутствуют прямые фонетические предпосылки к анлаутным чередованиям. И совсем напротив, альтернативные градации в корневом анлауте целиком и полностью обусловлены контекстом *грамматическим* (морфологическим и/или более широким). Будучи задействованы в грамматические процессы, анлаутно-корневые чередования наделены *функциональными* свойствами, в частности – способностью отображать категориальные значения.

Анлаутно-корневые чередования имеют широкую применимость в пулар-фульфульде, затрагивая разные языковые сферы, но, тем не менее, до сих пор в фуланистике отсутствуют соглашения по поводу соответствующего аппарата разметки в аннотируемых текстах на этом языке. Выдвигаемая прикладная задача, таким образом, должна быть отнесена к разряду актуально востребованных и нуждающихся в безотлагательном обсуждении. Целенаправленный и последовательный пересмотр грамматических контекстов, детерминирующих реализацию ступеней чередования в корневом анлауте, составляет базу для выработки таких аннотационных методик, которые адекватно отражают функциональную нагрузку чередований, не игнорируя в то же время их типологической специфичности. Существенно, что предлагаемые конвенции по текстовым аннотациям несут информацию, ценную не только в плане синхронно-грамматического описания и типологии, но также важную и для диахронического исследования обсуждаемого феномена.

Root anlaut alternations in Pulaar-Fulfulde are highly typologically unusual. The typological distinctness of the Pulaar-Fulfulde anlaut alternations is defined by three considerations. First, anlaut alternations must be assessed against the background of the generally additive character of Pulaar-Fulfulde morphology. Second, Pulaar-Fulfulde is a suffixing language, and root anlaut alternations go counter this main tendency. Third, the modern language does not display any phonetic prerequisites for the anlaut alternations – these are fully determined by grammatical contexts. While anlaut alternations are widely spread in Pulaar-Fulfulde, there are no generally adopted conventions of how to represent them in text annotation. Such conventions must be based on the functional properties of the alternation grades.

### Образование общего вопроса в языке акебу<sup>23</sup> Polar Question Formation in Akebu<sup>24</sup>

Структурно общий вопрос ничем не отличается от утвердительного предложения, единственное отличие – характер последнего элемента фонологической цепочки (в прототипическом случае – последнего гласного).

Описанию факторов, определяющих характер изменений финального гласного фонологической цепочки при образовании общего вопроса и посвящен настоящий доклад.

Инвентарь гласных фонем в акебу состоит из 11 фонем: *i, ɪ, e, ε, ɨ, ə, a, u, ʊ, o, ɔ*. Почти у всех гласных есть краткий и долгий варианты. В языке есть три уровневых тона (низкий, средний, высокий) и один контурный (падающий). Кроме гласных носителем тона может быть фонема *ŋ*, способная организовывать отдельный слог. Наиболее частая структура слога – CV. Также есть слоги структуры CVN, где последним элементом становится *ŋ*. Подробности могут быть найдены в [Макеева 2013].

Финальный гласный может отличаться двумя признаками – долгой (V vs. VV) и(ли) тоном.

Полученные мной данные можно обобщить в следующем виде:

- i, ɪ:*    V → VV, V → VV  
*e:*        V → VV, V → VV, V → VV  
*ε:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV | VV, VV → VV  
*ɨ:*        V → V, V → VV  
*ə:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV, V → VV | VV  
*a:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV, V → VV | VV,  
  
V → VV, V → VV  
*u:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV, V → VV | VV,  
V → VV  
*ʊ:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV  
*o:*        V → VV, V → VV, V → VV | VV, VV →  
V | VV, VV → VV  
*ɔ:*        V → VV, V → VV | VV, VV → VV

<sup>23</sup> На языке акебу говорит около 50 тысяч человек в провинциях Акебу и Вава в Того, сейчас язык почти не описан. Доклад основан на данных, полученных в ходе полевой работы в деревне Джон в октябре 2013г.

<sup>24</sup> Akebu (Kebu-Animere; GTM; Kwa; Niger-Congo) is native language for about 50 thou-

sand speakers in the prefectures Akébou and Wava of Plateaux Region, Togo. At the moment the language is poorly documented. Data presented in my speech was collected in the course of field work with native speakers of Akebu in the village Djon in October 2013 (*i.l.*).

В приведенной системе выполняются следующие закономерности:

1. Краткий гласный с высоким тоном всегда удлиняется.
2. *e, i, ɪ, ɨ* не допускают никакой вариативности.
3. У гласных, допускающих вариативность, при среднем тоне возможно или удлинение гласного, или изменение тона. Оба изменения одновременно допускает только *ɛ*.
4. При низком тоне добавляется еще одна возможность: изменение тона на средний (есть только у *u*).
5. Есть односторонняя закономерность: если у гласного есть вариативность со средним тоном, то есть вариативность и с низким.

Предварительно можно сказать, что на выбор варианта (при наличии вариативности) влияют способ образования предыдущего согласного и структура слога, хотя есть некоторое количество исключений.

Интересны слоги со структурой CVN: при высоком или низком тоне у гласного на высокий или низкий соответственно изменяется тон финального *ŋ*. Это верно для всех гласных, кроме гласных с признаком [-ATR] (*ɔ* и *ɪ*), они удлиняются, тон *ŋ* остается прежним. При исходном среднем тоне он меняется на высокий.

Structurally polar question clauses are identical to affirmatives, the only difference is the characteristics of the last element of the phonological chain (prototypically of the last vowel). In this speech I am planning to discuss patterns for change of the last element in the formation of general question. Also I will try to establish factors that affect existing patterns.

Vowel phonemes inventory of Akebu consists of 11 elements: *i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ɨ, ə, a, u, v, o, ɔ*. Almost all vowels are presented in two variants – short and long. In Akebu there are 3 level tones (low, middle and high) and 1 frame tone (falling). Vowels and phoneme *ŋ* can bear a tone and form a syllable. The most frequent syllable structure is CV. Most of CVC syllables have *ŋ* as their final element. Further details can be found in [Makeeva 2013].

Final vowel can vary in two characteristics – length and tone.

Observed data can be colligated in the following chart:

i, ɪ:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow$
e:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow$
ɛ:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow$
ɨ:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow$
ə:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow$
a:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow V\uparrow \rightarrow$
	$V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow$
u:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow$
	$\rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow, V\uparrow V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow$
v:	$V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow V\uparrow, V\uparrow \rightarrow V\uparrow   V\uparrow V\uparrow$

$\emptyset$ :  $V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1, V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1, V_1 \rightarrow V_1 \mid V_1V_1, V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1 \mid$   
 $V_1V_1, V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1$   
 $\mathcal{D}$ :  $V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1, V_1 \rightarrow V_1 \mid V_1V_1, V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1V_1$



In foregoing system we can see the following regularities:

1. Short vowel with high tone always lengthen.
2. *e, i, ɿ, ɨ* allow no variation.
3. Vowels that show variation with middle tone allow lengthening or tone shifting. Only *ɛ* allow both at once.
4. Vowels with low tone have one extra possibility to those with middle: tone can be shifted to high or to middle (possible only for *u*).
5. There is a non-reversible universal: if vowel approve variation with middle tone, it should also approve variation with low tone.

Tentatively it can be said that choice of the variant can be determined by the manner of production of the preceding consonant and by the syllable structure, although there is a number of exceptions.

CVN syllables are quite interesting: with high or low tone of the vowel what is to change is the tone of the final *ŋ*. It is true for all [+ATR] vowels, [-ATR] vowels (*ɔ* и *ɿ*) lengthen, tone of *ŋ* exhibit no change. In CVN syllables with middle tone of the vowel it shifts into high.

**Косогорова М.А.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН**  
Maria Kosogorova  
Institute of Linguistics, RAS  
Moscow, Russia

**Омонимичные глагольные парадигмы в языке пулар и  
возможность их различения при глоссировании<sup>25</sup>**  
**The Homonymous Verb Paradigms in Pulaar and a Possibility of  
Distinguishing them for Automatic Glossing**

В языке пулар (Гвинея) омонимия глагольного спряжения парадигм является повсеместным явлением, существенно затрудняющим анализ языка и его техническую обработку. Помимо случаев с частичной омонимией, которую чаще всего возможно разрешить на аппаратном уровне, существует и ряд случаев с полной формальной омонимией глагольных парадигм. К этим случаям относятся, во-первых, формальное совпадение базисной парадигмы сильного потенциалиса с парадигмой с контрастивно выделенным предикатом (также потенциалис) и, во-вторых, базисной парадигмы слабого перфектива с перфективной парадигмой с контрастивно выделенным второстепенным членом. Все

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эти парадигмы и их совпадение описаны А.И. Коваль в работе «Контрастивность в пулар-фульфульде» (2003).

При разработке корпуса языка пулар возникла необходимость выведения формальных правил для различения омонимичных парадигм для последующей разработки системы автоматического глоссирования. В связи с этим встал ряд вопросов, касающихся, во-первых, степени подробности аннотирования приконтрастивных парадигм; во-вторых, касающихся машиночитаемых различий контекстов, и в-третьих, альтернативного решения в случае, если попытка автоматического снятия омонимии окажется неудачной.

Контекстные исследования проводились на пилотной, монодиалектной версии корпуса текстов пулар. Несмотря на небольшой объем, пилотная версия смогла прояснить ряд вопросов, в частности, что указание локализации фокуса контраста в глагольной словоформе не является приоритетной. Также выяснилось, в каких случаях возможно определить машиночитаемый контекст для снятия омонимии, а в каких это затруднительно.

Сегодняшняя версия программы по автоматическому глоссированию текстов для корпуса пулар имеет удовлетворительный уровень автоматизации и выдает результат, который, хотя и не отражает всех свойств и особенностей омонимичных парадигм глагола, является, тем не менее, адекватным с точки зрения информативности.

The Pulaar language (spoken in Guinea) offers frequent cases of verbal inflection paradigm homonymy, which can seriously hinder the analysis of the language and its automatic processing perspectives. There are cases of partial homonymy, which do not present such difficulties and can mostly be resolved automatically. However, there are two cases of perfect verbal paradigm homonymy that are both frequent and unable to be resolved without expert assistance. The possibilities and ways of distinguishing them without human involvement is the topic of this study.

The two paradigm sets mentioned above are: 1) a basic strong potential paradigm and a potential paradigm with topicalized predicate, and 2) a basic weak perfective paradigm and a perfective paradigm with topicalized object. The complete description of the verbal paradigms listed above and their uses can be found in works of A. Koval (esp. "Contrastivity in Pular-Fulfulde", 2003).

The development of the Pulaar corpus required some formal rules concerning the distinguishing of homonymous paradigms. This was necessary for the automatic glossing system. This put up some questions, including the following:

- What is the necessary level of details required for the correct interpretation of the topicalized paradigm?

- Can a machine distinguish the basic vs. topicalized paradigms using the context data?

- If not, how else can we diminish human involvement in this task?

The research was conducted with the help of a test version of Pulaar corpus, which nevertheless gave answers to many of our questions. As a result, for instance, we can now be sure that it is unnecessary to list the topic position along with the verb affix; we can also tell which contexts can be used by the computer to distinguish the ambiguity, and which can not. The current version of the parsing programme has, as a result of the studies, an acceptable level of independence and has a substantially adequate output.

**Кравченко С.Л.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Svetlana Kravchenko  
IAAS Moscow State University  
Russia

### **Редупликация в амхарском языке** **Reduplication in Amharic**

В амхарском языке редупликация – довольно широко распространенное явление. Редупликация используется как в грамматике, так и в словообразовании.

В грамматике при помощи повтора целого слова образуется множественное число некоторых существительных. Некоторые слова наряду с обычной формой могут иметь форму множественного числа с повтором последнего корневого элемента, сопровождаемого гласным (частичная редупликация). Повтор может повлечь за собой семантическую модификацию.

Удвоенные формы слов, обозначающих качество, реализуются в амхарском языке как усиление степени этого качества, его увеличенную интенсивность. Редупликация некоторых прилагательных (в основном субстантивированных) выражает не только усиление степени их качества, но также и множественность.

Удвоенные глаголы тесно связаны с исходными глаголами. Редуплицированный глагол сохраняет свои грамматические функции. Его отличие от исходного глагола сводится к появлению дополнительного значения. Редупликация выражает особый вид действия, т.е. семантически выражает неполное либо интенсивное проявление какого-либо состояния или действия. Среди редуплицированных глаголов чаще встречаются сложные глаголы, первый компонент которых образован от основы глагола с помощью внутренней флексии и удвоения согласных и

которые, будучи звукообразом в сочетании с глаголом «сказать» и «делать», образуют сложный компонент. Семантическая нагрузка падает на первый компонент, а глаголы «сказать» и «делать» выполняют чисто грамматическую функцию и служат для выражения предикативных категорий.

Примеры повтора количественных числительных немногочисленны. Удвоенные числительные приобретают значение множественности, а также образуют наречия образа действия.

Чаще всего редуцированные и нередуцированные формы относятся к одному и тому же разряду слов (существительные, прилагательные, глаголы и т.д.). В амхарском языке редупликация используется также для образования лексем другого разряда.

In Amharic reduplication is quite widespread. Reduplication is used both in inflection grammar and in word formation.

In grammar plural of some nouns is formed through the repetition of the whole word. Some of the words along with the usual form can have a plural form with repetition of the last root, followed by a vowel (partial reduplication). Replay can lead to semantic modification.

Reduplicated form of words defining quality implements in Amharic as the increase of the level of this quality, its increased intensity. Reduplication of some adjectives (mainly substantivized) expresses not only the increase of the level of quality but also a plurality.

Reduplicated verb is closely related to the basic verbs. Reduplicated verb retains its grammatical function. Its difference from the basic verb comes down to an additional value. Reduplication expresses a special kind of action, i.e. semantically incomplete or expresses an intense expression of a condition or action. Among reduplicated verbs the most common are compound verbs, the first component of which is formed from the verb stem with internal inflection and double consonants and, being of sound images in conjunction with the verb “say” and “do”, form a complex component. Semantic load falls on the first component, and the verbs “to say” and “to do” are purely grammatical function and serve to express predicative categories.

Examples of repeat cardinal numerals are few. Doubled numerals assume significance of multiplicity, as well as the form adverbs of manner.

Most reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms belong to the same category of words (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.). In Amharic reduplication is used to generate lexemes of another category.

### Таксисные конструкции в гуро Temporal Adverbial Clauses in Guro

В гуро таксисные конструкции (ТК) представлены, прежде всего, сложноподчиненными предложениями, где обе ситуации выражаются финитными клаузами. Есть и несколько типов ТК с нефинитными глагольными формами, но они значительно менее частотны.

В гуро не распространены специализированные глагольные формы, то есть такие, которые употреблялись бы только в зависимой части таксисных конструкций и выражали бы определенное таксисное значение. Большинство видо-временных конструкций свободно может употребляться и в независимых предложениях; в составе ТК они получают таксисное прочтение, часто выводимое из их аспектуальной семантики.

Прогрессивная конструкция передает значение одновременности (для процессов) и близкое к нему значение прерываемого следования, результативная – одновременности (для состояний), перфективная – значение предшествования. В составе некоторых ТК имперфективная конструкция также может выражать значение одновременности (для процессов), конкурируя в таких случаях с прогрессивной конструкцией. Такие употребления имперфективной конструкции выходят за круг значений, которые она выражает в независимых предложениях, и, вероятно, являются следом более раннего этапа эволюции ее значения.

Служебные слова, участвующие в формировании таксисных конструкций, делятся на две группы: союзы (*yē, dè, té*), которые всегда занимают позицию в начале клаузы, и операторы (*ǎwǎ, lǔ, tāǎ*), которые могут занимать различные позиции в клаузе. Порядок следования клауз в конструкциях с финитными формами почти всегда фиксированный. В конструкциях с *dè* и *ǎwǎ* зависимая клауза предшествует главной, в конструкциях с *tāǎ* следуют за ней. Союзы и оператор *ǎwǎ* являются неспециализированными средствами выражения таксисных значений. Они участвуют в формировании ТК в комбинации с различными глагольными конструкциями и операторами, но сами по себе не выражают конкретных таксисных значений и не определяют выбор глагольных форм, употребляемых в главной и зависимой частях ТК. В отличие от них операторы *lǔ* “в то время как” и *tāǎ* “пока” связаны соответственно

с выражением значений одновременности и прерывающегося следования. Служебные слова, участвующие в формировании ТК, помимо таксисного выражают также другие значения, такие как условие, причина, или указывают на прагматический статус клаузы.

In Guro (South Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo) typical temporal clauses are finite; there are several types of non-finite temporal clauses but they are much less frequent than finite ones. Verbal constructions in the main clause express the time reference and serve as a temporal anchor for the interpretation of the verbal constructions introduced in the temporal clause. There are no verbal constructions dedicated especially to temporal clauses, most of the verbal constructions are used in independent clauses as often as in the temporal clauses.

Type of temporal relation between the clauses is expressed by verbal constructions in the temporal clause, and it can be largely derived from their aspectual meaning. Progressive construction expresses simultaneity (for processes), resultative construction expresses simultaneity (for states), and perfective construction expresses anteriority. In certain types of temporal clauses imperfective construction can also express simultaneity for processes (i.e. it is interchangeable with the progressive construction). Normally imperfective construction does not have progressive meaning, and its use in the temporal clauses is probably due to traces of an earlier stage of grammaticalization.

Conjunctions used in temporal clauses do not define the temporal relations between two clauses. Apart from temporal meaning they can also express cause, condition or indicate informational structure.

**Кушнир Е.Л.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН**  
**ИСЛИ МГГУ им. М.А. Шолохова**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Elizaveta Kushnir  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
IMLR SMSUH  
Moscow, Russia

### **Пространственный дейксис в языке яурэ** **Spatial Deixis in Yaure**

Система пространственного дейксиса – это языковое распределение объектов относительно дейктического центра, которым обычно является говорящий. В разных языках мира представлены различные дейктические системы, обычно включающие в себя как минимум два (например, местоимения *этом* и *том* в русском или *this* и *that* в английском),

а в некоторых случаях и три элемента (например, *ovaj*, *taj* и *onaj* в сербохорватском).

Язык *яурэ* относится к южной группе семьи манде, на нем говорят ок. 25 тыс. человек в Кот-д'Ивуаре. В языках манде в целом системы пространственного дейксиса несколько более разветвленные, чем в европейских языках, однако на данный момент существует только одно полноценное описание этого аспекта, сделанное Е.В. Перехвальской для языка муан (см. [Перехвальская 2008]). В языке муан дейктическое пространство включает шесть элементов разных частей речи, и при выборе одного из них учитывается расстояние от говорящего и слушающего и наличие контакта с телом говорящего.

В *яурэ* система состоит из пяти элементов – *gvé*, *bé*, *bìé*, *lú* и *lá*, также принадлежащих к разным грамматическим классам. *gvé*, *bé*, *bìé* и *lú* являются наречиями и могут употребляться в качестве модификатора существительного только внутри относительного предложения, кроме того, первые три допускают опущение релятивизатора.

Указательная частица *lá* может сочетаться с *gvé*, *bé* и *bìé*. В связи с этим, а также в связи с возможностью употребления *gvé*, *bé* и *bìé* в позиции именного модификатора без релятивизатора, кажется целесообразным выделять эти три дейктических слова в особую группу внутри наречий, которую предлагается назвать демонстративами.

Что касается семантики, то при выборе демонстратива в *яурэ* учитываются следующие параметры:

- видимость объекта;
- расстояние предмета от говорящего и слушающего;
- показывает ли говорящий на предмет или нет.

Spatial deixis system is the system of arranging the objects in space according to the deictic center, which is usually the speaker. In languages of the world different kinds of such systems are represented, they often include two (such as English *this* and *that*) or, in some European languages such as Serbo-Croatian, three elements – *ovaj*, *taj* and *onaj*.

Yaure belongs to the Southern group of Mande language family and is spoken by 25 000 people in Côte d'Ivoire. In Mande languages deixis systems are usually very expanded, but a full description of such a system was only made for Mwan (see [Perekhval'skaya 2008]). In Mwan the deictic space includes 6 elements that belong to different parts of speech. The essential parameters for the choice of the demonstrative are: physical contact between the object and the speaker's body, distance from the speaker and from the hearer.

In Yaure the system consists of 5 elements – *gvé*, *bé*, *bìé*, *lú* and *lá* also belonging to different grammatical classes. *gvé*, *bé*, *bìé* and *lú* are

adverbs and can be used as a noun phrase modifiers only in a relative clause, although first three of them allow omitting the relativizer. Also, the demonstrative particle lá only combines with gvé, бέ and бiǰ̀. Taking into account these facts, we might consider distinguishing these adverbs into a separate group within the class of adverbs.

Regarding the semantics of these adverbs, we would mention that the following parameters are essential for choosing the right demonstrative:

- object visibility;
- distance between the object and both speaker and hearer;
- speaker pointing to the object or not.

**Луцков А.Д.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН**  
**Урб М.Р.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Anatoly Lutskov  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
Monica Urb  
IAAS Moscow State University  
Moscow, Russia

### **К вопросу о развитии функциональных стилей языка зулу** **The Problem of Development of Functional Styles in Zulu**

Изучение функциональных стилей любого письменного языка дает возможность произвести оценку степени его развития. Язык зулу является письменным более ста лет, и уже можно оценить его способность удовлетворять потребность коммуникации в той или иной сфере общественной жизни на определенном уровне.

Социально-коммуникативный анализ письменных текстов, а также фразеологизмы, стандартные обороты и разного рода клише дают представление о стилистических особенностях текста и специализированных, т.е. функциональных стилях языка. Именно в функционально-стилистических сферах проявляется наибольшая подвижность и словаря, и фразеологии.

Применительно к языку зулу, этот словарь должен обеспечивать письменное общение в специальных областях, где в течение долгих лет господствовал английский язык, и задача эта еще далека от своего разрешения. Терминологическая база языка зулу еще очень бедна и слабо отражает участие всей страны в научно-технической революции. К тому же зулу едва ли может претендовать на роль национального языка, оставаясь языком чисто региональным; он не может считаться официальным даже в провинции Ква-Зулу Натал. Но поскольку каждый язык



содержит в себе возможности максимального выполнения общественных функций, язык зулу должен стремиться к своей функциональной самостоятельности.

The study of functional styles in any written language makes it possible to evaluate the degree of its development. Zulu had become a written one more than a hundred years ago and proved convincingly enough its claim to satisfy the communicational demands in many spheres of social life on a certain level.

The social and communicative analyses of written texts as well as phraseological and standard turns of written speech with all kinds of clichés give an idea of stylistic features of a text and at the same time the specialized, that is functional styles of the language. Namely in the functional and stylistic spheres the language vocabulary tends to be the most mobile as much as its phraseology. This vocabulary must make possible to carry out written communication in specific fields where English has been dominating for many years and this task is far from being solved.

Zulu terminological capacity is still rather poor and does not correspond the participation of the whole country in scientific and technical revolution. Moreover Zulu can hardly claim to play the role of a national language, so far it is a purely regional one, and cannot be fully recognized as an official language even in the province Kwa-Zulu Natal. But so far as any language is capable to maximally fulfill its social functions, Zulu must be trying to attain its functional capability.

**Макеева Н.В.,  
Шлуинский А.Б.  
Институт языкознания РАН  
Москва, РФ  
Nadezda Makeeva  
Andrey Shluinsky  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
Moscow, Russia**

**Именные классы и согласование в языке акебу<sup>26</sup>  
Noun Classes and Class Agreement in Akebu**

В докладе будет рассмотрена система именной классификации в языке акебу семьи ква (группа кебу-анимере). Хотя, несмотря на то, что

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язык практически не описан, именно система именных классов и согласования по ним становилась предметом рассмотрения в работах [Wolf 1907; Storch & Koffi 2000; Amoua 2011], но материал, полученный нами в ходе полевой работы в деревне Джон (Того, префектура Акебу) в 2012 и в 2013 гг. позволяет существенно пересмотреть описание.

С точки зрения согласования, в акебу выделяются семь именных классов – назовем их по ударной форме (в упрощенной транскрипции) соответствующих им местоимений:  $\text{ɲʊ}$ ,  $\text{bə}$ ,  $\text{rə}$ ,  $\text{wə}$ ,  $\text{yə}$ ,  $\text{gə}$ ,  $\text{gbə}$ . Материал акебу адекватно вписывается в африканистическую традицию, относящую числовые формы существительных принадлежащими к разным классам: классы  $\text{bə}$ ,  $\text{yə}$  и  $\text{gbə}$  являются плюральными, но в каждом из них есть и существительные, обозначающие единичный объект. Согласованию в акебу подвергаются личные местоимения, различающие для каждого именного класса ударную, объектно-припредложную и посессивную серии, глагольные показатели-портманто, кумулятивно выражающие лицо, число и класс субъекта и модально-видо-временные значения, и числительные, имеющие префикс, зависящий от именного класса.

Морфологически именные классы оформляются, с одной стороны, префиксом существительного (часто нулевым), а с другой стороны, постпозитивным классным показателем. Классы  $\text{gə}$  и  $\text{gbə}$  различают морфологические подклассы в зависимости от префикса существительного, но эти подклассы не релевантны для согласования.

The paper presents the noun class system in Akebu, a Kebu-Animere Kwa language. Being an almost undescribed language, Akebu has been studied exactly in relation to its noun class system discussed in (Wolf 1907; Storch & Koffi 2000; Amoua 2011). However our field data collected in 2012 and in 2013 in the village of Djon (Togo, prefecture Akebu) leads us to a significant revision of the description.

Based on noun class agreement, Akebu has seven noun classes – we label them by the tonic form (in a simplified transcription) of the corresponding pronouns:  $\text{ɲʊ}$ ,  $\text{bə}$ ,  $\text{rə}$ ,  $\text{wə}$ ,  $\text{yə}$ ,  $\text{gə}$ ,  $\text{gbə}$ . Akebu data lead us to follow the tradition explored in African linguistic studies that assigns different noun classes to the number forms of nouns. The classes  $\text{bə}$ ,  $\text{yə}$  and  $\text{gbə}$  are plural classes, but each of them also contains nouns that express a single object.

The class agreement in Akebu involves, first, personal pronouns, that have tonic, objectal-adprepositional and possessive series different for each noun class, second, verbal portemanteau markers that express cumulatively person, number and class of the subject and tense-aspect-modality meanings, and, third, numerals that contain a prefix motivated by the noun class.

Morphologically nominal classification is expressed in Akebu, first, by a

prefix of the noun (frequently, a zero one) and, second, by a postposed class marker. The classes GƏ and GBƏ have morphological subclasses depending on the prefix of the noun, but these subclasses are not relevant for the class agreement.

**Минева К.С.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Kseniya Mineeva  
IAAS Moscow State University  
Russia

### **Именные фразеологизмы модели N-L-N / N-L-NP в языке хауса** **Noun-based Phraseological Units in Hausa (N-L-N/NP -structured)**

Фразеология является живой системой языка. Исторический процесс образования и употребления фразеологических единиц сопровождается изменениями в их лексической и грамматической структурах. Несмотря на то, что фразеологизмы отличаются большей устойчивостью в сохранении старых форм по сравнению с другими сочетаниями слов, они также подвержены влиянию живых процессов языка. Именно такие особенности поведения фразеологических единиц составляют основу их анализа.

Большинство именных фразеологизмов языка хауса имеют в качестве ядра имя существительное, причем количество таких единиц не ограничено и постоянно можно встретить новые фразеологические единицы данного типа, особенно в языке СМИ. Во многих фразеологизмах этой группы имя существительное выступает также и в качестве второго компонента. В этом случае структура ИФ выглядит как N-L-N, т.е. компоненты связаны друг с другом генитивной связкой. Как правило, используется краткая форма связки, родовая форма генитивной связки определяется родом и числом первого компонента. Можно привести следующие примеры фразеологизмов модели N-L-N:

ha'din kai (*сложение + голова*) = ha'din gwiwa (*сложение + колено*) – *единство*,

kisan kiyashi (*убийство + муравей*) – *геноцид*,

sojojin sunkuru (*солдаты + заросли*) – *партизаны*.

При этом существительные-компоненты ИФ могут быть как нарицательными, так и именами собственными. Однако фразеологизмы с участием имен собственных встречаются реже, их количество довольно ограничено, в СМИ и художественной литературе нами было обнаружено четыре выражения данного вида с участием имен собственных:

doƙin Allah (*лошадь + Аллах*) – *богомол*,

hodar Ibilis (*нудра + сатана*<sup>27</sup>) – *героин*,

'dan Adam (*сын + Адам*) – *человек*,

gatarin Gwari (*топор Гвари*) – *мастер на все руки*.

Существуют также случаи употребления полной формы генитивной связки, но такие случаи крайне редки:

ciniki na bayan gida (*торговля на заднем дворе*) – *торговля на черном рынке*.

Место второго компонента может занимать также группа существительного:

kunnen uwar shege (*ухо + мать + незаконнорожденный ребенок*) – *пренебрежение, невнимание*,

dan kunar ba'kin wake (*сын + сожжение + Бакин Ваке*<sup>28</sup>) – *террорист-смертник*,

gwamnatin ri'kon 'kwarya (*правительство + держание + калebas*) – *коалиционное правительство*.

ИФ языка хауса обладают свойством вариативности. К примеру, выражение sojojin sunkuru (*солдаты + заросли*) – *партизаны* употребляется в речи наравне с выражением 'yan sunkuru (*дети + заросли*). Отличительной чертой ИФ хауса является также и тот факт, что у одного выражения может быть два или более синонимов: sojojin sunkuru (*солдаты + заросли*) = 'yan sunkuru (*дети + заросли*) = 'yan sari ka noke (*дети + ужаль + ты + свернись*) – *партизаны*.

Изучение богатого фразеологического материала языка хауса в собственно лингвистическом, этнолингвистическом, социолингвистическом и психолингвистическом аспектах может проливать свет на некоторые вопросы истории становления и развития фразеологии других малоизученных языков, а также существенно влиять на пополнение фразеологического фонда современного литературного языка хауса.

A distinctive feature of Hausa is its expressiveness and figurativeness. As a result of this Hausa has always been considered to be a fruitful basis for studying idiomatic expressions, phraseological units and different kinds of lexical compounds. Another property of Hausa, which might be regarded by scholars as a very important one, is that all these types of expressions can easily be found in both printed and broadcasting forms of mass media which implies their significant role in modern language.

Noun-based phraseological units are represented in Hausa by a great variety of patterns. According to one of the major patterns these units have nouns or noun phrases as both members, which can be connected by a geni-

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<sup>27</sup> Ibilis – имя сатаны на хауса.

<sup>28</sup> Bakin Wake («Бакин Ваке») – герой хаусанского фольклора, пожертвовавший собой, чтобы спасти Кано от злобного сына эмира.

tive linker (“L”). If a unit has nouns as both members then its structure is N-L-N. The linker is realized in its short form as -r for feminine words ending in -a(a) and for masculine and plural referents and for feminine words not ending in -a(a). The choice of the linker is determined by the gender of the first noun. Examples of noun-based linked phraseological compounds with the N-L-N structure can be given as follows:

ha’din kai (*a joining + a head*) = ha’din gwiwa (*a joining + a knee*) – *unity/community*,

kisan kiyashi (*a killing + an ant*) – *genocide*,

sojojin sunkuru (*soldiers + undergrowth*) – *guerrilla force*.

In noun-based units the noun can be of different categories, it can be both a common and a proper noun. However the units which include a proper noun are not widely represented in modern language. So according to the results of our research only four of them were being found:

dokin Allah (*a horse + Allah*) – *mantis*,

hodar Ibilis (*powder + Satan*<sup>29</sup>) – *heroin*,

‘dan Adam (*a son + Adam*) – *human being*,

gatarin Gwari (*an axe + Gwari*) – *jack-of-all-trades*.

There are cases when the complete form of the linker is being used but these cases are quite rare. One of the most frequently used in mass media is:

ciniki na bayan gida (*trade + at the back of the house*) – *black market*.

As stated above, a noun phrase can also act as the second member of the unit, hence the structure is N-L-NP:

kunnen uwar shege (*an ear + a mother + a bastard*) – *neglect*,

dan kunar ba’kin wake (*a son + a scorching + Bakin Wake*<sup>30</sup>) – *suicide attacker*,

gwamnatin ri’kon ‘kwarya (*government + a holding + a calabash-basin*) – *coalition-government*.

A special feature of Hausa phraseological units is their wide variability. For example the expression sojojin sunkuru (*soldiers + undergrowth*) – *guerrilla force* has equal usages in speech to the expression ‘yan sunkuru (*children + undergrowth*). Furthermore, a unit can have two or more synonyms, e.g. sojojin sunkuru (*soldiers + undergrowth*) = ‘yan sunkuru (*children + undergrowth*) = ‘yan sari ka noke (*children + bite + you + draw back*) – *guerrilla force*.

The author believes that analysis of units’ types and structures in the field of phraseology is important not only for the theory of phraseology but also for the progress of the language science as a whole, as the lively

<sup>29</sup> Ibilis – the name of the Satan in Hausa.

<sup>30</sup> Bakin Wake – a folklore character who sacrificed his life to save Kano from the malicious son of the Emir.

developing language is one of the main bases for the linguistic research.

**Муравьев Н.А.**  
**МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Nikita Muraviev  
Moscow State University  
Russia

### **Синтаксис послелогов и предложно-послеложных конструкций в языке акебу**

#### **Syntax of Postpositions and Adpositional Constructions in Akebu**

Язык акебу, входящий в семью ква нигеро-конголезских языков, является малоизученным языком, распространенным на территории государства Того (50 тысяч носителей). В докладе будет обсуждаться проблема категориальной принадлежности некоторых служебных единиц, употребляющихся в постпозиции к зависимым. Материал собирался в ходе полевой работы в деревне Джон в октябре 2013 г.

Акебу имеет базовый порядок слов SVO и преимущественно предлоги, что соотносится с типологическим обобщением в [Greenberg 1963: 62], однако есть также некоторое количество послелогов и предложно-послеложных сочетаний. Особый интерес представляют собой конструкции с послелогом *kùtò* 'из-за', а также сочетаниями *māŋ*.. *rāārè* 'кроме', 'несмотря на' и *māŋ*/ *əkāŋ*... *kātə* 'как', поскольку, помимо именных зависимых и номинализации, данные элементы могут присоединять также финитные синтаксические зависимые. При этом *kùtò* и *māŋ*.. *rāārè* могут присоединять синтаксические зависимые (что...) или без него: тогда как *māŋ*/ *əkāŋ*... *kātə* допускают только синтаксические зависимые без *kə*, а в случае *māŋ*.. *rāārè* опущение *kə* всегда сопровождается опущением и первого элемента *māŋ*. Таким образом, *kùtò* является наиболее синтаксически автономным элементом, объединяющим в себе свойства послелога и постпозитивного союза (ср. схожее поведение адвербиализаторов в английском и хауса [Shachter, Shopen 2007: 50]). В свою очередь, *kātə* также объединяет в себе свойства послелога и постпозитивного союза, но не обладает автономностью, а используется только с препозитивными элементами *māŋ* и *əkāŋ*. Третья единица *rāārè* ведет себя наименее тривиальным образом, а именно автономно употребляется только в качестве постпозитивного союза, а в качестве послелога используется только в составе конструкции с препозитивным элементом *māŋ*, но наряду с именными зависимыми присоединяет и синтаксические с союзом *kə*.

Таким образом, послелоговые конструкции как периферия средств адвербиального подчинения в языке обнаруживают любопытные особенности, касающиеся употребления с синтаксическими зависимыми, образования составных конструкций с предлогами и совмещения синтаксических черт послелоговых и подчинительных союзов.

Akebu with 50000 speakers belongs to Kwa language family in West Africa and is spoken across some regions of Togo. The object of current study is the syntax and categorial identity of certain adpositional units. The data was collected in fieldwork in the village of Djon, October 2013.

Akebu has basic word order SVO and mostly prepositions which reflect typological tendencies [Greenberg 1963: 62]. However there is a small amount of postpositions and compound adpositional constructions consisting of prepositions and adpositions. Special attention was paid at constructions with *kùtò* 'because (of)', *māṅ*... *pāāpé* 'apart from' and *māṅ* / *ākāṅ*... *kāṭā*, 'like/as', 'as though' because these units can have not only nominal and nominalized sentential dependents, but also finite sentential dependents. As their dependent *kùtò* and *māṅ*... *pāāpé* can have finite clause either with or without a complementizer *kā* 'that' and by *māṅ* / *ākāṅ*... *kāṭā* the dependent clause has no complementizer. And in case of *māṅ*... *pāāpé* omission of *kā* is always accompanied by omission of the prepositional unit *māṅ*. Therefore *kùtò* proves to be an autonomous syntactic unit, which has the properties of both postpositions and postpositional conjunctions (cf. behaviour of prepositions in English and Hausa [Shachter, Shopen 2007: 50]). *Kāṭā* shows the same properties, but is used only with prepositional units and not with finite clauses. It has been argued that they possess some features related to their use with sentential dependents, formation of compound constructions with prepositions, and combined postpositional and conjunctive behaviour.

**Ноосим Наимасиа**  
**УниверситетMakerere, Уганда**  
Noosim Naimasia  
Makerere University

**Споры о статусе английского языка в постколониальный период**

## The Debate on English in the Postcolony

Доклад посвящен английскому языку в постколониальный период. Впервые обсуждение этой темы возникло в связи с национально-ориентированной системой взглядов, которая осудила агрессивное насаждение английского языка в колониальный период, законодательное подавление африканских языков и разрушительный эффект этих процессов для истории и эпистемии языков. Но многочисленность африканских языков составила трудность для создания гомогенной языковой ситуации, которая являлась целью националистов и их организаций. Вторая точка зрения, основанная по большей части на постструктуралистском понимании этого синкретизма и критическом отношении к многообразию губительных англоязычных заимствований, избегает аргумента о доминировании английского и продолжающемся насаждении его применения, которое оттесняет другие языки к приватному использованию.

Доклад постулирует, что так же, как и гомогенный национализм должен подвергаться критике за дискриминацию и несправедливость, так и политика синкретизма должна сталкиваться с обвинениями в редуктивизме. Более общим является утверждение, что изучение истории дебатов о роли английского языка открывает кладезь знаний о доколониальной эпохе и постколониальном настоящем.

The focus of this paper will be on the debate on English within the Postcolony. The first debate was founded around a nationalist framework that exposed the violent colonial imposition of English, its institutional silencing of African languages, and the detrimental effect it had on the history and episteme of those whose language it had dominated over. However, the multiplicity of African languages provided no easy solution for the preferable homogeneity that nationalism and its institutions thrive on. The charge of indigenous epistemic alienation posited by this argument is confronted by the adoption of Englishes, and other 'foreign' forms like *tan novel* in syncretic fashions that defy the complete subjugation proposed. The second debate, based mainly on a post-structuralist appreciation of this syncretism and a critical understanding of the multiplicity of subversive 'Englishes' evades the argument of the dominance of English and the continued violence of its application that relegates other languages to the private sphere.

I argue in this paper that, in the political economy of knowledge, English exists dialectically as that which gives voice through the literary text on the multiple political identities that inform the postcolonial subjects, but whose very foundation and possibilities for refashioning are only made possible through, in part at least, the violence of other languages. It proposes



that, just as a homogenous nationalism must be subject to critics on politics of inclusivity and injustice, so the politics of syncretisms must contend with charges of reductivism. The broader argument is that the genealogy of the debate on English provides an archaeology of knowledge that invokes the pre-English precolonial epoch, the colonial political reality around which its dominance was founded and the postcolonial present that contends with the multiplicities of its manifestation existing alongside a constantly redefined imagination for the possibility of the future.

**Ифеома Обуаси**  
**Университет Нигерии**  
**Ifeoma Obuasi**  
**University of Nigeria**

### **Исключительная роль языка в жизни общества: Нигерия** **Language as the Game of Exclusion: The Nigerian Example**

Центральное положение языка в жизни человека существовании определяет его социальность. Проблемы экономического, социального, политического и других форм развития, таким образом, не могут быть разрешены без обращению к каналу передачи информации. Это объясняется тем, что передача человеческих социальных ценностей и власти определяется языком. В каждом языке отражены ценности и традиции, которые являются частью существования носителей языка. Когда народ теряет традиции и ценности своего языка, он лишается этих ценностей, и тем самым неудачи экономики и развития их нации могут быть отнесены на счёт несоответствия высказываний с языковыми ценностями. В докладе выдвигается гипотеза, что упадок общества является следствием языковой ситуации. Нигерия, развивающаяся страна с большим внутривнутриполитическим и внешнеполитическим потенциалом, отражает разнообразие народностей и языков, и её политика склоняется к тому же. Следствием этого является разрушение традиций, которые нигерийские народы имели в своих различных языковых группах, что вызывает больше беспокойства об их этнолингвистических изоглоссах, чем об облике нации. Была проведена работа по описательному исследованию путём опроса и интервьюирования. Простая случайная выборка была использована для того, чтобы выделить три Области Местного Самоуправления из каждого штата юго-востока страны; при анализе были использованы процентное соотношение и среднее значение. Было выявлено, что порядка 80% респондентов считают, что коррупция процветает на почве богатых ресурсов Нигерии, потому что жители не оценивают степень важности языка, и поэтому развитие происходит медленнее.

The centrality of language in human existence defines the human sociality. The problems of economic, social, political and other forms of development can therefore not be resolved without recourse to the medium of world-hood realities. This is because the transmissions of human social values and control are determined by the competences and performances of language and its enabling capabilities. Every language has its forms with values and traditions that are naturally part of the being of the users. When people lose the traditions and values of their language they become devoid of such values, and as such the economic and developmental woes of their nation can be blamed on the mismatch of utterances with performances that are not based on any language values. This paper expresses the fact that corruption belongs to a human language game. Nigeria as a developing nation with great potentials in national and international states of affairs reveals a diversity of peoples and languages, and her politics tends towards same. The implication of this projects corrupt habits that Nigerian peoples in their different language groups naturally endear more to concerns of their ethno-linguistic isoglosses than the image of nationhood. The study made a descriptive survey research through the questionnaire and interview methods. A simple random sampling was used to select three Local Government Areas each from the five states of the South East and the percentage and mean were used in the analysis. It was revealed that about 80% of the respondents believe that corruption is feeding fat on the sweet resources of Nigeria because the citizens do not respect the power of language, as such development is retarded.

**Порхомовский В.Я., Шешин В.Г.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Viktor Porkhomovsky, Valery Sheshin  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
Moscow, Russia

**База данных и программа анализа терминов родства (KinShIP) в  
контексте африканской полевой лингвистики<sup>31</sup>**  
**Database and Computer Programme for Processing Kinship Terms and  
Systems (KinShIP) in the Context of African Field Linguistics**

В докладе будет представлена новая, существенно переработанная версия программы KinShIP, которая разрабатывается в рамках совместного с Д. Ибришимовым проекта ААКТС – Afroasiatic kinship terms and systems (см. Ибришимов, Порхомовский 2008; Ibriszimow, Porkhomovsky,

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<sup>31</sup> Доклад подготовлен по проекту № 14-04-00488 «Языковые контакты в Африке», находящемуся на экспертизе в РФНФ.

Sheshin 2009). Проект имеет целью сбор лексических материалов и типологический анализ систем и терминов родства в семито-хамитских (афразийских) языках. Эта программа и интегрированная в нее база данных предназначены для обработки, классификации и типологического анализа обширного массива лексики.

Семито-хамитские языки обнаруживают высокую степень разнообразия соответствующих систем терминов родства. В результате оказалось необходимым создать открытую систему кодов, которая позволяет включать в нее любые зафиксированные термины независимо от соответствующей системы терминов родства, т.е. присваивать им индивидуальные коды без внесения изменений в общую систему кодов, а также в интерактивные схемы. В программе также предусмотрена возможность автоматического учета пола Ego, что очень важно, поскольку некоторые термины родства не зависят от пола Ego, тогда как в других случаях пол Ego оказывается определяющим фактором.

Отмеченный выше открытый характер программы и базы данных KinShIP делает разработанную в рамках проекта систему кодировок, а также интерактивные схемы систем терминов родства оптимальным инструментом для сбора лексических данных и анализа систем терминов родства в африканских языках независимо от их генетической принадлежности и типологических характеристик.

New version of the KinShIP programme will be presented in the paper. This programme with the integrated database is developed within the framework of the joint project with D. Ibrizimow (cf. Ibrizimow, Porkhomovsky, Sheshin 2009; Ибришимов, Порхомовский 2008). Our project is aimed at collecting and processing Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) kinship terms to provide a basis for typological analysis of the respective kinship systems.

Hamito-Semitic languages are characterized by a high degree of diversity of respective kinship systems. That called to developing an open-ended coding system capable to integrate all theoretically possible kinship relations without changes in the coding system and interactive diagrams. Hence the coding system and interactive diagrams of the kinship systems are effective tools for initial field collection of kinship terms in African languages irrespective of their genetic affiliation and typological characteristics.

**Числительные банту в условиях языковых контактов**<sup>32</sup>  
**Bantu Numerals under Contact Conditions**

1. В языках банту отражены различные системы счета – четверичная, пятеричная, десятеричная, двенадцатеричная, двадцатеричная. Безусловно доминирующими являются 5-10-100 и 10-100 системы исчисления при достаточно редком использовании вигезимальной системы счета.

Языки банту располагают исконными количественными числительными от *одного* до *пяти* и *десять*, для которых реконструированы исходные праязыковые формы \*=*moi* ‘один’, \*=*bali*, =*bili* ‘два’, \*=*tatu* ‘три’, \*=*nai* ‘четыре,’ \*=*taano* ‘пять’, \*=*kumi* ‘десять’, сохранившиеся во всех языках банту с незначительными изменениями (не считая фонетических).

2. Бытующее в индоевропейской компаративистике мнение о том, что ни один класс слов, включая термины родства, не является столь устойчивым в сохранении исконных единиц, как числительные, вполне можно распространить на языки банту с тем лишь уточнением, что в современных банту в качестве исконных числительных предстают лишь перечисленные выше.

3. В отличие от немотивированных низших числительных от *одного* до *пяти* и *десять*, числительные *шесть*, *семь*, *восемь*, *девять* представлены в языках банту многочисленными разнообразными лексемами и до настоящего времени не подвергались реконструкции. Количественные числительные от *шести* до *девяти*:

– часто оказываются в языках банту мотивированными образованиями с очевидной внутренней формой;

– во многих языках являются заимствованиями из контактных автотонных небанту языков или из арабского языка (через посредство языка суахили, названия числительных в котором на 80% имеют арабское происхождение).

4. Для обозначения числительных высших разрядов языки банту часто используют английские заимствования.

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5. В качестве результатов языковых контактов в именах числительных языков банту можно обнаружить:

– структурные признаки, приобретенные ими в результате контактного развития бантуязычного населения в едином географическом пространстве с носителями небантуских языков;

– числительные лексемы, заимствованные из языка (или языков), с которым осуществляется контакт как прямой, так и опосредованный;

– изменения в морфологии числительных (в сторону упрощения, вплоть до полного разрушения).

Bantu counting covers core numeral systems such as base-4, base-4-24, base-12, base (-5)-104, base-20. But 5-10-100 systems predominate with occasional vigesimal counting. Roots for the numbers 1–5 and 10 have been reconstructed for proto-Bantu. The roots are underived and very widespread in the modern Bantu languages (but not universal). As to numbers 6–9, they are not reconstructed as there are very many different roots for them. They are often: 1) derived ones with obvious etymologies; or 2) borrowings from neighboring non-Bantu languages or the Arabic language (through Swahili).

The highest numerals can have an English origin.

Coexistence of a Bantu language with a non-Bantu neighbor or English official language may cause its numeral system to be restructured (to some degree).

**Старостин Г.С.  
РГГУ / РАНХиГС  
Москва, Р**

George Starostin  
Russian State University of Humanities / RANERPA  
Moscow, Russia

### **К проблеме формирования кхойской (центральнокойсанской)**

#### **семьи языков**

### **On the Issue of the Genesis of the Khoe (Central Khoisan) Language Family**

Несмотря на то, что в настоящее время гипотеза Дж. Гринберга, согласно которой все т.н. «щелчковые» языки Южной Африки объединяются в единую «койсанскую» макросемью, не находит поддержки у большинства койсанологов, вопрос о генетических и ареальных связях между отдельными семьями «щелчковых» языков остается сложным. Данные типологического, сравнительно-исторического и лексикостатистического анализа языкового материала довольно убедительно указывают на фундаментальный барьер между как минимум двумя таксона-

ми: «периферийно-койсанским» (жу-!кви-таа) и «центральнокойсанским» (кхой), к которому также близко примыкает вымерший язык квади и, с меньшей уверенностью, язык сандаве. Однако прояснение дальнейших связей между этими таксонами наталкивается на препятствие в виде необычной «многослойности» центральнокойсанской семьи, обнаруживающей как типологическое, так и генетическое сходство одновременно с несколькими, заведомо не родственными языковыми семьями.

В частности, в типологическом плане для языков кхой очевидны неслучайные пересечения как с «периферийно-койсанскими» (устройство фонологической системы, типовая структура морфемы и др.), так и с афразийскими языками (наличие категории рода; сложная система глагольного спряжения), а в генетическом – наличие даже в базисной морфемике параллелей одновременно и с периферийно-койсанскими, и с афразийскими, и с нигер-конголезскими языками. Помимо этого, на эту весьма необычную лингвистическую картину накладывается и нетривиальность этно-лингвистических корреляций, так как на языках двух основных ветвей кхойской семьи разговаривают народности, очень сильно отличающиеся друг от друга в антропологическом и социокультурном отношении («готтентоты»-кхойкхой и «бушмены» калахари-кхойской ветви).

В свете всех этих обстоятельств основная гипотеза доклада сводится к тому, что язык пракхой-квади, скорее всего, сформировался в результате сложных процессов социального взаимодействия, имевших место между автохтонным бушменским населением Южной Африки и изначально «некойсаноязычными» племенами, мигрировавшими в прибрежные районы Югозападной Африки не позднее III тыс. до н. э., и мог изначально функционировать как своеобразное межплеменное «койнэ», сложившееся на основе местных диалектов, но с инкорпорацией в него ряда структурных характеристик и значительного слоя лексики «пришлых» языков. Основная задача исторического изучения кхойских языков тем самым определяется как разграничение «исконно бушменского» и «центрально-африканского» наследия в их грамматике и лексике.

Despite the fact that the hypothesis, originally put forward by J. Greenberg, according to which all the so-called “click languages” of Southern Africa belong to the same “Khoisan” macrofamily, finds little support among today's Khoisanologists, the issue of genetic and areal connections between the various “click language” families remains a complex one. Typological, comparative-historical, and lexicostatistical analysis of the data all seem to point to a fundamental barrier between at

least two taxa: “Peripheral Khoisan” (Ju-!Kwi-Taa) and “Central Khoisan” (Khoe), the latter to be further related to the extinct Kwadi and, with less certainty, to Sandawe. However, clarification of further connections between these taxa is hindered by the odd “layered” character of the Central Khoisan family, which shows both typological and genetic similarity to several definitely unrelated language families at once.

In particular, Khoe languages share important, unlikely to be accidental, typological traits both with “Peripheral Khoisan” (general structure of the phonological system; typical morphemic structure, etc.) and Afro-Asiatic languages (category of grammatical gender; complex system of verbal inflection); from a genetic point of view, it is curious that parallels may be drawn between some of their basic morphemes and Peripheral Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, and Niger-Congo languages at the same time. Furthermore, this unusual linguistic situation is further encumbered with non-trivial ethno-linguistic correlations, since the two main branches of Khoe are spoken by populations that differ quite significantly as to their anthropological and sociocultural status (the Khoekhoe and the Kalahari Khoe Bushmen).

In the light of all these observations, we put forward the hypothesis that the Proto-Khoe-Kwadi language must have been formed in the process of complex social interaction that took place between the autochthonous Bushman peoples of South Africa and certain originally “non-Khoisan-speaking” tribes that had migrated to the coastal regions of Southwest Africa not later than the 3rd millennium BC, and that its original function was that of an intertribal “koiné”. Although the basis for Proto-Khoe-Kwadi was provided by local dialects, it also managed to incorporate certain structural characteristics and a significant layer of lexicon from “incoming” languages. Consequently, the main challenge for future diachronic study of Khoe languages will be to learn to properly demarcate the “original Bushman” and the “Central African” layers in their grammar and lexicon.

**Суетина Ю.Г.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Julia Suetina  
IAAS, Moscow State University  
Russia

**Типология именных фразеологических единиц с глагольным  
компонентом в хауса**

**Types of Nominal Phraseological Units with Verb Component in Hausa**

Под именными фразеологическими единицами (ФЕ) мы понимаем такие фразеологизмы, которые в предложении занимают ту позицию, которое обычно может занимать имя, – позицию субъекта или объекта.

В языке хауса довольно много именных ФЕ, в состав которых входит глагольный компонент, т.е. глагол в какой-либо временной форме или глагольная группа. Представляется возможным выделить следующие типы таких ФЕ:

1. В составе ФЕ два глагола, и оба стоят в форме императива 2. л. ед. ч.:

‘Dan sari ka noke (досл. *сын ужаль ты свернись*) – партизан, bi ta da kallo (досл. *сведи за ней взглядом*) – вид женской одежды, ba-ta-kashi (досл. *нанеси ей поражение*) – схватка.

2. В составе ФЕ два глагола, но первый стоит в императиве, а второй в форме *su*:

Fito-mu-gama (досл. *выходи сюда-мы-закончим*) – схватка, столкновение. В подобных ФЕ первый глагол стоит в форме императива, на что указывает отсутствие приглагольного местоимения, а второй глагол – в форме *su*, но с другим подлежащим. Поэтому такой глагол вместе с оформляющим его приглагольным местоимением может трактоваться как бессоюзное придаточное предложение цели: (*ты*) *выходи (чтобы) мы покончить*.

3. Во ФЕ оба глагола стоят в форме *sun*:

Ka-se-na-se (досл. *ты сказал я сказал*) – пререкания, проволочки.

Из этих трех групп первая и вторая более многочисленны, чем третья. При этом некоторые ФЕ могут иметь синонимы, которые также являются фразеологизмами:

Fito-mu-gama = fito-in-fito (досл. *выходи сюда, чтобы я вышел сюда*) – схватка, столкновение, ka-se-na-se = ja-in-ja (досл. *тяни чтобы я тянул*) – пререкания, проволочки.

Nominal phraseological units (PhU) are interpreted as fixed phrases which take the position in the sentence usually taken by a noun – a subject or an object.

In the Hausa language there is a lot of nominal PhU comprising a verb component, i.e. a verb in a certain tense form or a verb group. The following types of such PhU may be distinguished.

1. PhU comprising two verbs in the form of imperative singular second person: ‘Dan sari ka noke (verbatim: *son, bite and roll up*) – partisan, bi ta da kallo (verbatim: *follow her with your eyes*) – a kind of feminine attire, ba-ta-kashi (verbatim: *defeat her*) – combat.

2. PhU comprises two verbs, but the first one is in the imperative form while the second one is in *su* form:

Fito-mu-gama (verbatim: *come here, we would get it done with*) – combat, clash. In such PhU the first verb is in the imperative form which is attested by the absence of adverbial pronoun, while the second verb is in *su*



form but with a different subject. Therefore, such verb, together with its adverbial pronoun may be interpreted as a conjunctionless subordinate clause of purpose: *(you) come here (so that) we would get it done with.*

3. Both verbs in PhU are in *sun* form:

Ka-ce-na-ce (verbatim: *you said ~ I said*) – *squabble, heel dragging.*

Out of these three groups the first two are more abundant than the first one. In addition, some of PhU may have synonyms which are also set phrases:

Fito-mu-gama = fito-in-fito (verbatim: *come over here for me to come over*) – *combat, clash, ka-ce-na-ce = ja-in-ja* (verbatim: *pull for me to pull*) – *squabble, heel dragging.*

**Алессандро Судзи Вали**  
**Университет Неаполя**  
**Италия**  
Alessandro Suzzi Valli  
University of Naples  
Italy

**Что сделала лингвистика и что могут сделать лингвисты для  
«культурной идентичности» в Африке**  
**What Linguistics Did and What Linguistics May Do for ‘Culture  
Identity’ in Africa**

История знает, особенно в Африке, несколько попыток установить отношения, которые были бы культурно релевантны для разных наций и культур с великими традициями и которые могли бы объяснить этническую (и расовую) индивидуальность. Эта идея выражается и в отношении языков, которые часто представляют уникальную документированную связь между двумя культурами. В докладе детально рассматривается теория Шейха Анта Диопа и его «Дакарской школы», созданная в шестидесятых годах прошлого века, продолженная в последующем десятилетии и касающаяся идентификации западноафриканских современных культур (в частности, волоф) с древним Египтом. Помимо разнообразных документов, представленных этой группой ученых для подтверждения этой связи, важным доказательством были лингвистические данные.

Хотя попытка Диопа и его последователей была подвергнута критике со стороны многих ученых, она, без сомнения, представляет собой шаг к новой концепции компаративистики, который, несмотря на фундаментально разные перспективы с точки зрения позиции начала анализа, то есть, ареальный подход вместо традиционного исследования лингвистических фактов, в настоящее время привел к ряду исследова-

ний экстрагенетических отношений между языками Западной и Центральной Африки.

В результате глубокого анализа методологии, использованной Диопом и его последователями, будет представлен результат, достигнутый современными лингвистами-историками в этом направлении, и данные о том, насколько, согласно наиболее современным работам на эту тему, древнеегипетское начало существует в африканском / афроазиатском контексте.

Several attempts have been made in history, especially in Africa, to establish relations culturally relevant to distant nations and cultures of recognized greater tradition, to which possibly justify ethnic (and racial) identification. This idea may be expressed through languages, which often represent the unique documented nexus between two cultures, in order to pursue such task. The case-study in this paper is specifically the theory of Cheikh Anta Diop and his 'Dakar school', made up in the sixties of last century and continued in the successive decade, as regards the identification of West African modern cultures (in particular Wolof) with that of Pharaonic Egypt. Beside various kinds of documentation presented by that group of intellectuals in order to validate the connection, linguistic data was the primary evidence.

Although criticized by several scholars, the attempt of Diop and followers undoubtedly represented a step into a new concept of comparative studies in linguistics which resulted, in more recent times (considering, nevertheless, a fundamental different perspective as the starting point of modern analysis, i.e. areal instead of hereditary approach in the examination of linguistic facts) in a number of inquiries investigating extra-genetic relations among languages of West and Central Africa.

After a deep analysis of the methodology applied by Diop and his supporters, will follow an account of what modern studies of historical-linguistics has nowadays achieved in this respect and, therefore, how Ancient Egyptian finds its position within the African/Afroasiatic framework according to the most up-dated works on the subject.

Топорова И.Н.  
Институт языкознания РАН  
Москва, РФ  
Irina Toporova  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
Moscow, Russia

Еще раз о происхождении языка лингала<sup>33</sup>  
**Once More on the Origin of Lingala**

Предметом настоящего сообщения является вопрос о происхождении языка лингала, языка лингва-франка, возникшего в конце XIX века, распространенного на территории практически всей центральной Африки и используемого населением более 12 млн человек. На протяжении более столетия лингала привлекал внимание ученых-исследователей, однако до сих пор остается ряд вопросов, связанных, в частности, с происхождением языка. Существует несколько точек зрения на этот счет. Все они сходятся в том, что в основе лингала лежит один или несколько прибрежных языков, распространенных на смежных территориях ДРК и РК.

Согласно одной из версий, в основе лингала лежит язык *болоки* (boloki) [Stapleton 1903]. В. Стаплтон даже называл язык болоки *нгала* (ngala) и считал, что болоки ближе к лингала, чем к *бобанги*, который часто рассматривается как его основа.

Согласно другой точке зрения, основой для создания *лингала* послужил язык *бобанги* (bobangi, lobangi, kibangi, kiyanzi). [Meeuwiss 2001: 327–421] в работе, посвященной анализу первой грамматики лингала Е. Бока [Voesck 1904], говорит о важной роли ученого в истории и описании языка лингала, по мнению которого язык лингала возник путем пиджинизации *бобанги*, языка, распространенного между устьем реки Ква и деревней Иребу.

Достаточно распространенной является версия, согласно которой в основе лингала лежит язык *ибоко* (iboko) или, по крайней мере, имеется в виду участие ибоко в формировании лингала. Во всяком случае, такая точка зрения в той или иной степени разделяется рядом исследователей-африканистов.

Нельзя также игнорировать имеющий место фактор «лингвистического планирования» языка учеными с целью некоторого корректирования и «улучшения» для использования его в качестве языка общения, о чем еще в начале 20 в. писал Е. Бок [Voesck 1904].

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Не желая идти путем спекуляции относительно определения конкретного источника происхождения *лингала* (задача, до сих пор являющаяся, видимо, трудно разрешимой в свете перечисленных выше обязательств), тем не менее, представляется весьма полезным и не лишним провести сопоставительный анализ языка *лингала* с рядом упомянутых языков, с которыми *лингала* находился в тесном контакте. В зависимости от имеющихся скудных данных о языках и диалектах объектом исследования могут быть различные языковые уровни – фонетика, морфология, лексика и т.д. Привлечение к исследованию насколько возможно большего количества языков и материалов по ним а priori увеличивает шанс получения более надежных результатов.

The object of this paper is the origin of Lingala, the lingua franca spoken in the two Congo Republics by the population of 12 millions.

Africanists consider some languages as the origin or basis of Lingala, for instance Boloki (Stapleton, Motingea), Bobangi (Hulstaert, Samarin), Mabale (Boeck), Ibinza and Iboko (Boeck). Boloki has been called “Ngala” by Stapleton. One can indeed note that the Boloki language is closer to Lingala, the commercial language of the Congo River, than to the Bobangi (Whitehead), which has often been considered as its basis. But the discussion on the origin of Lingala remains pure speculation as long as systematic comparative analysis does not put in address the analogies and the characteristic divergences between Lingala and its supposed “mother languages”.

In the case of Lingala we note a remarkable case of colonial linguistic intervention. In the history and development of the Lingala language we also see the process of linguistic planning “from above”.

**Самсон Доджи Фенуку**  
**Институт русского языка им. А.С.Пушкина;**  
**Шлуинский А.Б.**  
**Институт языкознания РАН,**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Samson D. Fenuku  
Institute of Russian Language RAS  
Andrey Shluinsky  
Institute of Linguistics RAS  
Moscow, Russia

**Глагол «брать» как объектный маркер в языке эве<sup>34</sup>**  
**“Take” as an Object Marker in Ewe**

Сериальные глагольные конструкции с глаголом “брать”, который используется как маркер прямого объекта, хорошо известны как характерная черта многих языков Западной Африки и языков ква в частности. Первым глаголом в такой сериальной конструкции является частично грамматикализованный глагол «брать», вводящий прямой объект, а за ним следует смысловой глагол, выражающий собственно ситуацию, о которой идет речь.

В целом при сопоставлении языков ква обнаруживаются существенные различия в том, какие валентностные и ролевые классы смысловых глаголов допускают употребление таких конструкций, а также сильные тенденции в отношении того, какие смысловые глаголы в большей степени предрасположены к употреблению в них [Шлуинский 2013]. В то же время детальное изучение соответствующей сочетаемости глагольной лексики проведено лишь на материале единичных языков. В частности, вовлечение разных классов смысловых глаголов в объектные конструкции с глаголом «брать» детально изучено в языках фон [da Cruz 1992; Lambert-Brétière 2005] и ген [Lewis 1992] группы гбе; если в фон в объектной конструкции с глаголом «брать» возможны только контролируемые глаголы, то в языке ген в ней допустим любой переходный глагол.

В докладе представлены результаты систематического тестирования глагольной лексики языка эве, близкородственного фон и ген, на возможность употребления в объектных сериальных конструкциях с глаголом «брать».

Serial verb constructions with the verb take that is used as a marker of the direct object are a well-known feature of West African languages, in

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particular Kwa. The first verb in such a serial verb construction is the verb “take” that is used to introduce the direct object; the lexical verb that is used to express the event itself follows.

Generally, an intragenetic comparison of Kwa reveals significant differences between languages concerning valency and role classes of the lexical verbs that can be used in the “take constructions”; on the other hand, there are strong tendencies that predispose some groups of the lexical verbs to be used there (Šluinskij 2013). At the same time only a few languages have been studied in detail regarding the grammaticality of the specific groups of lexical verbs in the “take” constructions. In particular, objectal ‘take’ constructions have been examined throughout the verbal lexicon in two Gbe languages – Fon (da Cruz 1992; Lambert-Brétière 2005) and Gen (Lewis 1992). In Fon only controlled verbs are grammatical in the “take” construction, while in Gen any transitive verb is possible there.

In our talk we present the results of a systematic testing of Ewe (that is close both to Fon and Gen) verbal lexicon on the grammaticality in objectal “take” serial verb constructions.

**Фомина З.Е.**  
**Воронежский государственный**  
**архитектурно-строительный университет**  
**РФ**  
Zinaida Fomina  
Voronezh State Architectural  
Construction University  
Russia

**Африка в России и Россия в Африке (на примере русской и африканской художественной литературы и поэзии)**

**Africa in Russia and Russia in Africa**  
**(based on Russian and the African fiction and poetry)**

Африка, особенно южнее Сахары, как подчеркивают В.А. Виноградов и В.Я. Порхо́мовский, говорит на великом множестве языков. В Африке насчитывается более 800 различных языков. «Сколько-нибудь существенные сведения об африканских языках, особенно распространенных в Южной Африке, стали доступны лишь в XIX в., когда европейцы проникли в глубь континента» (В.А. Виноградов и В.Я. Порхо́мовский 1986).

Говоря о проникновении *европейцев* в Африку, нам представляется важным вопрос о том, как и когда в Африке появились первые поселенцы из России и в какой степени взаимовлияние и взаимодействие Африки и России получило отражение в *русской и африканской художе-*

ственной литературе и поэзии? Небезынтересно установить, какие культурные и языковые закономерности прослеживаются при этом в аспекте диахронии?

Большое внимание в докладе будет уделено рассмотрению вопроса о *русской литературе в Южной Африке и южноафриканской литературе в России*. Актуальными для раскрытия вышеуказанной проблематики являются следующие ключевые вопросы: «Как узнавали друг друга страны, расположенные в разных полушариях, – Россия и Южная Африка? Какими путями шли? Как взаимные представления менялись на протяжении трех веков?» (А. Давидсон, И. Филатова 2010). Поставленные вопросы в нашем докладе будут рассматриваться сквозь призму литературного дискурса в Африке и России.

Отдельное место отводится проблематике, связанной с отражением *Африки в литературных лирических произведениях А.С. Пушкина*.

Следующий комплекс вопросов коррелирует с *темой Африки в русской детской литературе и поэзии* (на примере произведений *Корнея Чуковского и других русских авторов*). Особое внимание будет уделено при этом африканской *топонимике, антропонимике, фитонимике и зоонимике* как средствам формирования представления об африканской картине мира.

Одно из важных направлений доклада составит круг вопросов, касающихся *русского языка и африканских языков* в российском и африканском образовательном пространстве (на примере *африканс и зулу, суахили и хауса, амхарского и малагасийского*).

As noted by V.A. Vinogradov and V.Y. Porhomovsky, a great number of languages, over eight hundred, to be exact, are spoken in Africa, especially the region to the South of Sahara. “It was only in the XIX century when Europeans reached inner regions of the continent, that data of any significance that related to African languages, especially those that were common in South Africa that had any significance became available” [Vinogradov, Porhomovskiy: 1986].

When referring to *Europeans* entering Africa, the questions that are of importance to us are the questions of how and when Africa saw the first settlers from Russia and to what degree mutual influence and interaction between Africa and Russia are reflected in *Russian and African literature and poetry*. It would be interesting to establish which cultural and linguistic common patterns can be seen in the aspect of diachrony.

The paper will pay special attention to the issue of Russian literature in South Africa and South African literature in literary realm of Russia. In the context of the objective stated above the following key questions are relevant: How did two countries that are located in different hemispheres,

Russia and South Africa, get to know each other? What paths were they on? How did their perceptions of each other change over the course of three centuries? (A. Davidson, E. Filatova: 2010). The issues that we raise in our paper will be researched through the prism of literary discourse in Africa and Russia.

Special attention is given to the issue of how Africa was reflected in *Alexander Pushkin's literary lyrical works*.

Another group of questions correlates to the *theme of Africa in Russian children's literature and poetry* (the subject of our research in this context are the works of *Korney Chukovsky and other Russian authors*). Special attention will be given to the African toponomy, anthroponomy, phytonomy and zoonomy as aspects that shape the African perception of the world.

One of the most important aspects of our research is the group of issues that concern *Russian and African languages in Russian and African educational realm* (using *Afrikaans and Zulu, Swahili and Hausa, Amharic and Malagasy* as research subjects).

**Хабиров В.П.**  
**Уральский государственный**  
**педагогический университет**  
**Екатеринбург, РФ**  
Valeri Khabirov  
Ural State Pedagogical University  
Russia

### **Формирование национальной и языковой идентичности в странах Центральной Африки**

#### **National and Language Identity in the Countries of Central Africa**

В современных африканских государствах национальная идентичность в большой степени зависит от этнической идентичности, сущностью которой является принадлежность к определенному этносу, к его культуре и языку. Этнос исторически первичен по отношению к нации. Анализируя национальную идентичность с помощью текстов учебников на африканских языках в бывшем Бельгийском Конго, О. Винк [Винк 1999: 147] определил, что представленная там идея государства однозначно совпадает с унитарной централизованной моделью государства, созданной Французской революцией. Это было мощным инструментом для создания новой идентичности в рамках определенных границ. Во время правления Мобуту в ДРК была выдвинута доктрина «аутентичного национализма» или конголезского национализма (la songolite). Легитимизации этой доктрины в рамках широкого многоязычия (800 языков или диалектов) способствовало продвижение всех



четырёх национальных языков – лингала, киконго, кисвахили и чилуба в некоторых сферах общественной жизни. По сведениям Бокамба (1976), даже необразованные конголезцы на вопрос «Какой вы национальности?» редко отождествляли себя со своей этно-языковой группой. Ситуация с конголезской национальной и языковой идентичностью резко не изменилась, несмотря на кисвахилизацию и языковой сдвиг из-за изменения политической ситуации в стране. В Конго-Браззавиль в доколониальный период ситуация была похожа на ситуацию в Бельгийском Конго. Существовало противопоставление севера и юга. Президент НРК (сейчас РК) Мариан Нгуаби в 1991 г., когда в стране процветали трибализм и регионализм, на Национальной конференции говорил, что нужно развивать национальные языки, и когда конголезцы получат образование, у них разовьётся национальное сознание и они будут готовы стать нацией. После его правления мало что изменилось, как можно судить по появлению 3-х конголизмов: кюветизация, мбошизация и ойократия. В отличие от прежних времен, когда предпочтение отдавалось языку лингала, два языка межэтнического общения получили статус национальных – лингала (язык северян) и мунукутуба (язык южан). По проведенным тогда нами обследованиям, предпочтение молодежи отдавалось языку лингала. Сценарий дальнейшего взаимоотношения между национальной идентичностью и языком можно видеть на примере санго – единственного носителя центрально-африканской идентичности, новой нации, по мнению жителей ЦАР.

In African states of today national identity to a great degree depends on ethnic identity whose essence lies in belonging to a definite ethnic group, its culture and language. Historically ethnos is primary to nation. O. Vink analyzing national identity in Belgium Congo with the help of text-books in African languages defined that the idea of State in those text-books coincided with the centralized model of State created by the French Revolution. It was a powerful instrument to create a new identity within definite boundaries. In the DRC during the rule of Mobutu a doctrine “authentic nationalism” or Congolese nationalism (*la congolite*) was put forward. Legitimizing this doctrine in the situation of wide multilingualism (800 languages and dialects) contributed to promoting all the four national languages Lingala, Kikongo, Kiswahili and Chiluba in some domains of public life. According to E.G. Bokamba (1976) even uneducated people when asked about their nationality would not associate themselves with their ethno-linguistic group. Later the situation in DRC did not change much in spite of kiswahilization and some cases of language shift due to the change in the political situation in the country. Speaking about Congo-Brazzaville during colonization the situation there resembled that of DRC. After the end of colonization there was an

opposition of the North and the South. President Marian Nguabi speaking at the National Conference in 1991 when tribalism and regionalism flourished in the country used to say that it was necessary to develop national languages. He said that when Congolese people became educated they would develop national consciousness and become a nation. Little changed after him judging by the appearance of three congolisms: cuvetsation, mboshisation and oyocracy. As distinct from the time when the northerners were in power and Lingala was promoted two languages received the status of national-interethnic (nationaux-vehiculare): Lingala and Munukutuba – the language of the people from the South of the country. Nevertheless, according to our sociolinguistic survey Lingala was the language preferred by the youth. The scenario of further relations between national identity and language may be seen from the case of Sango – the only vehicle of central African identity or as people in CAR say – a vehicle of a new nation.

**Мухамед Хаджи Мухтар**  
**Университет Саванны**  
**Джорджия, США**  
Mohamed Haji Mukhtar  
Savannah State University  
USA

### **Многоязычие в Сомали** **Multilingual Somalia: Ploy or Pragmatic**

Население Сомали использует значительное количество языков; лингва-франка большинства являются сомалийский язык и диалект май. Все языки Сомали были бесписьменными до 1972 г., когда была принята письменность сомалийского языка на базе латиницы, и таким образом он стал единственным официальным языком страны. Этот эксперимент отодвинул остальные языки Сомали на второй план и вызвал недовольство, особенно среди носителей диалекта май. В 1976 г. последовала реакция последних – образование литературной ассоциации, которая называлась яль, «хранитель языка». К 1980 г. многие члены яль преследовались и задерживались, а несколько бежали из страны. Диаспора яль стала источником разнообразных форм письменности май. Один из вариантов был представлен на Первой Ассоциации Наук Междуречья (ISA), которая была проведена в Торонто в 1994 г.

В докладе предлагается обсуждение принятой письменности май, которая известна как алиф-май, и опирается на историческую основу диалекта май и родственных этому языку диалектов. Далее я продемонстрирую литературу из наследия май, ранее исключенную из литературного наследия Сомали по политическим причинам.

Наконец, я продемонстрирую, что научное сообщество Сомали не учло, что навязывание единого языка многоязычному обществу может грозить культурным и социальным угнетением, вносящим разобщение Сомали. Сейчас, когда и сомалийский язык, и диалект май признаны двумя официальными языками нации (см. Переходную федеральную Хартию, принятую в Мбегати, Кения, в 2003 г., а также текущий проект Конституции будущего Сомали, 2012), народ Сомали должен быть горд и доволен тем, что получил разнообразие. Возможно, в конце концов, однобокий взгляд сторонников одноязычного государства сменится подходом, обеспечивающим равноправие.

Somali people speak quite a number of languages, *Af-Maay* and *Af-Maxaa* being the lingua franca of the majority. None of Somali languages were written until 1972. However, in 1972 a Latin-based *Maxaa* script was adopted, thus, *Af-Maxaa* became the only official language of the country. This experiment alienated the other Somali languages and produced tremendous disenchantment, particularly on the part of *Af-Maay* speakers. In 1976 the first reaction of the later was to form a literary association called *Af-Yaal*, language keeper. By 1980 many members of *Af-Yaal* were persecuted or detained and a few fled to the outside world. It was from the diaspora *Af-Yaals* that various forms of *Maay* scripts developed. One of those scripts was presented to the First Inter-Riverine Studies Association (ISA), which was held in Toronto 1994.

In this presentation, I will discuss the adopted *Maay* Script which is known as *Alif-Maay*, focusing on the historical background of *Af-Maay* and dialects related. Furthermore, I will explore and attempt to recover literature from the *Af-Maay* heritage previously excluded for political reasons from the Somali literary canon.

Finally, I will demonstrate on how Somali scholarship so far failed to note that the imposition of mono-lingualism on a multi-linguistic people was a form of cultural and social oppression that contributed to the disunity of Somalia, which again contributed to the continued collapse of the Somali state. Now that both *Af-Maay* and *Af-Maxaa* are acknowledged as two official languages of the nation (see Transitional federal Charter adopted at Mbegathi, Kenya in 2003, and also the current Draft Constitution of future Somalia 2012), Somali people should enjoy and be proud of having this beauty in diversity. And perhaps, at last, the arrogance and single-mindedness of monolingual empire builders will be condemned and cast aside, making space for a new and truly egalitarian Somali polity.

Чупрыгина Л.А.  
НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ  
Larisa Chuprygina  
National Research University  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Эволюция арабского языка – от Махмуда Теймура  
до Мухаммада аль-Маатука**

**Evolution of Arabic: from Mahmud Teimur to Muhammad Al-Maatuk**

Применительно к современному этапу развития общества, характеризующемуся процессами ускорения взаимодействия и интернационализации культур, можно говорить о новом этапе в развитии арабского языка. В докладе анализируются изменения, фиксируемые в арабском языке в эпоху формирования так называемой «киберкультуры» или «культуры киберпространства» (согласно определению киберкультуры, предложенному Ярославом Омом, «киберкультура – это новое направление развития общества, непосредственно связанное с появлением, развитием и проникновением в социальную и культурную жизнь достижений информационных технологий»). Очевидно, что киберкультура – явление глобальное, свободным от влияния которого не мог остаться ни один из развитых языков, в том числе и арабский, и в эпоху до возникновения интернета являвший собой уникальный объект лингвистики: языковая ситуация в арабских странах описывалась как диглоссия моногенетических идиомов различных типов – литературного языка, характеризующегося синтетизмом, и разговорно-диалектных систем с их ярко выраженным аналитизмом.

Уже в 50-е годы прошлого столетия известный египетский писатель и член Академии арабского языка Махмуд Теймур в книге «Вопросы арабского языка» указывал на общественную значимость обсуждения взаимодействия и сосуществования арабского литературного языка (لغة كتابية) и арабского разговорно-диалектного языка (لغة كلام) на примере Египта и определения перспектив развития языковой ситуации в арабоязычных обществах. За прошедшие годы ситуация диглоссии (не только в Египте, но и в других арабских странах) все в большей степени осознается как культурологическая проблема, отмечается дальнейшая языковая диверсификация. Египетский языковед Ас – Саид Бадави выделяет – в зависимости от коммуникативной ситуации и уровня образованности ее участников – уже пять страт языка: فصحي التراث [fuṣḥā at-turāth] – Classical Arabic, классический арабский язык, فصحي العصر [fuṣḥā al-'aṣr] – Modern Standard Arabic, современный арабский язык, عامية

اللغة العامية المتعلمة، "Vernacular of the Cultured, язык образованной части населения", "اللغة العامية غير المتعلمة، "Vernacular of the illiterates, язык неграмотной части населения. И если такая классификация представляется чрезмерно дробной, то с уверенностью можно констатировать, что в эпоху культурной глобализации, развития и формирования специфической среды интернационального общения – блогосферы языковая ситуация в арабоязычном регионе претерпевает значительные структурные изменения. На обсуждение выносится тезис о том, что в настоящее время в связи с развитием интернета и, особенно, блогосферы, формируется самостоятельный компонент системы арабского языка («получивший условное название of "lughat ustad" хаммада аль-Маатюка» терминологии ливанского исследователя Му

Current stage of societal development characterized by growth of cultural internationalization has inspired an outlook on the new level of development of Arabic. The paper analyses changes in Arabic as influenced by “cyberculture”, which being a global phenomenon has been and is infiltrating all languages. In case of Arabic, which even before the age of Internet has been a unique object of research with its trove of diglossia monogenetic idioms of synthetic Standard to analytical Dialects, the influence is quite spectacular.

As far as the 50s of the last century Mahmud Teimur in his work “Issues of Arabic Language” stressed the importance of discussions pertaining the interaction between “Written Arabic” and “Spoken Arabic”, the case of Egypt, in order to forecast perspectives of language situation in Arab speaking societies. Since then diglossia has been increasingly recognized as a topic for cultural studies, while the deepening of diversification is observed. Egyptian linguist As-Sayed Badawy defines five distinctive language strata namely Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Vernacular of the Cultured, Colloquial of the Basically Educated and Colloquial of the Illiterate. While this fractural division seems to be an overkill it is plainly evident that resultant to the development of modern means of communication the lingual environment in the Arab Region in living through grave structural changes where a separate comprehensive language emerges. And the Lebanese researcher Muhammad Al-Maatuk has amply named it “Lughat al-Muthakkafin” – the Language of Intelligencia or “al-Lugha al-Wusta” – the Middle Language.

**Таниму Юсуф**  
**Государственный университет Насарава**  
**Кеффи, Нигерия**  
Tanimu Yusuf  
Nasarawa State University Keffi  
Nigeria

**Префиксация в языке риндре**  
**Prefixation in Rindre**

Тема доклада – префиксация в языке риндре (также известном как нунгу), одном из многих языков Нигерии. Цель доклада – исследовать морфологическое средство/средства, которые используются как приставки. Уделяется внимание обсуждению языковой группы, к которой принадлежит риндре, и морфологического потенциала самого языка. Также следует обратить внимание на теоретические разработки, предложенные и введенные в научный обиход Юджином Найда. Наконец, доклад призывает лингвистов усилить интерес к исследованию морфологии языков, поскольку по всему миру есть много таких языков, которые близки к вымиранию или уже вымерли, чаще всего в условиях многоязычия.

The topic of the paper is specifically on the process of prefixation in the language called Rindre (also known as Nungu), a language among the many languages in Nigeria. The intent is to explore the morphological item(s) that is used as prefix which allows for what becomes prefixation. This would be followed by a discussion of the language phylum to which Rindre belongs, and the potentials it has in terms of its morphology. The paper would take into cognisance the theoretical framework propounded and popularized by Eugene Nida as contained in Tomori. At the end, the paper would appeal to linguists to intensify more interest in the study of the morphology of minority languages, as the world over, it is common to find such languages threatened with extinction or even extinct; in most cases due largely to multilingualism.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK VI**

### **СРЕДСТВА ИНФОРМАЦИИ MEDIA**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VI-1**

#### **Массмедиа в современной Африке: новые возможности, старые ограничения и перспективы развития Development of Mass Media in Modern Africa: New Opportunities, Old Limitations**

**Руководитель: к.п.н. Вероника Владимировна Усачева  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Dr. Veronica Usacheva  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

С первых лет независимости африканские государства столкнулись со сложностями в получении, распространении, создании информационного продукта по вопросам внутренней, внешней и международной жизни. Как правило, страны Африки получили в наследство односторонне ориентированную на бывшие метрополии социальную инфраструктуру, что особенно отчетливо заметно на примере средств массовой информации (СМИ). В силу этого страны африканского континента на протяжении практически всего XX века не были полноправным участником информационного взаимодействия, часто выступая либо в роли объекта рассмотрения и изучения, либо потребителя информации.

С момента обретения независимости африканскими странами задача формирования и развития информационной инфраструктуры была одной из самых насущных.

В эпоху информационной глобализации неравномерность потока информации, коммуникационных материалов и продуктов культуры между развитыми странами Запада и странами Третьего мира не только сохранилась, но стала представляет собой не просто торговый обмен, а скорее часть процесса, с помощью которого основные развитые страны транслируют свою картину мира, идеологии и таким образом поддерживают доминирование.

Наиболее радикальные критики утверждают, что глобальные СМИ и экономическая экспансия, облегченная либерализацией и приватизацией медиа систем по всему миру и развитием кабельных и спутниковых технологий, снижает способность государств в Африке осуществлять свои властные полномочия в полной мере и поддерживать суверенитет.

Вместе с тем, развитие современных технологий, в особенности цифровых, внедрение социальных медиа, развитие мобильного интернета и рынка мобильных услуг качественно меняют ситуацию.

В ходе заседания предполагается обсудить вопросы не только развития медиа систем африканских стран, но и роль СМИ Африки (традиционных и новых) в экономическом, политическом и культурном развитии стран континента; развитие и роль массмедиа в пост-колониальных и пост-конфликтных обществах; какие возможности дает внедрение «альтернативных» медиа и насколько они способствуют развитию; сравнить мобилизационный потенциал традиционных и «альтернативных» медиа и их влияние на политическое самосознание; роль массмедиа в поддержании стабильности и инициировании перемен, авторитарных режимов и демократизации различных сфер жизни и др.

From the first years of independence the African states faced to different complications in receiving, spreading and creating of information products on internal, external and international news. As a rule, African states inherited social infrastructure oriented on metropolitan countries, especially mass media. As a result, African countries during the 20<sup>th</sup> century were not competent participant of informational interaction; often play the role of object of research or consumer of information. After independence the task of development of informational infrastructure was the most vital for many African countries. Globalization of information environment can be characterized not only by “internalization” of media, when flows of information from different sources grow up multifold and their influence become wider than states’ boundaries, but also by extremely asymmetrical flow of communication gadgets and cultural products between developed countries and the “rest of the world”. As a rule it is not only commercial exchange, but rather a part of a complex process dominated by ideologies of developed countries. The most radical critics of “Western influence” argue that global media and commercial expansion, facilitated by liberalization and privatization of media systems worldwide and the developed cable and satellite technologies, have reduced African “states” ability to exercise power and maintain full sovereignty. Adoption of new technologies, development of mobile internet and mobile connection, combined with social media leads to qualitative change of situation in Africa. Social media have already changed



communication space in the world and introduced new modes of influence. The panel will cover the questions of mass media systems development in African countries as well as the role of mass media (old conventional and new social media) in economic, political and cultural development of African continent and encourages papers that deal with the following issues: the role of media in post-colonial and post-conflict societies; whether or not “alternative” media can provide the democratization and development, their influence on political consciousness; mass media as a supporter of stability and initiator of changes, authoritarian regimes and democratic reforms, etc.

**Terje Skjerdal**  
**NLA University College**  
**Kristiansand, Norway**

Т. Скъердал  
Университетский колледж НЛА  
Кристианстад, Норвегия

### **The Return of Development Journalism in Africa?** **Возвращение журналистики развития в Африке?**

This paper discusses the prevalence of a specific journalism style, development journalism, in the African media. Development journalism emerged as a distinct reporting philosophy in the South in the 1970s to promote social and economic development through the media, much as a reaction against the North’s critical and “unfriendly” media coverage which was believed to be inconducive for local development. In the years which followed, many African governments embraced development journalism in official media policy. However, development journalism had its flaws, not the least since it came to be associated with politically driven media strategies. Many governments saw development journalism not only as a method to promote development in the media, but to endorse their own political strategy.

Throughout the 1990s, development journalism slowly faded as official policy in various African media strategies. However, recent years have seen scattered attempts both by media scholars and policy-makers to revitalize development journalism in a new form in the new African media climate. For example, development journalism has been proposed as a friendly ally of public service broadcasting in an African context. Additionally, African governments continue to criticize the media for not caring about social and economic development, as exemplified by the agenda of the latest African Media Leader’s Forum in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in November 2013.

Towards this backdrop, this paper discusses the prospects for a revitalized style of development journalism in the African context. It does so

through surveying media strategies in various African countries as well as through case studies of journalistic practices in specific societies of which Ethiopia is one. The paper concludes by proposing a model which identifies the major frictions between a development journalism philosophy and what has been perceived as a Western journalism philosophy.

**Veronica Usacheva**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
В. В. Усачева  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Social Media and New Image of Africa: New  
Perspectives and Possible Limitations**  
**Социальные СМИ и новый образ Африки:  
новые перспективы и возможные ограничения**

Informational globalization can be characterized not only by the “internalization” of media, when the informational flows from different sources grew up and their influence is wider than states’ boundaries, but else the extremely asymmetrical flow of communications materials and cultural commodities between the advanced capitalist countries and ‘rest of the world’. As a rule it is not simply a commercial exchange, but rather a part of the process whereby the latter are dominated by the communications ideologies of the major capitalist countries. Most radical critics of “western influence” argue that global media and commercial expansion, facilitated by liberalization and privatization of media systems worldwide and the developed cable and satellite technologies, have reduced African “states” ability to exercise power and maintain full sovereignty. That is a sort of an unpleasant tradition whose roots cannot be easily de-linked from the dark and disgraceful history of Africa’s unequal engagement with the West through the slave trade, colonial and post-colonial relations which has left Africa marginalized.

Emerging of social media create new perspectives for transformation and enhancement of Africa’s image. Social media create a new informational reality, where there are different directions of informational flows, different levels of news exist and trust and brands and people can mix and match them. The followers of social media, bloggers see it vitally important that Africa can speak for itself and produce own constructs of Africa, perhaps alternative to the western (northern). Other experts point out that active using of African blogs and social media by global media corporations might be fraught with danger of a new kind of media colonization.

The paper analyzes the *pro et contra* social media in Africa, possibilities and risks of their further development.

**Myles Osborne**  
**University of Colorado**  
**USA**

М. Осборн  
Университет Колорадо  
Боулдер, США

**The Origins of Modern Media in Africa: Mau Mau and Kenya**  
**Происхождение современных СМИ в Африке: мау-мау и Кения**

The 1950s was a decade of upheaval in Africa. But no event provoked more controversy than the Mau Mau rebellion, which focused the eyes of the world on Kenya. Mau Mau has inspired more scholarship than practically any other topic in Africa's history, yet scholars have failed to study one of its most crucial aspects, concerning not just Mau Mau and Kenya, but the world: a vast outpouring of media, which centered the conflict in the wider movement of decolonization and the Cold War.

This paper explores the birth of modern systems of mass media in Kenya and Africa. The process began in the Second World War, with the creation of early broadcasting systems and information rooms. But the dissemination of information exploded with the Mau Mau conflict in the early 1950s. By 1955, British officials were producing 33.5 million pages of newspapers and leaflets for Africans each year, and running fully fledged mobile cinema and "sky-shouting" units.

Africans were quick to seize the opportunities brought by the new mass media, and ably contested British efforts. The Kenya African Union had begun this fight in the 1940s, creating newspapers to popularize its own views about improving African rights. Once the organization was proscribed, Mau Mau produced a vast flow of propaganda that British officials were unable to stem. On one level, this included physical letters, which poured forth from the forests to sympathetic politicians in Britain. But Mau Mau leaders quickly realized the influence that the Soviet Union – and other non-aligned countries – could bring to bear. Its leaders maintained contact with prominent world leaders ranging from Tito in Yugoslavia, to Nkrumah in Ghana, to Dubois in the USA, to create and maintain international pressure on Britain.

This research is based on archival research in Kenya, the USA, and Britain, as well as more than 150 in-person interviews in Kenya.

**Neel Thakkar**  
**Stanford University**  
**USA**

Н. Таккар  
Стэнфордский университет, США

**The Making of an Audience: African-Language Radio-Broadcasting and Ideological Control in Northern Rhodesia, 1935–1953**

**Создание аудитории: радиовещание на африканских языках и идеологический контроль в Северной Родезии (1935–1953 гг.)**

Drawing upon new archival and popular sources, this paper examines the establishment of African-language radio broadcasting in Northern Rhodesia – the first colony in British Africa where radio acquired a mass audience – from its founding to federation. It argues that, in the context of large-scale urbanization, labor unrest, and then wartime exigencies, British colonial authorities turned to radio as a means of political control. Through the use of Africanized fables and songs as well as “educational” programming, radio consistently projected an image of the colonial state as paternal and just. Both of these methods, along with the wide distribution of radio sets – enabled by a drastic drop in manufacturing costs -- initially produced an imperial propaganda success story that was publicized and imitated across the Empire. Success, however, was short lived. The station struggled and ultimately failed to keep its credibility after the struggle over federation in 1953, as increasingly politically conscious Africans found it more and more difficult to connect the station’s political interests with their own.

**Francis Arsene Fogue Kuate**  
**University of Buea, Cameroon**

Ф.А.Ф. Куате  
Университет Буэа, Камерун

**From Broadcasting to Internet: A Political Economy of Old and New Media in Postcolonial Cameroon**

**От радиовещания к интернету: политическая экономия старых и новых средств массовой информации в постколониальном Камеруне**

This paper seeks to question the role of Media in postcolonial Cameroon through a Political Economy perspective. The study focuses on broadcasting and Internet in order to capture and make visible the role of Old and New Media in the political development of Cameroon since its independence earned in 1960. It unveils both the trajectories of the political role of Old and New media and the strategies by which they have been turned into “Political

capital” by the potentate. It contents that the State has continuously dominated Media through censorship and political repression in order to consolidate its hegemonic and patrimonialistic ambitions. As a matter of fact, after the State’s monopoly on broadcasting during the dictatorial era (1960–1990), the establishment’s influence over Old Media was subsequently tactfully perpetuated despite the beginning of the democratization process (1990) that led to the institutionalization of freedom of speech and the opening of private radios. In consideration of this State’s continuing hegemonic desire over Old Media, Internet turned out to be an alternative solution to “civil society” actors and opposition leaders. Introduced in Cameroon during the second half of the 1990s, internet provides new opportunities for political marketing of opposition leaders notably through the creation of personal websites. Besides, anti-governmental websites have also been created to protest against Biya’s regime in office since thirty years. Nevertheless, some lagging factors prevent Internet from efficiently contributing to political debate and democratic reforms in Cameroon. Those lagging factors are in relation with the restricted population’s accessibility to Internet and the scuttling of the activities of “cyber political activists” by the Cameroonian government.

**Yu-Shan Wu**  
**South African Institute of international Affairs**  
**South Africa**

Ю-Ш. Ву  
Южноафриканский институт  
международных отношений, Йоханнесбург

**The Policymaking Implications of Social Media: the South African Case**  
**Воздействие социальных масс-медиа на политику:**  
**пример Южной Африки**

The demands on public diplomacy have become complicated under the information age (and the development of social media technologies). Increasingly governments are required to gauge and respond to public sentiment over and above the one-way communication of broadcast platforms (like television and radio).

Africa itself is said to be undergoing a technological leapfrog. It is predicted that by at least 2015, regions such as sub-Saharan Africa will have more people with mobile network access than electricity at home. At the same time, there will be about 800 million mobile phone subscribers on the continent. Owing to the lack of landline telephones and other types of infrastructure in remote regions, wireless technology is single-handedly causing Africa to leapfrog technological developments. The public are able

to make use of affordable mobile technology to gain Internet access and, with it, audio and video information for business needs. More recently has been the use of social media for political means, such as the 2011 Arab Spring and last Kenyan elections.

This paper seeks to understand the real political potential of social media. While there seems to be euphoria of the platform's abilities, there are also factors that affect its true potential. The South African case study is an interesting example. While the country will undergo elections in April 2014, the growing mobile and social media usage has not yet translated in politically meaningful ways. Therefore the factors that could limit and motivate social media as a political negotiation space will be discussed, through the exploration of the South African case in comparison to other country case studies.

**Brilliant Pongo**  
**University of Westminster, UK**  
Б. Понго  
Университет Вестминстера  
Лондон, Великобритания

### **Online Media and Democracy in Africa (Zimbabwe Case)**

#### **Электронные СМИ и демократия в Африке (на примере Зимбабве)**

The study investigates how online media are contributing to democracy in Africa. It is interested in the growing online media spaces and their democratic promise. The case study is on diasporic media by citizens from troubled Zimbabwe, whose mass media environment remained a subject of much debate. Between 2000 and 2009, many Zimbabwean local independent media organisations were banned from reporting from within the country and many ordinary Zimbabweans were forced to seek economic and political refuge in South Africa, Britain, Australia, USA and many other countries. Some journalists were arrested and most researchers linked this to the erosion of democracy under the ZANU PF government, which has been in power since 1980. A new opposition challenged ZANU PF monopoly of political power but fiercely contested elections saw the diasporic media engage with Zimbabwe issues more and more. Faced with an intransigent political situation, Zimbabwe's three main political parties agreed a coalition/inclusive government in February 2009, as an interim measure. In the main, diasporic media continued to call for the removal of restrictions imposed on the media. This is not to rule out differences amongst Zimbabweans abroad. Zimbabweans abroad seek to promote a more pluralistic media approach and operate websites transnationally, and in ways that have begun to challenge the existing media monopoly in Zimbabwe.

The aim of the research is to ask how such new media is influencing traditional forms of control of information by political and economic groups in Zimbabwe. The research will argue that new media technologies have the potential to allow users, mainly those in the Diaspora, increased opportunities to share and develop participate in current affairs and politics. While the state has tightened its grip on the old media (e.g. radio, print press and television) new media technologies have enabled their users to undermine the government's monopoly on information distribution. The work contributes to work on the role of African Diasporic Media in Democratic Processes, on the one hand, while on the other hand, it is also about New ICTs and Democracy in Africa.

**Бородина Д.Б.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Daria B. Borodina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Журналистская этика в Зимбабве** **The Journalistic Ethics in Zimbabwe**

В докладе рассматривается ситуацию в зимбабвийских СМИ с позиций развития институтов журналистской этики в стране.

Механизмы этического саморегулирования СМИ стали формироваться на Западе в начале XX века. Зимбабве включилась в этот процесс значительно позже. Несмотря на то, что история развития местных средств массовой информации, без преувеличения, весьма и весьма солидна, говорить о независимых СМИ, способных к саморегуляции без вмешательства правительства, сложно даже сегодня.

Приведем несколько фактов: С 1957 по 2001 гг. в стране действовал закон о Телерадиовещании, который использовался правительствами, чтобы гарантировать государственную монополию в соответствующих СМИ. С 1979г. один за другим принимались законы об умышленной клевете, о государственной тайне, об общественном порядке и безопасности, о доступе к информации и защите неприкосновенности частных данных. Все эти законодательные акты фактически применялись для ограничения свободы слова, по сути противореча действующей конституции.

И хотя на протяжении всех этих лет в Зимбабве существовали независимые печатные издания, предпринимались попытки создать организации, которые могли бы выступить посредником между правительством и прессой, иностранные журналисты отмечали достаточно высокий уровень плюрализма местных СМИ, тем не менее, в стране до не-

давнего времени не было создано условий для открытого диалога на тему профессиональной этики и этических механизмов.

В то время как в мире сегодня существует три механизма этического саморегулирования, в современной Зимбабве частично используются лишь два из них: это совет по прессе (сейчас идут серьезные споры на тему организационной структуры эффективного и востребованного зимбабвийским обществом совета) и кодекс этики журналиста (пока неофициальный). Третий механизм, институт ньюз-омбудсмана, в Зимбабве только развивается – пока есть лишь номинальная должность при одном из издательских холдингов.

Тем не менее, нельзя не отметить, что актуальность задачи по определению этических норм и их регулированию в профессиональной журналистской деятельности в стране не только сохранилась, но и стала особенно осязаемой в преддверии очередных выборов президента и парламента в Зимбабве.

**Amanuel Gebru Woldearegay**  
**Addis Ababa University**  
**Ethiopia**

А.Г. Вольдеарегай  
Адди-абесский Университет, Эфиопия

### **The Economics of the Alternative Press in Ethiopia: Implications for Role in Democratization**

#### **Экономика альтернативной прессы в Эфиопии: влияние на ее роль в демократизации**

The role of alternative media in the democratization process in Africa is hardly questionable as it provides a forum for unheard or undermined voices providing a better equation in the world of ideologies on offer in addition to serving a surveillance role where state media can be opportunistic turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to abuses of all forms undermining the democratic process and the system of accountability formally in place. The relationship between the government and the private press in Ethiopia has been one of the worst in the world, taking the last two decades of empirical observations coming from court proceedings, incarcerations of journalists as well as media organizations' reports across the globe, as well as newspaper closures on account of market pressures. Both micro and macro economic issues have not been favorable to the alternative press which has been mainly confined to the Metropolis Addis Ababa in a country of over 80 million people.

The problem in this country is different from the threat besetting the press in the west where technological factors seem to be threatening the survival of newspapers with readers opting for online options. In Ethiopia



such options are extremely limited or are in their infancy and the factors that threaten the newspaper industry are contextually different. Thus, whilst literacy rates are favorably increasing, newspaper circulation has been declining and threatening the survival of private newspapers which receive no subsidies unlike other sectors such as investments in hotels and tourism. In fact in 2011 the state owned press which prints all state and private newspapers in the country raised its printing cost by 50% amid allegations of a political motive to kill the budding alternative media which has depended on a very small advertising revenue environment. Not surprisingly, even the so called middle class cosmopolites in Addis Ababa cannot any more afford to buy a copy of a newspaper in an environment that is already macro economically in distress. The unprecedented response has been to lease-read a newspaper for a say 30 minutes for a fee of about 10% of the new newspaper prices and return the newspaper to the vendor, a phenomenon that may be novel in newspaper readership history.

Although a bastion of democracy, the private press is being progressively challenged despite its all too important role in the democratization process of this significant African country which has had a murky history of intolerance, bloodshed and fragile national survival owing to ethnic division and rivalry arising from a history of repression.

Using financial data and the business model of newspapers, the proposed paper attempts to address issues of macro and micro economics as ingredients of media economics to understand and suggest remedies for the economic and business challenges threatening the private press and its democratizing potential in Ethiopia today.

**Patrick Enaholo**  
**University of Leeds, UK**

П. Энаоло  
Университет Лидса, Великобритания

**Beyond Ethnicity:**  
**Exploring Social Capital in Nigeria's Digital Media Sector**  
**За пределами этничности:**  
**исследование социального капитала в нигерийском цифровом**  
**секторе СМИ**

Ethnicity has long been recognised as a defining feature of the Nigerian cultural and social fabric (Lewis et al, 2002; Okolie, 2009; Osaghae and Suberu, 2005; Ukiwo, 2005) and the country, according to global indices, ranks as one of the most ethnically diverse and fractionalized countries in the world (Alesina, 2003; Fearon, 2003). Furthermore, Nigeria's political and social history has been marked by a high level of ethnic consciousness

among its people. However, apart from the broad literature on this topic which has focused almost exclusively on the mobilisation of ethnic differences in political conflict and violence in Nigeria, very little has been studied about the people's perception of ethnicity in their everyday interaction within the informal economy.

This paper explores issues around the mobilization of ethnic identities as social capital in the informal economy of Nigeria's digital media sector. Basing its analysis on theories related to the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), it examines how the modernizing tendencies of new media practice among people in the sector introduce crosscutting factors that negatively affect the importance ascribed to ethnicity in the process of securing jobs, winning contracts and gaining other advantages. The paper will argue that, in Nigeria's digital media sector, ethnicity is only one of various resources that can be mobilised as social capital (Anthias, 2007). Using empirical data gathered from research in Lagos, Nigeria, it will attempt to show how other resources such as social status, gender and merit are currently being ascribed greater value than ethnicity – a trend which, it argues, could be attributed to the modernising character of labour in the digital media sector.

**Литвинова Л.В.**

**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**

Lora V, Litvinova

St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Отражение культурных ценностей хауса в литературном журнале «Марубучийа»**

#### **The Reflection of the Hausa Culture Values in the “Marubuchiya” Literary Magazin**

Культурные ценности народа проявляются во всех сферах его деятельности. Публицистика является одним из источников отражения ценностных ориентаций этноса.

Литературный журнал «Марубучийа» – это издание, в котором ярко отражено культурное своеобразие народа хауса. Единственные два выпуска данного печатного издания вышли в свет в городе Кано (Нигерия) в 2001 году.

Журнал «Марубучийа» относится к литературно-художественному тематическому классу и включает в себе широкий жанровый спектр публикаций информационного, аналитического и художественно-публицистического характера.

Освещаемые вопросы в журнале «Марубучийа» зачастую выходят за пределы литературной тематики издания. Широкий диапазон тем

номера ведет к более глубокому восприятию культуры народа хауса. В центре внимания журнала стоят вопросы сохранения культуры, религии, языка, традиций хауса. Его создатели стремятся донести до читательской аудитории идею уникальности, самобытности хаусанской культуры.

Журнал «Марубучийа» имеет исключительно просветительские задачи. Авторы статей стремятся адаптировать неизвестные для народа хауса явления мира, а также соотнести новую информацию с уже устоявшимися культурными ценностями и нормами. Так, в первом номере журнала «Марубучийа» представлены статьи, посвященные новой компьютерной лексике на языке хауса, роли женщины в современном обществе и т.п.

**Сухова Е.Ф.**

**Нижегородский государственный университет  
РФ**

Elena F. Sukhova

N. I. Lobachevsky Nizhniy

Novgorod State University, Russia

### **Первые арабские женские журналы как признак изменения положения женщин Египта**

#### **The First Arab Women Magazines as a an Evidence of Change in the Status of Women in Egypt**

В докладе анализируется деятельность первых арабских женских журналов, представлены периоды формирования женской журналистики в Египте, начиная с конца 19 века до семидесятых годов 20 века, отмечено положительное влияние женской арабской прессы на решение женского вопроса в регионе.

Журналы, ориентированные на женщин появились в Египте в конце XIX века, здесь сосредоточилась литературная жизнь арабов, развивалась научная мысль, формировались первые университеты, страна до сих пор остается лидером развития арабской журналистики.

В докладе проанализированы три периода развития арабской женской прессы, как наиболее важные в изменении положения женщин Арабского Востока: период Османской империи, колониальный период, период роста национально-освободительного движения и получения арабскими странами политической независимости.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK VII**

### **РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫЕ И СТРАНОВЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ REGIONAL AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-1**

#### **Современные проблемы развития стран Юга Африки Contemporary Development Problems of Southern African Countries**

**Руководители: к.и.н. Андрей Александрович Токарев, к.и.н. Александра Александровна Архангельская  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Conveners: Dr. Andrey A. Tokarev, Dr. Alexandra Arkhangel'skaya  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции предполагается обсудить современные проблемы стран региона. Особое внимание предполагается уделить следующим вопросам:

1. Анализ внутривнутриполитической ситуации в странах Юга Африки накануне/после президентских и парламентских выборов; соотношение политических сил, развитие гражданского общества, межэтнические отношения;
2. Состояние и перспективы двустороннего и многостороннего сотрудничества стран Юга Африки (САДК); двустороннее сотрудничество ЮАР и Анголы;
3. Внутри- и внешнеэкономические и политические связи стран Юга Африки.

The panel's aim is to discuss contemporary problems of the region's countries. Special emphasis is supposed to be given to the following questions:

- analysis of the internal political situation in the countries of Southern Africa on the eve of/after presidential and parliamentary elections; political balance, development of civil society, interethnic relations;
- status and prospects of bilateral and multilateral cooperation of Southern African countries (SADC); bilateral cooperation of South Africa and Angola;

– internal and external economic and political relations of the countries of Southern Africa.

**Токарев А.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Andrey A. Tokarev  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Константы и новые направления во внешней политике Анголы** **Constants and New Directions in Angola's Foreign Policy**

В основу стратегии внешнеполитического курса современной Анголы положены принципы, закреплённые в конституции 1976 г. 1. Развивая внешнеполитические отношения, руководство РА опирается на один из главных козырей страны – богатые сырьевые ресурсы Анголы, что способствует проведению руководством страны самостоятельного внешнеполитического курса, важной чертой которого некоторые обозреватели называют прагматизм. 2. Наиболее привлекательные области вложения капитала для зарубежных инвесторов считаются инфраструктурные проекты, сельское хозяйство, сфера услуг, добывающая отрасль, прежде всего, нефть и алмазы.

Смена внутривнутриполитического курса в начале 1990-х гг. и завершение гражданской войны (в 2002 г.) мало повлияли на декларированные в 1970-е гг. внешнеполитические принципы РА, но привели к смене приоритетов в международном сотрудничестве.

К приоритетным направлениям внешней политики Анголы можно отнести:

1. «Африканскую политику», в рамках которой можно различать региональную политику (Юг Африки, регионы Гвинейского залива и Великих африканских озёр), межрегиональную (сообщество португалоговорящих стран Африки – ПАЛОП), панафриканскую (Африканский Союз).

2. Отношения с Сообществом стран официального португальского языка (СПЛП) 3. Особое место среди них занимают отношения с бывшей метрополией – Португалией – и Бразилией.

3. Отношения с Китаем. За последнее десятилетие Китай превратился в крупнейшего внешнеэкономического партнёра Анголы, осуществляет крупные инвестиционные проекты и проявляет повышенный интерес к нефтедобывающей промышленности Анголы.

4. Отношения с Россией – правопреемницей СССР. После периода спада в сотрудничестве, стороны заинтересованы в развитии связей, как в традиционных областях сотрудничества, так и в новых сферах. Ан-

гольское руководство по-прежнему считает Россию «дружественной страной». По мнению российских лидеров, Россия и

Ангола «давние и исторически близкие партнёры», дружба которых «проверена временем».

5. Отношения со странами-членами БРИКС. Развивая отношения с Россией, Китаем, Бразилией, ЮАР, Индией – странами-членами БРИКС – ангольское руководство не скрывает своей заинтересованности в сотрудничестве с этой молодой, но уже ставшей авторитетной международной структурой, включающей дружественные Анголе государства с быстро развивающейся экономикой.

6. Отношения с США, которые можно охарактеризовать как «стратегическое партнёрство, основанное на взаимном уважении, на взаимных интересах и ответственности».

7. Сотрудничество с государствами-членами Европейского Союза, в первую очередь, с наиболее экономически развитыми: Францией, Германией.

8. Отношения с Кубой, с которой Анголу связывают давние особые отношения.

Прагматизм ангольского руководства во внешней предполагает поиск новых стратегических партнёров страны.

**Хаматшин А.Д.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Albert D. Khamatshin

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

## **Тенденции развития аграрного сектора на Юге Африки**

**в начале XXI в.**

### **Trends in the development of agriculture in contemporary Southern Africa**

Аграрный сектор считается одной из ведущих отраслей материального производства, снабжающего население продуктами питания, а перерабатывающую промышленность сырьём. Несмотря на снижающийся вклад сельского хозяйства в создание валового продукта стран Юга Африки, отрасль продолжает играть значительную роль в экономике региона, обеспечивая средства к существованию для сельского населения и валютные поступления от экспорта аграрной продукции.

В докладе будет рассмотрена динамика основных сельскохозяйственных показателей, а также выявлены тенденции и новые факторы развития аграрного сектора стран региона.

Agriculture is one of the leading sectors of material production, supplying population with food and processing industry with raw materials. Despite the declining contribution of agriculture to GDP of Southern African countries, it continues to play a crucial role in the economy of the region, providing a livelihood for the rural population and foreign exchange earnings from the export of agricultural products.

The paper looks at the dynamics of key agricultural indicators, and identifies trends and emerging factors in the development of the sector in Southern Africa.

**Скубко Ю.С.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Yury Skubko  
Institute for African Studies,  
Moscow, Russia

**Некоторые наиболее острые проблемы социально-экономического развития ЮАР**  
**Some most acute problems of South African socio-economic development**

ЮАР была и остается наиболее развитой страной наименее развитого континента, в целом сохраняя довольно высокий экономический и научно-технический потенциал, унаследованный от эпохи апартеида. Освободившись от пут апартеида и выйдя из международной изоляции, страна получила новый импульс в своем развитии. Вместе с тем нельзя не отметить и некоторые серьезные негативные явления и тенденции последнего времени.

Вот, на мой взгляд, наиболее острые вопросы и проблемы в области социально-экономического развития ЮАР:

1. Рост и все более широкое распространение коррупции.
2. Связанное с п.1 снижение качества работы аппарата управления государством. экономикой, научно-технической политикой.
3. Форсированное насаждение ВВЕЕ (широкомасштабное усиление экономической власти черных, «апартеид наоборот»), ведущее к формированию паразитического и неэффективного класса управленцев и предпринимателей (тендерократия и так называемая вращающаяся дверь между номенклатурой АНК и «прикормленным» черным бизнесом), «утечке мозгов», пункту 2. и т.д..
4. Порочная либерально-монетаристская модель развития зависимого, компрадорского капитализма (в рамках «Вашингтонского консенсуса»), увековечивающая глубокое социальное неравенство, массовую бедность и безработицу.

5. Сохранение чрезвычайно высокого уровня преступности, небезопасность жизни в стране плюс пандемия ВИЧ-СПИДа, плюс кризис системы образования, плюс дефицит квалифицированных кадров, плюс срыв программ по развитию науки и инноваций и т.п.

Я бы еще добавил вытекающий из пяти пунктов пункт шестой:

6. Замедление экономического роста, усиление социальной напряженности, нарастание слаборазвитости, отсталости в политической, социально-экономической, культурной жизни, работе соответствующих институтов, ранее во многом соответствовавших уровню наиболее развитых стран, общее перемещение "из первого мира в третий".

South Africa remains the most developed country of the least developed continent, retaining since the apartheid era a relatively high economic and technological potential. Nevertheless, negative socio-economic tendencies seem to prevail in recent years.

They include, in my view, the following points:

1. Steady growth and widespread dispersion of corruption.
2. Resulting largely from point 1 decline of standards of state administration (and general governance), economic and technological planning and policies.
3. Enforcement of BBEE or "black apartheid" leading to the formation of an inefficient and parasitical "tenderocracy", so called floating door between ANC upper bureaucracy and comfortable business positions, general intellectual degradation and emigration of best brains.
4. Adherence to a liberal-monetarist model of dependent capitalism development according to "Washington consensus" prescriptions resulting in perpetuation and aggravation of social differentiation, mass poverty and unemployment.
5. Retaining of extremely high level of crime and general insecurity of life in the country (aggravated by 2012 Marikana police massacre of striking miners), plus HIV pandemia, plus crisis in education, abandonment of most important innovation programs etc.

As a result the country plunges into economic stagnation and moves further and further from the first to the third world. The worst thing is that there seems to be no political force that can change this trend.



**Карамеев С.Г.**  
**Дипломатическая Академия МИД РФ**  
**Москва, РФ**  
Sergey G. Karamaev  
Diplomatic Academy, Moscow, Russia

**К вопросу о некоторых аспектах возникновения белого и черного  
национализма в Родезии**  
**On Some Aspects of the Emergence of White and Black  
Nationalism in Rhodesia**

История британской колонии Родезия (с 1980 г. – Республика Зимбабве) напрямую связана с национальным фактором – совместным существованием двух больших этнических групп, белых европейцев и черных африканцев. Первоначальный период формирования государства (1890–1923) ознаменовался покорением белыми туземных племен и восстаниями аборигенов, что привело к формированию специфического самосознания как у белого, так и у черного населения страны. Деколонизация Африки в 1960-х годах, подъем национального самосознания черного населения, рост освободительных движений в числе прочего явились теми причинами, по которым руководство страны избрало курс на объявление в одностороннем порядке независимости от Великобритании, что оказало существенное влияние на ход событий на юге Африки во второй половине XX века. Специфический белый национализм, построенный по типу «осажденной крепости» и черный национализм, вобравший в себя как идеи освобождения страны от белых, так и вопросы племенного превосходства нашел свое отражение в вооруженном конфликте, который охватил страну в 1970-е годы. При этом Война в Родезии (также известная как Освободительная война народа Зимбабве) 1972–1980 гг. вряд ли может считаться полноценным расовым конфликтом.

**Сидоров В.А., Салахетдинов Э.Р.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Vasily A. Sidorov, Eldar R. Salakhedinov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Российский бизнес на Юге Африки (на примере ЮАР и Зимбабве)**  
**Russian Business in Southern Africa:**  
**The Cases of South Africa and Zimbabwe**

В 1990-х гг. российский бизнес, будучи избалованным быстрыми и высокими прибылями в России, не был готов к серьезной конкуренции на Юге Африке. Однако, начиная с середины 2000-х гг. российский бизнес, тем не менее, пытается найти свою нишу на африканском рынке.

В этом смысле пример ведения бизнеса российскими компаниями в Зимбабве и ЮАР является показательным. Несмотря на большую схожесть (историческая судьба, минеральные ресурсы и др.) современная экономическая и политическая ситуация в Зимбабве и ЮАР значительно отличается. Так, если ЮАР является наиболее развитой страной Африки и пользуется значительным авторитетом на международной арене, то

Зимбабве после кризиса начала 2000 гг. имеет серьезные экономические и политические проблемы. Однако, если в ЮАР российскому бизнесу необходимо выдерживать конкуренцию с западными компаниями, то в Зимбабве (из-за санкций Запада в отношении режима Мугабе) российскому бизнесу благоприятствует политическая конъюнктура. В этой связи представляется интересным проследить и сравнить развитие экономического партнерства России с Зимбабве и ЮАР.

Российские компании начали входить на южноафриканский рынок с начала 2000-х гг. Так, в 2005 г. группа «Ренова» совместно со своими южноафриканскими партнерами основала копию «Объединенный марганец Калахари» по разведке, добыче и переработке марганцевых руд бассейна Калахари. В 2006 г. производитель стали и ванадия «Евраз» купил 79% акций компании «Хайвелд стил энд ванадиум» (1-е место по ванадию и 2-е по стали в ЮАР). А в 2007 г. «Норильский никель» приобрел 50% СП «Нкомати» (единственный никелевый рудник в ЮАР).

Кроме сырьевого сектора ЮАР, наблюдается прогресс и по другим направлениям. В 2012 г. госкорпорация «Росатом» открыла представительство в ЮАР. В марте 2013 г. заработал совместный сервисный центр для вертолетов созданный госкорпорациями «Ростехнадзор» и «Денел».

Примерно в эти же годы происходит активизация российско-зимбабвийского партнерства. Среди крупных проектов стоит обозначить копию «Русхром», занимающаяся разработкой крупнейшего платинового месторождения в мире в Дарвендейле. Другой российской компанией работающей в Зимбабве является «ДТЗ-ОЗГЕО», чья деятельность отличается многопрофильностью – от добычи золота до производства кофе.

**Joanna Mormul**  
**Jagiellonian University**  
**Krakow, Poland**  
Й. Мормуль  
Ягеллонский университет  
Краков, Польша

**Migration from the Horn of Africa in Northern Mozambique - a Real Security Threat or a Problem of State Functionality? Миграция с Африканского Рога в Северный Мозамбик: реальная угроза безопасности или проблема функциональности государства?**

Until recently, Mozambique was another popular transit country for Horn of Africa migrants' wanted to reach South Africa - their usual final destination and the only country in the region where asylum-seekers and refugees have freedom of movement and the right to work and run businesses. At the height of their activity in early 2011, the migrants (most of them from Ethiopia and Somalia) arrived on boats operated by smugglers, usually from the Kenyan port of Mombasa to the Tanzanian town of Mtwara near Mozambican border. They crossed it illegally, heading at Palma, a small town where the UN Refugee Agency and the government's National Institute for Refugee Assistance had set up an informal camp before transporting migrants to the more and more overcrowded Maratane refugee camp in northern Nampula Province or other camps in northern Mozambique. However, around May 2011, the movement of migrants from the Horn of Africa began reversing in direction. The reasons behind it are the acts of violence committed by Mozambican security forces and the illegal deportations. UNHCR called on the Mozambican government to stop the deportations which contravene the country's obligations under the UN Convention on Refugees, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior denied that any deportations were taking place, and described the migrants as a threat to national security.

The migrant influx to the northern Mozambique can be perceived as a sort of the test for the functionality of its government and even undermining the tense political situation which

Mozambique has experienced in the last one, two years when the conflict on the line FRELIMO-RENAMO is, at least theoretically, at risk of changing from political fight into hostilities again. The aim of this paper is an attempt to analyze the destabilizing impact of the migration from the Horn of Africa on the political, economic and social situation in Mozambique, taking into account especially its northern provinces, as well as to predict possible scenarios if the migrants' wave in the area increases again.

**Charl van der Merwe**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA)**  
**South Africa**  
К. ван дер Мерве  
Институт Африки ЮАР, Претория

**Sustainable Access to Food for the Urban Poor in Pretoria: a Study of Household food Consumption in Mamelodi Устойчивый доступ к продовольствию для городской бедноты Претории: исследование потребления продовольствия домохозяйством в Мамелоди**

Urban population growth in Africa provides new and changing sets of developmental challenges. One of these challenges that particularly seem to be on the rise is urban food insecurity. Crush and Frayne argue that food insecurity in urban areas is one of the emerging development issues of this century.<sup>5</sup> Their main argument is that because of an apparent rural bias towards food security concerns in international, regional and national policy agendas the plight of urban poor, including their vulnerability to food insecurity, is left unattended and thus under researched.

Post – 1994 demographic patterns in South Africa however led to a situation where poverty is not just a rural issue anymore, but are now also becoming increasingly urbanised. This study will indicate that urban food insecurity is not just an issue of production, but mainly an issue of access to food and the question of how sustainable current methods used by the urban poor to access and obtain food, can be in the future. The aim of this study is therefore to increase the understanding of the depth of food insecurity amongst the urban poor in South Africa and the sustainability of current food systems in South African cities by using food consumption patterns of poor urban households as lens through which urban food insecurity can be assessed. The study will aim to formulate recommendations on how nodes of unsustainability in the food systems of South African cities can be transformed so that it can contribute in a more positive manner to improving the urban poor’s access to food and means and networks of obtaining food.

**Кручинский В.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Vladislav V. Kruchinsky  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Профсоюз «Солидарность» и внепарламентские мобилизации  
внутри африканерского сообщества в современной ЮАР**  
**The “Solidarity” Trade Union and Non-parliamentary Mobilization  
within the Afrikaner Community in Contemporary South Africa**

«Солидарность» – профсоюз особого типа. Во-первых, это этнически-ориентированный профсоюз; во-вторых, в нем нет жесткой привязки к определенным родам профессиональной деятельности; и наконец это профсоюз, в последние годы создавший либо поглотивший значительное количество африканерских гуманитарных и культурных инициатив и в настоящее время играющий роль своеобразного «командного центра», представляющего и формулирующего повестки африканерского сообщества в целом. В то же время «Солидарность» программно дистанцируется от участия в парламентской деятельности и сосредотачивается свое внимание на внепартийной мобилизации внутри африканерского сообщества.

Деятельность «Солидарности» и аффилированных с профсоюзом структур связывается с новой тенденцией внутри африканерского сообщества в современной ЮАР – тенденции к политической автономизации и мобилизации вне институтов представительской демократии.

В данном докладе предлагается описание деятельности «семьи» профсоюза «Солидарность» – ряда общественных, активистских, гуманитарных, исследовательских и образовательных организаций, функционирующих в связке с «Солидарностью» и имеющих сходные повестки и предлагается их сравнение с деятельностью и повестками «Фронта свободы Плюс» (Freedom Front Plus) – партии, традиционно выражающей интересы африканерского сообщества в парламенте.

Доклад основан на интервью с руководителями и сотрудниками «Солидарности» и аффилированных структур, руководством «Фронта Свободы Плюс», а также «Трансвальского сельскохозяйственного союза» и других африканерских объединений, проведенных в Претории в 2013 г.

**Emily Jean Anderson**  
**London School of Economics, UK**  
Э.Дж. Андерсон  
Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

**Taxation and Statebuilding in Post-Conflict Angola and Mozambique**  
**Налогообложение и строительство государства в**  
**постколониальных Анголе и Мозамбике**

Given that fair and well-functioning taxation plays a redistributive role in society, fiscal reform provides a critical means for fast-growing yet persistently underdeveloped countries such as Angola and Mozambique to address the disconnection between macroeconomic achievements and equitable growth. This paper analyses tax reforms adopted in post-conflict Angola and Mozambique and assesses why, despite demonstrable political will, both governments have struggled to establish broad-based taxation, while recent reforms have not achieved their intended state-strengthening results.

Drawing on data collection and government interviews from both countries, the paper argues that the main impediments to establishing effective taxation are rooted in the dominance of oil production and foreign aid in the respective economies of Angola and Mozambique. The analysis compares the impacts of oil and aid on revenue collection processes, and particularly on the flow of public finances between state and society. It suggests that these autonomous revenue streams have disconnected state finances from society, with the effect of disrupting the link between the imperatives of revenue generation and redistribution. The paper aims to contribute to debate about the influence of income derived from aid and oil on the movement and distribution of public finances within post-conflict African polities.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-2**

**Внешние силы на Большом Африканском Роге: сравнительный анализ вовлеченности нерегиональных держав от Холодной войны до наших дней**

**External Agency in the Greater Horn of Africa:  
A Comparative Analysis of Non-Regional Powers' Engagements from the Cold War Era to Present**

**Руководители / Conveners: Ambass., Dr. David Shinn  
(The George Washington University, Washington, USA),  
к.и.н. Александр Евгеньевич Жуков  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)**

**Subpanel: The Greater Horn of Africa and the Engagements of Non-African Powers in the Early 21st Century**

**Shinn David H.  
Ambassador of the USA,  
George Washington University, USA**

**Д. Х. Шинн  
Университет им. Джорджа Вашингтона  
Вашингтон, США**

**The Contemporary U.S. Policy in the Horn of Africa  
Современная политика Соединенных Штатов на  
Африканском Роге**

The proposed paper will deal with recent U.S. policy in the Horn of Africa. The focus will be on Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia/Somaliland. It will look at cooperation with these countries in efforts to counter terrorism, the role of Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa and AFRICOM, and U.S. participation in the anti-piracy coalition in the Gulf of Aden. It will review U.S. economic and military aid to these countries and the significance of U.S. trade, FDI and the private sector. It will also consider the impact of other soft power influence. Finally, the paper will explain the linkage of U.S. policy in each country to the other countries under consideration.

**Bereketeab Redie**  
**The Nordic Africa Institute**  
**Uppsala, Sweden**  
Р. Берекетеаб  
Северный Институт Африки  
Уппсала, Швеция

**Global War on Terror and its Implication to the Greater Horn Region**  
**Глобальная война с терроризмом и ее последствия для Большого**  
**Африканского Рога**

The global war on terror coupled with the war against piracy in the Greater Horn Region (GHR) has attracted various international forces to the region. Today, naval forces from all parts of the world are active in the region. This international intervention, however, is causing conflict, instability and mistrust within states as well as among states of the region perpetrating the cycle of conflicts. There is growing suspicion that international involvement in the region has less to do with terror and piracy but rather is driven by scramble for resources. The contention behind this suspicion is that, despite the huge presence of international military forces with modern technology of warfare, they have not been able to resolve the problem. There are reasons to contend that the prevalence of terrorist acts and piracy are tolerated because they legitimise the continuous presence of these international actors. The security-related objectives are, therefore, used as excuse for reaching other hidden targets. Many also contend that the superpower rivalry for geo-strategic influence during the Cold War era is now replaced by West-East rivalry for access to natural resources. The recent discovery of huge biofuel and other mineral resources in the region coupled with the new phenomenon of land grabbing has, thus, created a kind of Eldorado where states, transnational corporations and extractive companies are vying for those resources. Drawing against this background, this paper will address the question about the real victims of the international intervention and militarisation of the region. It will also try to examine the true reasons for the convergence of the international military forces in the region, the implication of this process to the peoples of the GHR and to the regional integration and the chances of individual states and the regional organisation (IGAD) to face the challenges of international interventions.



**Abd El Rahman Saif El Din Daoud**  
**Intergovernmental Authority**  
**on Development IGAD**  
**Djibouti**

Э.Д.Д. Абд эаль-Рахман  
Межправительственное управление по развитию  
Джибути

**Neighboring- Bashing and Search for Viable State(s) in Somalia.**

**A Partition Approach for Consolidating Peace in Somalia**

**Столкновения соседей и поиск жизнеспособного(-ых) государств(а)  
в Сомали. Подход с позиций необходимости раздела во имя укреп-  
ления мира в Сомали**

The failure of the international community, regional organizations and the Somali people to bring long-lasting peace to the country demonstrates the deep guild feelings and lack of capacity of our regional organizations to deal with recurring African conflicts. Finding durable solutions, and sound, innovative “home-grown” conflict resolutions is critical. Why have past recipe and attempts at effective conflict management failed? What are the forces driving the political divisions? Is clanism equal to ‘internal colonialism’ intended to suppress minorities groups politically? Why do some parties in the conflict believe that negotiations under the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) are a waste of time? Are these institutions facing an intellectual deficit to address the Somalia case? Are the UN, AU and IGAD appropriate forums for Somalia and do they have a clear vision to deal with the case of Somalia including Somaliland and Puntland? Are the AU and IGAD searching for viable inclusive political systems for greater Somalia or for viable states in Somalia? Is the partition approach a solution to the Somalia conflict?

Drawing from lessons learned in previous attempts to resolve the conflict and international experiences in conflict resolution, this paper proposes a partition approach to the Somalia peace process. A new perception and a review of traditional approaches to peace building in Somalia is needed to ensure progress on the political track and move Somalia forward. Recent literature on partition presents the approach as a promising alternative to intractable conflict in Somalia. This paper also critically assesses the role of neighboring countries and the AU/IGAD as actors in the peace process as well as possible scenarios for Somalia. It is hoped that this analysis will provoke serious debate about the political framework for peace as a prerequisite for political stability in Somalia.

**Индийцы на Африканском Роге:  
инвесторы, миротворцы и диаспора**

Индийцы, преимущественно выходцы из Гуджарата, на протяжении многих столетий посещали, вели торговлю и постепенно селились на обширной территории Большого Африканского Рога. Кризисы последних десятилетий негативно отразились на отношениях Индии со странами региона, особенно Эфиопией, Эритреей, Джибути и Сомали. Однако по сравнению со странами Восточной Африки (Кенией и Танзанией), индийская диаспора в Северо-Восточной Африке всегда была незначительной. Кризисы последних 2–3 десятилетий сильно сократили ее и так незначительное присутствие, но индийское влияние в странах региона сохранилось и даже усилилось. Его проводниками в настоящее время являются не только индийские миротворцы, несущие службу в этом регионе, но и индийские инвесторы, инженеры и преподаватели, а также разного рода сотрудники и консультанты в штаб-квартирах международных организаций, размещенных в Аддис-Абебе и Джибути, которые вместе обеспечивают весьма крепкие позиции Индии в странах Большого Африканского Рога.

Эфиопия – центральная страна региона и это определяет ее особое значение для политики Индии в этом районе мира. Индия сегодня – второй крупнейший инвестор в стране с одобренным уровнем инвестиций в 4,78 млрд долларов США и ожидаемым объемом двусторонней торговли в 1 млрд долларов США к 2015 г.

При этом около 40 процентов всех индийских инвестиций в Эфиопию составляют инвестиции в сельское хозяйство, что предусматривает, в том числе передачу африканских земель в пользование индийским компаниям на длительные сроки. Подобная политика нередко становится объектом критики международных неправительственных организаций и вызывает протесты местного населения.

**Indians in the Horn of Africa: Peacekeepers, Investors and Diaspora**

Indians, mostly from Gujarat, have visited, traded and lived in the Horn of Africa for many centuries. Recent political development of the region has greatly affected the relations between India and the Greater Horn of Africa (GHA) nations, especially Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia. Contrary

to the situation in Tanzania and Kenya, Indian Diaspora in the Greater Horn region (excluding Kenya) is relatively small. Nevertheless, the Indian influence in the region is both significant and visible. Not only are Indian peacekeepers doing service in parts of the GHA, there are also investors, engineers and teachers as well as administrative staff from India who represent their country in the headquarters of international organizations in Addis-Ababa and Djibouti. Indian presence in the region focuses on Ethiopia, the historical focal point in the Greater Horn of Africa. India is the second largest investor in Ethiopia with approved investment of \$4.78 billion while the volume of India-Ethiopia bilateral trade is expected to reach \$1 billion by 2015. At the same time, 40 per cent of all Indian investment in this country is concentrated in the commercial agriculture, and international NGOs often apply the term 'land grabbing' to describe this reality. This has already caused resentment in the society and made some people openly voice their protests.

**Bariagaber Assefaw**  
**Seton Hall University in South Orange,**  
**New Jersey, USA**  
А. Бариагабер  
Университет Сетон Холл  
Саут Орандж, США

**Domestic Alliance Shifts, External Involvement, and Political Instability  
in the Horn of Africa: The Case of Sudan and Somalia**

**Изменения во внутренних альянсах, вовлеченность внешних сил и  
политическая нестабильность на Африканском Роге:  
случаи Судана и Сомали**

In a continent that has had a disproportionate share of global conflicts and political instability, the Horn of Africa stands out as the most conflict-ridden, often infamously known for the indignities its peoples have gone and continue to go through. These conflicts include the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia; the civil war in Somalia and the near anarchy and statelessness that followed; the war of independence in Eritrea (1961-1991) and the establishment of an independent Eritrea in 1993; the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in 1974 and the civil war that continued until 1991; and the conflict in Sudan that culminated with the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan in 2011. Each of these conflicts has been intractable, a term understood to mean that each has been enduring, very destructive, and particularly resistant to attempts at conflict resolution.

But what are the factors that made the conflicts in the region intractable? By focusing on the conflicts in Somalia and Sudan, I argue that conflict

intractability in the region is better explained by examining the political role the local elites have played in pursuance of their interests and the convergence of these with the interests of extra-regional interveners. In particular, I argue that the local elites have been *unable to establish sufficient control over followers*, and this made alliance shifts a constant feature in national politics because no leader had sufficient tenure, political will, and the undivided attention necessary for conflict resolution. This, in turn, provided an environment conducive for external power intervention, including United Nations intervention, to “help” local actors resolve what appeared to be irresolvable.

#### **SUBPANEL:**

### **The Greater Horn of Africa from “Cold War” to the Statehood Crises of the 1990s: International Engagements in the Region under the Bipolar World Order and after its Demise**

**Mezentsev Stanislav V.**  
**Institute for African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
С.В. Мезенцев  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

#### **The Ethiopian-Somali Border War of 1977–78. Reflections on the Role and Impact of the USSR**

#### **Эфиопско-сомалийская пограничная война 1977–78 гг. Размышления о роли и воздействии СССР**

The Ethiopian-Somali border War (also known as the Ogaden War) of 1977–1978 was a major conventional conflict in Africa after World War II with devastating consequences for both sides. The border dispute between the two Horn of Africa countries over the Ogaden region of Ethiopia has its origin in the colonial period and has long been a source of tension between Somalia and Ethiopia. Before the Ogaden war, many international actors, especially foreign governments, became directly or indirectly involved in the “creation” of deadlock in the Somali-Ethiopian relations. During the hostilities, foreign actors also played a decisive role by providing military assistance to the belligerents which was a usual case with many other local conflict situations in the Cold War time, given the nature of rivalry between the superpowers.

By closely examining the role of one of these superpowers, the Soviet Union, in the Ogaden crisis, the paper explains the logics behind Moscow’s decision to eventually switch from the support of Somali leader Siad Barre to

the support of Mengistu's regime in Ethiopia. It argues that this choice was made by the Soviet government not until it had realized the uselessness of further attempts to resolve the crisis by diplomatic means. The paper also argues that one of the main factors which influenced the decision in favour of Ethiopia was the strategic importance of alliance with this country which, in the minds of the Soviet leadership, clearly outweighed the importance of the already unreliable alliance with Somalia. In particular, the Soviet government was quite willing to lose a military base in the Somali city of Berbera "in return" for two naval bases in Ethiopia (Dahlack Archipelago and port Asab), as well as land-based military facilities in Asmara.

**Aleksi Ylönen**

**University of Turku, Finland**

А. Илонен

Институт опережающих исследований Турку

Финляндия

### **Armed Opposition Movements and Secessionism: Contemporary Historical Perspectives on Ethiopia and Sudan**

#### **Движения вооруженной оппозиции и сепаратизм: взгляд на современные Эфиопию и Судан в исторической перспективе**

During the latter half of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st centuries, a significant number of armed conflicts have taken place in Africa. Several African states have faced opposition movements resorting to violence and armed struggle. However, the political claims of these groups have differed to a large degree, some becoming considerably apolitical over time and others seeking to live up to their initially-stated ideologies and objectives. In general, the often complex, disputed, and fragmented nature of leaderships of armed opposition organizations in Africa tends to mask their ultimate political objectives which are usually difficult to pinpoint.

The proposed paper will engage in a comparative analysis of a selection of major armed opposition groups in Ethiopia and Sudan since the 1960s. By examining the dynamics of their struggles, it first seeks to identify their goals and trace their evolution. Second, by comparing the historical narratives on the movements, it shows the difficulty of denominating such groups as solely secessionist or non-secessionist. Finally, the paper attempts to establish to which relative degree each armed opposition organization scrutinized has embraced secessionist objectives.

**Tlalka Krzysztof**  
**Jagiellonian University in Cracow,**  
**Poland**

К. Тлалка  
Ягеллонский университет  
Краков, Польша

**Greater Horn of Africa as a laboratory of United Nations Peace  
Operations in Conflict-Ridden Regions after the Cold War Большой  
Африканский Рог как лаборатория миротворческих опе- раций  
ООН в охваченных конфликтами регионах после  
Холодной войны**

As one of the most conflict-ridden areas in the world, the Greater Horn of Africa has focused the attention of many external actors, including the United Nations. Bearing the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council has authorized numerous peace operations in order to respond to conflicts in the Horn. The complexity of these challenges has prompted the UN and other international organizations (such as NATO, the EU and the AU) to look for innovative solutions.

The main aim of the speech is to present some of peace operations in the region as different form of UN engagement and important steps in the development of this instrument. In particular, the author will analyse three operations: UNOSOM II (referring also to UNOSOM I and UNITAF) in Somalia in the 1990s, UNAMID in Sudan and AMISOM in Somalia. All three operations to some extent determines both current perception and future development of peace operations (and UN engagement in general). In these cases, the UN has taken different roles, namely: leading organization, partner and supporter, respectively.

UNOSOM II was an attempt to use robust peacekeeping to respond to humanitarian crisis. Simultaneously, it tried to support political process in the country. While accomplished the former goal, the UN failed to reached the latter. UNAMID is the first “hybrid operation” and therefore it is worth analysing as a probable model of future peace operations. In the UNAMID case the UN has been an equal partner of regional body. AMISOM could serve as an example of ambitious peacekeeping operation of regional organization with insufficient capabilities. Here, the UN helps to accumulate resources and enhances legitimacy of regional organization’s engagement.

**Zhukov Alexander Y.**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
А.Е. Жуков  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Diasporic Engagements and Foreign Powers' Leverage in Africa's Most Protracted Conflict Situations. What Can We Learn from Somalia's and Sudan's Recent Past?**

**Вовлеченность диаспоры и ключевая роль иностранных держав в наиболее затяжных конфликтах в Африке. Какие уроки можно извлечь из недавнего прошлого Судана и Сомали?**

The proposed paper is not about the most recent political dynamics in Sudan / South Sudan or Somalia. Nor does it attempt to produce a very general analysis of diasporic engagements and foreign powers' roles in Sudan or Somalia throughout a long period of time. It is, on the contrary, aimed at looking at particular watershed moments along the thorny ways of both countries to peace and stability: the still ongoing process of national reconciliation in Somalia and the 1993–2005 IGAD peace process for Sudan which paved the way to a peaceful division of the Arab-African nation in two states in 2011.

The paper is based on a large body of memoir literature and other sources written by (former) Western and African policy-makers, as well as by members of the Somali and the Sudanese diasporas, who were actively involved in the respectful peace processes. It will particularly analyze the interplay between the diasporic political engagements and the policies of powerful international stakeholders, especially the governments of the USA and other Western nations, towards either Somalia or Sudan.

The focus will be placed on participation of Western and African diplomats, including representatives of the so called "third track" in diplomacy, and members of the above mentioned diasporas in most important roundtable negotiations and national peace conferences of the recent past, such as the 2000 Djibouti conference on Somalia, the 2004 Kenya-hosted round of talks on Somalia and the 1998–2005 negotiations between the parties to the civil war in Sudan.

The conclusions to be drawn will throw light on some rarely mentioned historical facts from the political history of Sudan and Somalia. They may also help better understand the existing mechanisms in conflict resolution which link together foreign interest groups and diaspora politicians and function well beyond the region under discussion.

### СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-3

#### **Африканский Рог: этничность между архаикой и современностью** **The Horn of Africa: Ethnicity between Archaic and Modernity**

**Руководители: д.и.н., проф. Роза Нургалиевна Исмагилова**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),**  
**к.э.н. Александр Алексеевич Ткаченко**  
**(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)**

**Conveners: Prof. Roza N. Ismagilova**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia);**  
**Dr. Alexander A. Tkachenko**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

The Panel will focus on the following issues:

- political, economic and social processes in the countries of the Horn of Africa and challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: country, regional and global aspects;
- international environment in the Horn of Africa (the issues of international terrorism, piracy, and drug trafficking);
- Ethiopia: between ethnicity and federalism;
- Sudan, South Sudan, and the issues of Darfur;
- Somalia: centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in domestic politics;
- Eritrea: domestic and international aspects of development;
- the role of international community in overcoming crises and settling armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

На секции предполагается обсудить следующие вопросы:

1. Политические, экономические и социальные процессы в странах Африканского Рога и вызовы 21 века: страновой, региональный и глобальный аспекты.
2. Международный климат в регионе Африканского Рога. Проблемы борьбы с международным терроризмом, морским пиратством, наркотрафиком.
3. Эфиопия: между этничностью и федерализмом.
4. Судан, Южный Судан, проблема Дарфура.
5. Сомали: центробежные и центростремительные тенденции во внутриполитической жизни.
6. Эритрея: внутренние и международные аспекты развития.
7. Роль международного сообщества в преодолении кризисных явлений и вооруженных конфликтов в регионе Африканского Рога.



**Robert Klosowicz**  
**Jagiellonian University**  
**Kraków, Poland**  
Р. Клосович  
Ягеллонский университет  
Краков, Польша

**Eritrea and its Destabilizing Impact on the Political Situation in the  
Horn of Africa**

**Эритрея и ее дестабилизирующее воздействие на политическую  
ситуацию на Африканском Роге**

The main objective of the paper is to determine the impact exerted by Eritrea on other countries of the Horn of Africa. The author assumes that this impact is destabilizing and it deteriorates already unstable situation in the region.

Established in 1993, after almost 30 years of liberation war, until the independence of South Sudan, Eritrea was the youngest African state. For all this time its leader has been Isaias Afewerki – responsible for having created one of the most oppressive regimes in the Sub-Saharan Africa. His authoritarian rule and difficult living conditions of the citizens (poverty, unemployment) cause that every year thousands of Eritreans leave their country. Despite the ongoing internal problems, small Eritrea for many years has exerted disproportionately large, to its area and economic importance, influence on the politics of the region, not only by continuing its dispute with Ethiopia, which in the years 1998–2000 turned into a regular war, but also supporting militarily the radical Islamic group Al-Shabaab – in control of the part of the former Somali state territory and the official Al-Qaeda cell in the Horn of Africa. So far the international sanctions imposed on Eritrea have not brought desired results. The situation is very dynamic, especially since the death of a long-time Ethiopian leader – Meles Zenawi, personal enemy of Aferwerki.

The Eritrean governing circles in a skillful way destabilize regional situation which affects not only the countries located in its closest vicinity, but for example Kenya – the initiator of international sanctions against Eritrea. The ruling elite to maintain an authoritarian rule is trying to create a sense of so-called “besieged fortress” among its citizens. How much does it stem from the concern for the preservation of its sovereignty in the face of powerful neighbor – Ethiopia? What impact on the policy of Asmara has an extremely volatile region (conflict between Sudan and South Sudan, state collapse in Somalia).

**Исмагилова Р.Н.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Roza N. Ismagilova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Эфиопия: федерализм, этничность и архаика**  
**Ethiopia: Federalism, Ethnicity, and the Archaic**

В соответствии с Конституцией, вступившей в силу в августе 1995 г., в Эфиопии введена новая форма государственного устройства – федерация. Ее особенность в том, что в основу созданных 9 штатов положен этнический принцип. Необходимость создания такой модели диктовалась сложностью этнического состава и межэтнических отношений. Впервые все этнические группы получили равные права, возможность участвовать в управлении государством на всех уровнях, использовать свои языки, развивать свою традиционную культуру.

Однако этнический фактор продолжает играть серьезную роль в политической жизни страны. В большинстве штатов сохраняется конфликтная ситуация: Гамбелла, Южный, Оромия, Сомали, Афар. Амхара, недовольные утратой господствующего положения, хотят возврата к унитарному государству, часть политической элиты оромо давно борется за создание независимого государства Оромия. Сомали Огадена поддерживают идею создания Великого Сомали и выступают за отделение от Эфиопии и воссоединения со своими соплеменниками в соседних Сомали. Существует идея создания большого штата Тиграй путем присоединения к существующему штату тиграй, живущих в Эритрее.

Большое недовольство подавляющего большинства этнических групп вызывает господствующее положение тиграй, излишний централизм власти и доминирующая роль правящей партии Революционно-демократический фронт эфиопских народов.

Ситуацию осложняет также сохраняющиеся этнические стереотипы и предрассудки, иерархичность этнических групп, такие социальные структуры и институты, как профессиональные касты, пережитки домашнего рабства, иерархия кланов. До сих пор физический труд и ремесло (кузнечество, ткачество, гончарное дело, обработка дерева и др.) считаются у многих народов (гураге, сидама, уолайта и др.) унижительным занятием и презираются, а ремесленники занимают низшие ступени социальной лестницы.

Все эти архаические структуры и институты оказывают существенное влияние на осуществление политики этнического федерализма и в целом на этнополитическую ситуацию в стране.

В борьбе с оппозицией федеральные власти нередко используют представителей традиционно низших слоев общества – ремесленников и потомков рабов (хадичо – гончаров у сидама и айле – потомков рабов у уолайта) и даже способствуют созданию ими политических партий.

Прошло больше 20 лет со времени введения системы этнического федерализма в Эфиопии. Уникальный эфиопский опыт очень важен для всех полиэтничных государств. Из минусов можно назвать еще большую роль этничности во всех сферах жизни и излишнюю централизацию власти.

Однако, при всех недостатках этнического федерализма можно назвать некоторые позитивные моменты: законодательное закрепление и передача властных полномочий штатам; создание органов местного самоуправления, что дает возможность решать значительную часть проблем, как в области сохранения этнокультурного многообразия, так и в сфере налаживания межэтнических отношений; придание федеральному центру мультикультурного характера; предоставление гражданам возможности изучения и использования в обучении и делопроизводстве родных языков; законодательное закрепление основ этнокультурной автономии путем создания зон и веред на узкоэтнической основе.

Будущее Эфиопии как федерации, ее политическая стабильность во многом зависит от того, как сложатся отношения не только между амхара, тиграй и оромо, но и оттого, насколько успешно правительству удастся вовлечь в процесс федерализации многочисленные этнические меньшинства, покончить с ахаичными структурами, воплотить в жизнь принципы равенства всех народов, заложенные в Конституции.

**Salvatore Mancuso**

**University of Cape Town, South Africa**

С. Манкусо

Университет Кейптауна, ЮАР

### **Legal Pluralism and Constitutional Development in Somalia**

#### **Правовой плюрализм и конституционное развитие в Сомали**

Somalia presents a specific situation with reference to legal pluralism. A strong religious component, that of Islamic law, is added to those of traditional law and state law normally present in the African countries. There is also a specific Somali peculiarity: the fall of Siad Barre regime in 1991 with the following decay of the state apparatus determined a total dissolution of the state legal system. Only recently, further to the functioning of the Somali Transitional Government, the possibility of rebuilding the state legal system is considered. The epiphany of centrifugal experiences aiming at disaggregating the state as conceived after the colonial period (Somaliland,

Puntland, Jubbaland) is a further variation inserted in the already weak, and variegated at the same time, Somali legal framework. Paradoxically, the above mentioned form of legal pluralism represents the common element among those centrifugal tendencies towards the state fragmentation that could work as a centripetal factor.

The paper examines how legal pluralism developed in Somalia, starting from a short analysis of the Somali society and how legal pluralism has been treated in colonial times. Then legal pluralism in the “first” Somali state and its constitutions and the failed state period will be considered. Finally the 2012 transitional constitution, as well as those enacted by the regions aiming at a wider or smaller autonomy will be considered as a way forward to the new (federal?) Somali state. The paper will also consider how the legal pluralism present in Somalia could work as an aggregating factor in the above mentioned scenario.

**Oku Kaunya, Wossen Aregay**  
**University of Fribourg, Switzerland**  
О. Каунья, В. Арегай  
Университет Фрибурга, Швейцария

### **Managing Political Transition Through Federalism and Decentralization in Ethiopia and Kenya**

#### **Управление политическим переходом через федерализм и децентрализацию в Эфиопии и Кении**

Achieving genuine democratic political transitions in ethnically diverse countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya poses intriguing issues that have engaged scholars and policy makers over a long period of time. Though Ethiopia survived colonization, which is sometimes blamed for entrenching ethnicity through its arbitrary partition of the African continent in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, it has faced more or less the same challenge as post-colonial Kenya of managing its political transition within the context of competing ethnic interests. This paper traces the efforts at accommodating diversity in ethnicity and regions in Ethiopia and Kenya through implementation of federalism and decentralization policies from the 1960s to date. The paper examines the contextual origins of federalism and decentralization, the steps at formulating the constitutional framework to support this system, and the implementation of the federalist and decentralized system of government in the two countries. The paper shows that while Ethiopia started implementing its federal constitution in 1991, Kenya had a short stint of federal experience from 1963 to 1964, followed by a long period of centralized political system until 2010, when a new decentralized constitution was promulgated. The authors argue that that both constitutions did not adequately address the deep

issues of delegating or devolving real power from the central government to peripheral bodies and institutions. This is partly explained by the fact that the transition towards accommodating diversity in the two countries was conducted within the framework of de facto centralized political systems. Therein lies the experiment of both constitutions. In comparative terms, the authors observe that even though both countries have similar socio-economic realities, they both have different sources of inspiration, thus the different approaches of understanding and implementing the objective of accommodating diversity. The Kenyan Experiment is inspired by the western, liberal approach of constitution-making, whereas the Ethiopian model is inspired by the Soviet Constitution of 1977. In this regard, the authors seek answers to some pertinent questions, which are: What do these differences mean in terms of understanding and implementing federalism and decentralization in the two countries? What are the outcomes? What are the experiences and the lessons from the experiments?

**Marta Antosz**  
**Jagiellonian University**  
**Cracow, Poland**

М. Антош  
Ягеллонский университет  
Краков, Польша

**Dadaab Complex – 22 Years of the Complex Humanitarian Crisis  
and Its Effect on the Regional Security?**

**Комплекс Дадааб: 22 год комплексного гуманитарного кризиса и  
его влияние на региональную безопасность?**

Dadaab complex is a camp, which was set up in North Eastern Province in Kenya by the The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) between October 1991 and June 1992 as a direct response for the growing amount of the Somalis crossing the Kenyan border, as the result of the violent civil war. Due to the UNHCR statistics, the camp had more than 473,000 residents in 2012, when it “celebrated” its twentieth birthday. However one shall remember that Dadaab complex is not only an example of the complex humanitarian crisis, limiting the possibility of the development in the region, but it is also the strong factor destabilizing the regional security.

From the beginning of its existence, the complex has been the place of the attacks from the combat groups from Somalia, including Al-Shabaab. The phenomenon intensified after the Kenyan involvement in that country in 2011. The growing influx of the refugees as well as Kenyan government’s decision to send its troops into Somalia, has also resulted in the growing

radicalization of the Kenyan's youth, deprived of the perspectives for the future. It led to the creation of the organizations such as the Muslim Youth Center which are recruiting young Kenyans and promoting *jihād* towards Somalis, including the refugees. On the other hand, in August 2012 the cooperation between the Kenyan security officials and the refugees coming to Dadaab in the matter of Al-Shabaab, have reduced terrorist-related activities such as the attacks, training, kidnappings of the refugees and the transportation of the illegal weapons. However, lack of the basic facilities might enable the recruitment of the refugees into the radical organizations.

The main aim of the paper is to present the complex humanitarian crisis in Dadaab and the influence that it has on the security in the region of the Kenya-Somalia border. Are the Somalis refugees the deepen destabilizing factor for the region? During the speech the author will turn her attention to:

- the short introduction to the Dadaab complex and situation of the Somalis living in the camp;
- influence that Kenya's involvement in Somalia has on the situation of the refugees in Dadaab and the influence that the Somalis refugees have on the regional security;
- the activity of the asymmetric groups in the camp, such as Al-Shabaab (attacks, training, kidnappings of the refugees and the transportation of the illegal weapons), as well as the preventive actions undertaken by the Kenyan authorities.

**Мезенцев С.В.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Stanislav V. Mezentsev

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

**О некоторых особенностях применения иностранной военной силы  
в странах Африканского Рога  
On Some Specific Features of Using Foreign Military Force in the  
Horn of Africa States**

В докладе дается краткий обзор различных видов использования иностранных вооруженных сил (ВС) в регионе. Предпринимается попытка оценки влияния иностранного военного присутствия на обеспечение безопасности рассматриваемых стран. В данном контексте анализируются операции с участием иностранных ВС, в том числе не связанные с непосредственным применением вооруженного насилия (миротворческие, гуманитарные и спасательные). Раскрываются некоторые особенности контртеррористической деятельности в АР. Внимание уделено также деятельности иностранных частных военных и охранных

компаний (ЧВОК), которые в последнее время все более активно вовлекаются в обеспечение боевой деятельности национальных ВС, особенно в кризисных районах Африки.

Приводятся некоторые данные по мероприятиям стран НАТО, реализуемым в интересах обеспечения своего передового военного присутствия.

В заключении на примере деятельности в АР проводится краткий обзор задач и целей Отдельного командования ВС США в Африканской зоне (АФРИКОМ), как новой модели обеспечения политико-военных и экономических интересов США в условиях постбиполярного мира.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-4**

**Борьба за освобождение Юга Африки: переосмысление старых источников и анализ новых**

**Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa: Old Sources Revisited, New Sources Analyzed**

**Руководители: д.и.н., проф. Владимир Геннадьевич Шубин (Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия);**

**Dr. Sifiso Ndlovu**

**(South African Democracy Education Trust, Pretoria, South Africa)**

**Conveners: Prof. Vladimir G. Shubin**

**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia);**

**Dr. Sifiso Ndlovu**

**(South African Democracy Education Trust, Pretoria, South Africa)**

После завершения борьбы против колониализма и апартеида на Юге Африки прошло уже два десятилетия, но именно в последние годы усилилось внимание к ее истории. Так, Первый международный colloquium по истории Народного движения за освобождение Анголы (МПЛА) был проведен в Луанде в декабре 2010 г., и несколько конференций было организовано в Южной Африке в связи с празднованием столетия Африканского национального конгресса (АНК). Более того, «деятельность по сохранению исторической памяти о сотрудничестве в борьбе с апартеидом и воспитанию молодого поколения двух стран в антирасистском духе» предусматривается в подписанной 26 марта 2013 г. Совместной декларации об установлении всеобъемлющего стратегического партнерства между Российской Федерацией и Южно-Африканской Республикой.

В докладах на секции данной секции предполагается, во-первых, переосмыслить старые источники по освободительной борьбе на Юге Африки с учетом новой информации, например, о взаимоотношениях между ее участниками, в частности, АНК и ЮАКП, а во-вторых, проанализировать источники, ставшими доступными в последние годы, прежде всего, воспоминания ветеранов национально-освободительных движений и их сторонников.

Two decades have already passed after the completion of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, but attention to its history in recent years increased. The 1<sup>st</sup> International Colloquium on the History of the MPLA was held in Luanda in December 2010, and several



conferences were held in South Africa within a framework of the ANC centenary celebration. Moreover Joint Declaration on the establishment of a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Africa, signed on March 26, 2013 envisages “activities to preserve the historical memory of cooperation in the struggle against apartheid and education of young generations of both countries in the non-racial spirit”. The papers presented at the panel are expected, firstly, to revisit old sources on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa in the light of new information, for example, on the relationship between its participants, in particular, the ANC and the SACP, and secondly, to analyze the sources who became available in recent years, especially the memories of veterans of national liberation movements and their supporters.

**Jocelyn Alexander**  
**University of Oxford, UK**  
Дж. Александер  
Оксфордский университет  
Великобритания

**Revolutionary Jurisprudence: Redefining the Traitor in Zipra's  
Zambian Camps**

**Революционное правосудие: переопределение предателя в  
замбийских лагерях Народной революционной армии Зимбабве**

All southern African liberation movements in exile suffered division and mutiny and expended inordinate amounts of time and resources identifying traitors. There were of course real spies and assassins and informants, but the ways in which traitors were identified and punished often focused on the ‘enemy within’ and served broader projects of producing order and claiming power in the midst of mixed loyalties and social difference. Such charges of treachery revealed the fractured nature of institutions of rule and political community among all liberation movements in exile. But these fractures were also historically specific: people were accused of treason in the name of particular ideas and they were punished according to the highly varied logics of institutions produced by the multitude of influences and strictures encountered in distant lands, in interaction with host governments and foreign trainers, as well as experiences and ideas from home. In order to explore these processes, I focus on the identification of traitors within Zapu’s Zambian camps, and specifically the shift in the politics of treason that followed the establishment of the National Security Organisation (NSO), an overarching intelligence responsible for security within the party and army in and outside the camps.

**Barry Gilder**  
**Mapungubwe Institute for**  
**Strategic Reflections (MISTRA)**  
**South Africa**

Б. Гилдер  
Институт стратегического анализа  
Мапунгубве, Йоханнесбург, ЮАР

**South Africa: From Revolution to Reality**  
**ЮАР: от революции к реальности**

Barry Gilder, a senior participant in the African National Congress' struggle against apartheid and a senior officer in the post-apartheid government, will present on the challenges of the transition from liberation struggle to democratic governance as reflected in his book "Songs and Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to Governance" (Hurst 2012).

**Kalpana Hiralal**  
**University of KwaZulu-Natal**  
**Durban, South Africa**

К. Хиралал  
Университет КваЗулу-Наталь  
Дурбан, ЮАР

**Gendered Narratives of the Anti-Apartheid Movement: Reflections on**  
**Salisbury Island**

**Гендерно-окрашенные нарративы движения против апартеида:**  
**размышления по поводу острова Солсбери**

In this paper I use the narrative inquiry approach as a methodological tool to explore women's experiences on Salisbury Island, a university college established in the 1960s primarily for Indians. Three women, all alumni of the college, provide their personal accounts of their experiences on the Island and its impact on their lives in the context of agency, identity and livelihoods. Through their voices we acquire an insight into the apartheid era, ways in which young Indian women negotiated their daily life during this period. Each woman had a unique story to tell, their experiences layered and textured with multiple experiences. Their narratives also conveys a sense of agency, and highlights that women's status and experiences are socially constructed and culturally determined shaped by historical, political and socio-economic factors. This article maps out paradigmatic shifts in the ways we read, write and understand the gendered past in liberation struggles.

**Arianna Lissoni**  
**University of the Witwatersrand**  
**South Africa**  
А. Лиссони  
Университет Витватерсранда  
Йоханнесбург, ЮАР

**New Sources, Old History:**  
**The Dangers of Revisionism in South African Struggle Historiography**  
**Новые источники, старая история:**  
**опасности ревизионизма в историографии освободительной борьбы**  
**в Южной Африке**

The African National Congress (ANC), the oldest African nationalist organisation on the continent, achieved hegemonic status in the course of the long struggle against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa and emerged victorious in 1994 when it was elected into government during the first democratic elections to take place in the country, where it continues to remain in power. Since the end of apartheid there has been a proliferation of studies on the history of the South African liberation movement that has been partly prompted by the availability of new sources, both archival and oral. A number of studies have focused in particular on the exile period in the history of the liberation struggle – from time of the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 to their unbanning and the release of political prisoners in the early 1990s. This review essay will analyse a number of key publications that have appeared in recent years on this critical period in the ANC's history, which has been interpreted by authors like Stephen Ellis as key to understanding the ANC's shortcomings in the present, for example with regards to corruption and factionalist struggles. The essay will provide a critique of revisionist trends in South African historiography and offer alternative accounts about life in exile and its significance by scholars like Vladimir Shubin, Hugh Macmillan and the volumes produced by the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), as well as biographies and autobiographies of former activists.

**Sehlaré Makgetlaneng**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA)**  
С. Макгетланенг  
Институт Африки ЮАР, Претория

**The Relationship between the Race Question and the Class Question in  
South Africa: Before and Since 1994**  
**Расовый вопрос и классовый вопрос в Южной Африке:  
до и после 1994 г.**

This paper provides a critical analysis of the relationship between the race question and the class question in South Africa in its settler colonial and post-settler colonial eras and how the relationship between these central issues was viewed by the national liberation movement. It maintains that how it was viewed has a decisive impact on the key characteristic features of the current South African situation. It maintains that the class question has been of primary importance over the race question in the South African political economy before and since 1994. This analysis of the relationship between these two issues is of strategic importance in the provision of the analysis of the nature of the relationship between black capital and white capital and the relationship between black labour and white labour from the past tense to the present tense of the South African history. It maintains that in the struggle for the structural social change and transformation, South African revolutionaries should dialectically weave the relationship between the race question and the class question and never depart from the importance of the racial factor in the South African national liberation struggle. Taking into account the key characteristic features of the current South African situation, this paper raises the question as to what was the view of the relationship between the race question and the class question by the South African revolutionaries during the struggle for state political power. What is the relationship between this theoretical task and South Africa's socio-political and economic situation since 1994?

**JoAnn McGregor**  
**University of Sussex, UK**  
Дж. Макгрегор  
Университет Суссекса  
Брайтон, Великобритания

**Justice for Zimbabwe? Anti-Colonial Internationalisms, Exile and  
Solidarity Activism in Britain 1965-1980**

**Справедливость для Зимбабве? Антиколониальный  
интернационализм, изгнание и солидарность  
в Британии (1965-1980 гг.)**

This paper explores the internationalisms that characterised Zimbabwe solidarity campaigns in Britain, following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Rhodesia's rebel white settler regime in 1965 through the protracted armed struggle that led to Zimbabwe's independence and majority rule in 1980. It aims to contribute to new transnational historiographies of anti-colonialism, anti-racialism and southern African liberation. The internationalisms of solidarity work in Britain were shaped by the architectures of the UN, Commonwealth and the Cold War, and by efforts to counter the transnational alliances and propaganda of Southern African white supremacist regimes that cast guerrilla fighters as communist terrorists, sustained multiple politico-economic ties in Britain and made connections with anti-immigration lobbies. Zimbabwe solidarity campaigns were enmeshed with broader anti-apartheid activism, yet differed in that Rhodesia's rebel regime was a specifically British responsibility. The paper uses archival and interview sources to explore the activities, networks and framings of activists and exiled liberation movement representatives. It emphasises the conflicts as well as convergences between liberal humanitarian, leftist and Africanist internationalisms, and the tensions that characterised relations between solidarity groups and fractious Zimbabwean nationalist movements. In the light of disillusion with postcolonial governance and criticism of solidarity groups' romanticized view of liberation struggles, the paper stresses the affective appeal of moral humanitarian and human rights-based aspects of solidarity campaigns and power of personalized contacts. The latter included long distance correspondence with Zimbabwean political prisoners, encounters with freedom fighters, exiles and students in Britain. The networks and alliances fostered though the internationalisms of this period have interesting legacies in the postcolonial context, including in the most recent phases of Zimbabwean exodus, exile and transnational activism in Britain.

**Tshepo Moloji**  
**University of the Witwatersrand**  
**South Africa**  
Ц. Молои  
Университет Витватерсранда  
Йоханнесбург, ЮАР

**Reflections on the Historiography of Students in the Struggle for  
Liberation in South Africa, 1979 to 1990**  
**Размышления об историографии участия студентов в борьбе за  
освобождение Южной Африки в 1979–1990 гг.**

The banning of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 broke the back of black politics in South Africa – albeit temporarily. These were revived again by students, particularly members of the South African Student Organisation. However, it was the Congress of South African Students which reinvigorated mass mobilization and organization in the 1980s in the African townships, and forced the apartheid government into a state of panic. This was evident in its vicious response. Available literature on the role of students in the struggle for liberation in South Africa tends to depict students as violent and mindless activists, whose activities caused mayhem. This literature downplays the intellectual role of the students which contributed to the development of ideas that shaped the direction of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

**Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu**  
**South African Democracy**  
**Education Trust (SADET)**  
С. М. Ндлову  
Южноафриканский трест  
демократического образования, Претория

**The History of Ideas and the Democratic Dispensation in South Africa**  
**История идей и демократизация в Южной Африке**

When CODESA took place in South Africa it did not only signify the battle of political power in South Africa but it also provided a platform of a battle of Ideas. This was a continuation of an intellectual battle whose protagonists included the African National Congress, Nationalists Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It was not surprising that both the NP and IFP enlisted the services of think-tanks, intellectuals academics such Simon Huntington, Arendt Lijphart and Heribert Adam. The ANC's intellectuals such as OR Tambo, its president, Pallo Jordan and 'Mzala' were enmeshed in this battle. Though the ANC had clarified its main ideas about negotiations

for a democratic dispensation by 1996, the main proponents of these ideas had to fight a hard battle against Africanists and “militarists” within the movements. Also South African academics such as Belinda Bozzoli contributed in such debates by promoting ideas that by the 1970s the liberation movements were vanquished by the NP. This paper will analyse the various positions held by the various groups.

The ideas perpetuated by the NP, that of protecting the rights of white minority rule, are back on the political landscape in South Africa. On 10 October 2013, a group referring themselves as white Afrikaners yearning for the “old days”, marched to the Union Buildings demanding the protection of their rights as a minority group. They marched under the banner of “Red October” probably not aware of the historical meaning of the term, taking into consideration aversion to communism displayed by the majority of white South Africans.

**Vladimir Shubin**  
**Institute for African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
В. Г. Шубин  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**“The Hidden Thread” to “The External Mission”**  
**«Скрытая угроза» «внешней миссии»**

The paper will review two recently published books, “The External Mission. The ANC in Exile” by Stephen Ellis and “The Hidden Thread. Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era” by Irina Filatova and Apollon Davidson. On surface there are some similarities between them: both were published by Jonathan Ball, both were recommended by David Welsh. Moreover, while the main text of the British author’s book ends with the phrase “It is just another country”, the Russian authors named their last chapter “Just another country?”, that is almost identically, though with a question mark. Besides significant parts of both books are devoted to the history of Moscow’s relations with the South African liberation movement.

However in reality the books are quite different. Even if the book by Stephen Ellis was praised by publishers as “meticulously researched” the paper will argue that it did not save it from being visibly biased. Meanwhile the work of the Russian authors justifies their dedication – “To those Russians who understand and love South Africa and to those South Africans who understand and love Russia”. Nonetheless, needless to say, it will be critically reviewed as well.

Natalia Telepneva  
London School of Economics and  
Political Science (LSE)  
UK

Н. Телепнева  
Лондонская школа экономики  
Великобритания

**Uneasy Alliance: The Soviet Union and the FRELIMO, 1962–1964**  
**Непростой альянс: Советский Союз и ФРЕЛИМО (1962–1964 гг.)**

On 25 June 1962, three Mozambican nationalist parties announced the creation of a new national-liberation movement, *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)*, the *Front for the Liberation of Mozambique* at a conference held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This paper investigates the relationship between the Soviet Union and the FRELIMO between 1962 and 1964 based on new evidence from the GDR and Czechoslovak archives. From the start, the relationship between the Soviet Union and the FRELIMO was not an easy one. The Soviet officials who followed developments inside the FRELIMO were unsure whether the movement would actually survive due to an internal political crisis, which saw the majority of the original leadership rebel against Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first president. In fact, the Soviets were highly skeptical of Mondlane since he had studied and had worked in the United States and maintained close relations with the Kennedy administration. Soviet attitudes towards FRELIMO gradually improved as it became clear that the movement survived the internal crisis and actually began mobilization for military action against the Portuguese rule in Mozambique. Increasingly, the Soviet officials relied on Marcelino dos Santos who would provide reassurances that the FRELIMO would not become "pro-American". Support that the FRELIMO received from the Tanzanian authorities also proved decisive for the change in Soviet attitudes. Finally, Moscow decided to provide assistance to the FRELIMO after Mondlane had visited Moscow in May 1964. It is still not fully clear how much Soviet competition with China influenced that decision, since the Chinese Communist Party had courted the FRELIMO leadership from 1963 onwards. Available evidence suggests that the 'Chinese factor' was important but not decisive for the Soviets. It was during this period that many patterns of the Soviet relationship with the FRELIMO took shape.



**Blessing-Miles Tendi**  
**University of Oxford**  
**UK**

Б.-М. Тенди  
Оксфордский университет  
Великобритания

**ZANU's Relationship with FRELIMO (1974–1979)**  
**Отношения ЗАНУ с ФРЕЛИМО (1974–1979 гг.)**

FRELIMO allowed Zimbabwe's ZANU party to set up military camps in independent Mozambique from the mid 1970s to 1980. From these Mozambican bases, ZANU made guerrilla incursions in to Rhodesia as part of prosecuting a liberation struggle, which ended in 1980. This paper proposes to explore how ZANU's relationship with its host FRELIMO (1974–80), impacted on the leadership transformations ZANU underwent, and the political settlements the party made, during these years.

**Токарев А.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Andrey A. Tokarev  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Личный архив Э.В. Капского**  
**The Personal Archive of E. V. Kapsky**

Каждый исследователь понимает значение архивов для установления объективного хода событий и роли его участников. Особый интерес представляют собой домашние архивы свидетелей или непосредственных участников событий. Многие домашние архивы по разным причинам до сих пор хранятся неразобранными, скрывая в себе бесценные для истории документы, фотографии, факты. Один из таких домашних архивов принадлежал советскому историку, политику, учёному-африканисту Э.В. Капскому.

Архив Э.В. Капского можно подразделить на несколько тем:

К первой группе можно отнести документы, исследования, записи бесед, направлявшиеся в адрес Э.В. Капского или подготовленные им. Среди архива есть материалы, содержащие уникальные сведения. Среди них, например, запись беседы с лидером УНИТА Ж. Савимби, датированная серединой 1960-х гг.; личная и деловая переписка некоторых африканских лидеров с партийными и государственными органами СССР.

Вторую группу составят подшивки документов Африканской партии независимости Гвинеи-Бисау и Кабо-Верде (ПАИГК), Народного

движения за освобождение Анголы (МПЛА) и Фронта освобождения Мозамбика (ФРЕЛИМО), представляющие собой, в основном, отпечатанные на машинке коммюнике, написанные, как правило, на бланках ПАИГК, МПЛА, ФРЕЛИМО на португальском языке и подписанные А. Кабралом, А. Нето и другими лидерами этих организаций. Например, коммюнике ПАИГК охватывают период с 1965 по 1974 гг. и содержат сводки с ходом боевых действий партизан ПАИГК против португальских войск и международную реакцию на события в Гвинее-Бисау. Ангольские и мозамбикские документы тоже содержат уникальный фактический материал периода ведения активных боевых действий и представляют большой интерес как источники.

Третья группа материалов содержит довольно обширный круг публикаций, связанных с событиями в Анголе 27 мая 1977 г. В основном это открытые партийные документы МПЛА, публикации в средствах массовой информации Анголы и других стран. Публикации большинства материалов малоизвестны в отечественной общественно-политической литературе.

Введение в научный оборот многих ранее неизвестных материалов будет представлять большой интерес для исторической науки и существенно дополнит картину исторических процессов в португалоговорящих странах Африки в период антиколониальной борьбы и в первые годы самостоятельного развития.

Each researcher is aware of the value of archives in order to establish an objective course of events and the role of its participants. Of particular interest are the personal archives of witnesses or direct participants in events. Many personal archives for different reasons are still not sorted out, hiding priceless historical documents, photos, facts. One such archive belonged to late Dr Eduard Kapsky, a Soviet historian, official and African scholar.

The archive can be divided into several themes:

The first group includes documents, research papers, interviews and notes sent to Kapsky or drafted by him. Among them there are materials that contain unique information, for example, a record of discussion with Jonas Savimbi in 1964, and personal and business correspondence of some African leaders with party and government authorities of the USSR.

The second group is the collection of papers of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which are mainly communiqués typed under the letterheads of PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO in Portuguese and signed by Amilcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto and the other leaders of these organizations. For example, the communiqués of the PAIGC cover the period from 1965 to

1974 and contain summaries of the PAIGC guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese forces and the international reaction to the events in Guinea-Bissau. The Angolan and Mozambican documents also contain a unique factual material of the period of active hostilities and of great interest as sources.

The third group of materials includes a wide range of publications connected with the events in Angola on May 27, 1977. They are mainly non-classified MPLA party documents, publications in the mass media in Angola and other countries. These materials are little known in the domestic social and political literature.

Introduction to scientific circulation of many previously unknown materials would be of great interest for the historical science and would complement the picture of historical processes in Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa during the anti-colonial struggle and in the first years of independent development.

**Jo-Ansie van Wyk**  
**University of South Africa (UNISA)**  
**South Africa**

Ж.-А. ван Вюк  
Университет Южной Африки, Претория

**Operation Mac and Wilkenon's sword: The African National Congress' Bombing of the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station**

**Операция «Мак» и меч Уилкинсона: бомбардировка Африканским национальным конгрессом атомной электростанции Кёберг**

On 18 December 1982, a bomb planted by an operative of the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), UmKhonto WeSizwe (MK) exploded at the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station (hereafter Koeberg), north of Cape Town in South Africa. Rodney Wilkinson, South Africa's champion swordsman, planted the bomb as part of MK's Operation Mac (named after ANC stalwart and currently the spokesperson of the South African President, Mac Maharaj). The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the bombing, Africa's only act of nuclear terrorism, as part of the ANC's liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Wilkenon's preparation for the operation took him to, inter alia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland whereas the plans of Koeberg which he submitted to the ANC were verified by Moscow.

**Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi**  
**University of the Witwatersrand**  
**Johannesburg, South Africa**  
С.П. Лекгоати  
Университет Витватерсранда  
Йоханнесбург, ЮАР

**The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and the Liberation  
Struggle in South Africa, 1963–1991**

**Радио «Свобода» Африканского национального конгресса и освободительная борьба в Южной Африке (1963–1991 гг.)**

This study is about the history of Radio Freedom, the African National Congress's (ANC) radio station from 1963 to 1991. Established as a pirate radio operating clandestinely inside South Africa shortly after the turn to guerrilla warfare and the formation of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), Radio Freedom was forced by state repression to move into exile where it became a fully established station in the late 1960s. Using a combination of documentary sources and audio footage deposited at the Robben Island-Mayibuye Archives at the University of the Western Cape and the Liberation Archive at Fort Hare University, as well as the oral accounts or memories of the struggle veterans, this paper explores questions about the relationship between the ANC and its alliance partners, particularly the South African Communist Party; listenership to Radio Freedom and how audiences tuned in to the station inside the country; the messages that listeners appropriated from it, and the impact of those messages on political mobilization in the country. The paper advances arguments about how radio broadcasting became a strategic priority for the ANC and its allies in the aftermath of the violent crushing and the turn to the armed struggle and a means by which the liberation movement projected its own voice inside the country. Despite its illegality inside the country and the jamming techniques used by the state to block signal transmission, individuals from the younger, more politically active generation of black South Africans did find creative but discreet ways of tuning in to Radio Freedom. This station was arguably one of the major sources of information on the ANC, shaping political education and understanding of the developments and influencing political activities inside the country.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-5

**Именованье иного: искусство, традиции и война в Анголе и  
за ее пределами**

**Naming Otherness: Art, Traditions and Wars in Angola and beyond**

**Руководитель / Convener: Bruno Brant Sotto Mayor  
(National Museum, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)**

This panel aims at perusing the relationships between nation-state building, wars and traditions in Angola and beyond. By analyzing naming practices, we are interested in unveiling the historicity and iteration of social categories such as ethnic denominations, war enemies, national boundaries and social otherness. Departing from the *nkishi* art movement, we seek to evidence foremost the wide circulation of concepts across frontiers and social units in Central Africa (Angola, Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshasa) along the last 150 years, in order to challenge the contemporary idea of “national heritage” – still strongly based on the ethnography carried out by colonial museums. By questioning the translation of *nkishi* art ethnographically, we intend to approach urban and rural artists beyond the formal borrowings as well as the duality modernity/tradition that have constituted the so-called national art traditions nowadays in Central Africa. Appropriated solely for its aesthetics, the *nkishi* sculptural genre has kept behind formal programs taken by contemporary artists in their strategies of insertion into the global art market – while devoid of any ontological dialogue. In contrast, we want to explore ethnographically how the *nkishi* art, in its different strands, has been dealing with ecology, war trauma, and otherness, and most importantly, what is the potential of inter(in)vention and political critique that it brings to avant-garde art movements. On the other hand, such a historical approach to art allows us to question the ethnic boundaries which, forged by missionary writings and colonial administrations, would then be dialectically incorporated by anti-colonial nationalist fronts in Angola. Our attempt is to reveal how social instabilities affect conventions and, as a result, the process of naming and invention. Therefore, we assume that the name ascribed to collective subjects precedes and exceeds them in that it has a historicity that is contained in iteration. In this way, we analyze the sameness and differences that have been historically attributed to ethnic and national denominations, in an attempt to delineate pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial forms of naming the difference. Our purpose is to understand the relationship between the production and iteration of naming categories and the assignment of a social place to those

designated by such names. In contrasting colonial archives with contemporary *nkishi* ritual practices, we emphasize the biography of categories such as “chimbali” (black who became whites as slave traders) and “chindeli”/”puthu” (white men themselves). These terms were created by those peoples who remained beyond colonial domains in Central Africa until the end on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while hierarchically and violently inserted in long-distance trade routes. Having Angola as paradigmatic background, we intend to explore how the social category of the white continued to be historically renamed according to (Portuguese, Belgian, French) colonial specificities and war proxies, whereas the term “chimbali” would remain misunderstood. If on the other hand it reverberates the silence of archives in contrast to how the pre-colonial war trauma has been domesticated by *nkishi* rituals until today, on other hand it had a paradoxical consequence. By denying the vernacular forms of nomination, colonial written sources perpetrated a drastic iteration that was appropriated by the leaders of nationalist movements; this caused the emergence of excluding national imaginaries that, while based foremost on colonial taxonomies and forged in opposition to the white, would be progressively employed against any idea of ontological difference and self-nomination.

### **SESSION I Art and Meaning**

**Discussant:** Ariel Rolim

**Nadine Siegert**  
**Universität Bayreuth**  
**Bayreuth**  
Н. Зигерт

Университет Байрота, Германия

### **Nostalgia and Utopia: On the (Post)socialist Condition in Angolan Contemporary Art Practice**

**Ностальгия и утопия: к вопросу о (пост)социалистическом  
состоянии современной художественной практики в Анголе**

Aesthetic practice in both fine art and literature relies on a specific relation with the political and the social – the 'reality-archive' as context, resource or counterpoint. This occurs in imaginary artistic strategies, forming utopian alternative realities of the modern period as well as in more contemporary, social related practices linked to Bourriaud's relational aesthetics. In fine arts, (political) icons as images with coagulated meaning

are repeated elements, referring to nostalgic and utopian concepts of society. This is particularly interesting in the context of the African 'revolutions' and the societies which have been born out of this. Today artists are critically revisiting these days and reactivate iconic images of the postcolonial, colonial and socialist times. Such images form the visual and textual archives of the revolution; they are remixed, re-interpreted or repeated in their appropriations into different media such as painting, photography, audiovisual media and literature, and thus form a body of inter-iconic references.

This paper is based on the hypothesis that images have the power or are endowed with power to evoke, attend and catalyze political change. In Bloch's sense, aesthetic practice offers a realm for an anticipation of the future – a concrete utopia. In that sense, images are independent (*eigenmächtig*) and efficacious (*wirkmächtig*). I focus my paper on Angolan art, based on my PhD research in Angola, analyzing and interpreting images of nostalgia and utopia linked to the revolutionary project, as well as their filiation, permutation and migration. The country has been part of the “socialist international”, an integral part of the political dynamics and to be found in the iconographies of the time and today. Works by artists such as Kiluanji Kia Henda or Fernando Alvim serve as the visual and textual archives where these images can be found in their manifold manifestations. How are icons formed, re-formed and communicated through textual and visual practice by referring to the revolutionary archive? How are image and text productions related to each other in this process? And how are these aesthetic processes linked to the constitution of collective memory and narratives of historical and contemporary ideas of nation and belonging?

**Iracema Dulley**  
**Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning**  
**São Paulo, Brazil**

И. Дуллей  
Бразильский центр анализа  
и планирования, Сан-Паулу

**Naming and Art in Moçamedes: Funerary Stela as Social Inscriptions**  
**Поименование и искусство в Мосамедише:**  
**надгробные памятники социальные надписи**

In this paper, I will focus on the gravestones which were found in various African cemeteries in the district of Moçamedes and documented by Carlos Lopes Cardoso in the work *Estelas funerárias dos Mbali: um caso de aculturação* [Funerary Stela of the Mbali: A Case of Acculturation]. Although the title of the book refers only to “the Mbali”, the various cemeteries

studied by the author included tombs of “Mbali” and “non Mbali”. The categories “mbali” and “quimbaires” (the Portuguese transliteration of the vernacular term) are used in Lopes’s work as ethnonyms, but in fact these categories points to the social place of the assimilated, i.e., the African colonial subject who managed to attain the status of citizen in 20<sup>th</sup>-century colonial Angola. In this paper, I analyze these stela—many of which had the form of a cross and included various motifs, such as family relationships, occupation, property, gender, social status, life history, names, and dates—as inscriptions produced by African colonial subjects. In so doing, I focus on the relationship between “indígenas” (natives) and “quimbaires” (assimilated, de facto or de jure); the relationship between the tombs and the social position of those buried in them; and the intersections that might be observed between Catholic and “traditional” funerary art, indexing the relationship the artists and their clients established with the colonial world.

**Bruno Sotto Mayor**  
**National Museum**  
**Rio de Janeiro, Brazil;**  
**National Museum of Anthropology**  
**Luanda, Angola**  
Б.Б. Сотто Майор  
Национальный музей  
Рио-де-Жанейро, Бразилия

**Also Speak the *nikishi shi*:**  
**Trauma, Ecology and Politics in Eastern Angolan Forests**  
***Никиши ши* тоже говорят:**

**ТРАВМА, ЭКОЛОГИЯ И ПОЛИТИКА В ВОСТОЧНОАНГОЛЬСКИХ ЛЕСАХ**

This paper aims to shed light on the form and ontology of *nikishi shi* sculptures in Chokwe art tradition. Departing from Chinua Achebe’s assumption that the aesthetic value resides in the process rather than the object itself, I am interested in exploring how the affects transit through different embodied media: from dreams of doubles to trance characters, and then into the carving of polymorphic beings. Having such an art impulse as a background, the scholarship will propose three axes of discussion. Firstly, a reversal approach that implodes the colonial-missionary definition of this art genre as idol. Here, I seek to trace back the very Greek concept of *eidolon* that antecedes as much as exceeds the Christian iconoclastic practices of naming ontological differences. By proposing this parallelism between epiphanic art traditions, I intend then to peruse the anthropomorphism of *nikishi shi* sculptures themselves beyond western dualities such as mind-body and reason-emotion, in order to elucidate what this art is expressing. This



way, I bring into discussion the complexity of an aesthetic program in which war enemies, dead and predator animals become in trance parts of the self; the exploration of natural resources is not determined by a supposedly hierarchical, evolutionary and teleological ranking of species; the ownership is not an exclusive human attribute as originally thought by Locke and Marx. Which potential of political criticism may it bring about?

## **SESSION II War and Ethnicity**

**Discussant:** Bruno Sotto Mayor

**Ariel Rolim**  
**University of Sao Paulo**  
**São Paulo, Brazil**  
А. Ролим  
Университет Сан-Паулу  
Бразилия

### **The Shifting Uses of Difference: Categories Employed by UNITA during the Angolan Civil War** **Смещающееся использование различия: категории, использовавшиеся УНИТА во время гражданской войны в Анголе**

In the opposition between MPLA and UNITA in their quest for state power in Angola, two opposing forms of universalizing discourse and use of difference were created. However, as a matter of necessity, both were aimed at a coherent national identity. Different categories of differentiation (ethnicity, rural-urban opposition, race, and even ideological allegiances) were mobilized by each side in distinct ways and at different moments of the conflict, either as claims or as accusations. Emphasis on specific categories changed during the course of events as the actors' strategies were informed by issues of their respective political agendas. This process would lead to a continuous reconfiguration of the attribution of differences in which belongings and the logics of alignment were also altered. The opposing movements seem to have molded their "irreconciliations" in relation to each other. This paper compares discourses by UNITA's leaders according to different turning points of discursive regimes during the civil war. It does so in order to suggest possible ways of mapping the processes of reconfiguration of differences in the construction of the Angolan national imaginary, and to track down the itinerary of categories in this process negotiation.

**Virginie Tallio**  
**ISCTE – University of Lisbon**  
**Lisbon, Portugal**  
В. Таллио  
Лиссабонский университет  
Португалия

**“Refugee,” “Angolan,” “Zaïrois” and “Congolese”: Circulation of  
People and Categories Between Angola and D.R.C.  
during and after the War**  
**«Беженец», «анголец», «заирец» и «конголезец»:  
циркулирование людей и категорий между Анголой и ДРК  
во время и после войны**

This paper will focus on the circulation of people between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, especially and respectively between the province of Bas-Congo and the province of Zaïre.

These two provinces, along with the province of Cabinda and some areas of Gabon and of the Republic of Congo, once constituted the kingdom of Kongo.

During the thirty years of war, people crossed the border between the two countries. Both countries were caught up in a civil war and populations were seeking refuge in one or another country according to the circumstances, but people were also moving for familial or economic reasons, as they were used to do before the wars broke out. This flow of people leads to the elaboration of new categories or to the reinvestment of former ones in order to classify and manage these populations, either by the local populations or by institutions. For example, the category of “refugee” was used along the one of “Angolan”, as they were grouping different kinds of people.

In this paper, we will explore the creation and use of these categories by the actors during the immediate post-war period and by those who now participate in the reconstruction of post-war Angola at the local and national level. We will analyze the different meanings given to each of them according to political events and depending on social strata.

**John Spall**  
**University of Sussex, UK**  
Дж. Сполл  
Университет Суссекса  
Брайтон, Великобритания

**“The Wisdom of our Forbears” and ‘the Accumulated Rubbish of History’: Angolan War Veterans Interpreting War-Induced Social Change through “Ovimbundu Tradition”**

**«Мудрость его наших предков» и «скопившийся мусор истории»: интерпретация вызванных войной социальных перемен сквозь призму «традиции овимбунду» ветеранами ангольской войны**

This paper examines how Angolan war veterans use the categories of “tradition” and the “modern” to interpret social change brought on by the civil war. Based on a year of participant observation and interviews with war veterans in the city of Huambo, this paper studies how the tradition-modernity binary, whilst clearly present, does not quite map onto what is “developed” and “backwards”. While these men clearly want to think of themselves as “advanced” rather than “backward”, they have misgivings about some aspects of modernity, and are proud of and want to maintain some aspects of long-standing “Ovimbundu” values, and such aspects are generally referred to as “traditional” rather than ‘backward’. Using views of the institutions of the men’s house (*ondjango*) and the circumcision ceremony (*evamba*) as a lens, the paper will discuss how veterans disavow certain aspects of collective history, and express nostalgia for others, as they seek to accommodate themselves to the convulsive change *planalto* society has undergone in the past 40 years.

**SESSION III**  
**The Colonial and Postcolonial State**

**Discussant:** Iracema Dulley

**Diego Marques**  
**Federal University of Bahia**  
**Brasil**

Д. Маркес  
Федеральный университет Байя  
Салвадор, Бразилия

**“Hundreds Against One”: Gray Memories of the Angolan Colonial  
World from a Weak (However Dominant) Point of View**  
**«Сотни против одного»: мемуары Грэя об ангольском  
колониальном мире со слабой (однако доминирующей)  
точки зрения**

This paper focuses on a broad set of records and narratives concerning the staff of the Civil Administration Services, the main department accountable for the management and control of the native population within the Angolan colonial State during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It intends to discuss how, from the memories of interactions between African societies and the colonial staff, emerge not only gray and ambiguous remembrances of empathy or violence, but also mutual vulnerabilities, some of which could be seen as influential pieces of the perennial trope of the “weakness of the State” in Southern African contexts. Based on data collected in interviews, administrative records and reports, letters, memorials, photographs, and some other sources, specifically regarding the administrative posts located in Lunda, North Kwanza, South Kwanza and Namibe, between the 1930s and 1950s, this paper examines two main questions. Firstly, these records and narratives suggest that colonial staff views regarding African societies, especially those concerned with their ritual life or jural and moral patterns, range from images of displacement, detachment, and antagonism to paradoxical perceptions of equivalence and nearness. On other hand, however, the distances and detachments in these views should be seen as connected with the central role played by an idea of mismatch that supports some of the political strategies undertaken by the colonial State (and by the complex plethora of its agents) as well as by native societies, given the “weaknesses” and potentials of both positions. The theoretical approach proposed here draws on an anthropology of knowledge for which it is central to consider the epistemological ways in which perspectives and interpretive

categories about the world were produced, notwithstanding its understanding of knowledge as being social and linked to the social framework in which it emerges.

**Paulo Muller**  
**Federal University of the Southern Frontier**  
**Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul**

П. Мюллер  
Федеральный университет Рио-Гранде-ду-Сул  
Эрежим, Бразилия

**Immigration and Ethnicity in Contemporary Northern Angola**  
**Иммиграция и этничность в современной Северной Анголе**

In this paper I address the interplay between ethnic and national identities in the relations between immigrants and national communities in border cities of Northern Angola. In Angola, crossborder immigration, especially of Congolese from both the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville), is ostensibly depicted in the media and official discourses as a matter of national security, presenting immigrants as usurpers that carry away resources intended for Angola's post-civil war reconstruction, with a focus on the oil-rich and diamond-rich provinces of Cabinda and Lunda Norte, respectively. Based on ethnographic evidence gathered during fieldwork in these provinces, I analyze how Angolans and immigrants reinterpret colonial history and folkloric representations in order to situate this wider approach to migration within the scope of ethnic relations and conflicts.

**Fernando Sabonete**  
**Federal University of Pernambuco**

Ф. Сабонете  
Федеральный университет Пернамбуко  
Ресифе, Бразилия

**Women's Conversion and Reconversion: Religion in the Public Sphere**  
**Обращение и повторное обращение женщин:**  
**религия в общественной сфере**

The development of religious processes having groups of women and neo-pentecostal movements as their protagonists has taken a prominent role in the Angolan scenario. When women assign meaning to their religious processes, the colonialist discourse of traditional churches gives way to self-representation, a construction by women in the first person plural. The role and significance of religious practices is thus reassessed. In these processes, women orchestrate history according to the logic of their own schemes, and

this constitutes views that are not “on” women, but “by” women, who present their perspectives on their cultures of faith and trajectories. Neopentecostal churches are part of a broad process of renovation affecting the religious field, and as such they offer specific configurations for post-modern representational protagonism. This phenomenon cuts across ethnic social organizations and is related to religious mobilizations and to the politics of memory of these populations. This religious and conceptual rupture has made it possible to reassess the anthropological gaze on the “other” that is constructed by means of ethnographic objects and collections. This invites us to understand the new discourses and representations that are elaborated by the discourse on the self. Based on the diversity of experience in various ethnic and/or institutional contexts, this paper aims at targeting a classical and promising field: the anthropology of religious women and ethnographic collections.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-6**  
**Нигерия: 100 лет после образования**  
**Nigeria: 100 Years after Amalgamation**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. O. Igho Natufe**  
**(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

The Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria were amalgamated by British Colonial Governor Fredrick Lugard in January 1914. Several Nigerian scholars and statesmen have expressed contending views about the risks and incentives of this amalgamation. For example, speaking in the Northern House of Assembly in 1952, Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who later became the Prime Minister of Nigeria (1960–1966), dismissed the amalgamation of Nigeria by the British Government. He declared as follows: “...the Southern people who are swarming into this region daily in large numbers are really intruders. We don’t want them and they are not welcome here in the North. Since the amalgamation in 1914, the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people are different in every way including religion, custom, language and aspiration. The fact that we’re all Africans might have misguided the British Government. We here in the North, take it that `Nigerian unity` is not for us”. (As cited by A. Adeleye, “Amalgamation of 1914: Was it a mistake?” Vanguard, Lagos, May 18, 2012.) In numerous articles on the subject for the past 6 decades, Nigerians have grappled with the problematic of amalgamation. The proposed panel strives to assemble a group of experts – Nigerians and expatriates – to provide insightful analysis on this subject by focusing on the following topics:

- the concept of amalgamation;
- pre-1914 Nigeria: protectorate or colony?
- amalgamation and the national question in Nigeria;
- the socio-economic ramifications of amalgamation.

**O. Igho Natufe**  
**Institute for African Studies,**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
О. И. Натуфе  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**The Amalgamation of Nigeria and the Quest for a Nation**  
**Образование Нигерии и поиск нации**

In 2014 (January 01) Nigeria and the United Kingdom shall be celebrating the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the amalgamation of Nigeria. For the United Kingdom it will be viewed as a celebration of their colonial success in bringing together disparate nationalities in a new country they had christened “Nigeria”. On the other hand, Nigerians will use the occasion as another opportunity to contemplate the future of Nigeria as they grapple with the problematics of establishing a Nation. This paper shall analyse the evolution of this process and propose options on how best to establish a durable foundation for Nigeria.

**Olayemi Akinwumi**  
**Nasarawa State University**  
**Keffi, Nigeria**  
О. Акинвуми  
Университет штата Насарава  
Кеффи, Нигерия

**Still Strange Bed-Fellows 100 Years after the Amalgamation: A Focus**  
**on the 1914 Amalgamation and Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria Все**  
**еще странные сожители через 100 лет после объединения:**  
**объединение 1914 г. и межгрупповые отношения в Нигерии**

In 1914, the British colonial government took the decision to amalgamate all their commercial interests in the river Niger area. The decision led to the emergence of Nigeria as a colonial entity and later as an independent African country. It is important to note that the decision to amalgamate the various British interests was taken without reference to the historical background of the various ethnic groups in the Niger area. This has become the source of ethnic crisis in the country today. Indeed, one of the foremost Nigerian nationalists and politicians referred to the amalgamation as the “mistake of 1914”. Another one referred to Nigeria as a “mere geographical expression”. These two views represent how the different ethnic groups view their co-existence in Nigeria. This paper therefore examines the impact of the amalgamation on intergroup relations in Nigeria.



It argues that the 1914 amalgamation was not meant to promote the sense of nationhood by the British colonial government as could be seen in intergroup relations in the country. It concludes that the 1914 amalgamation was a paper amalgamation and the postcolonial leaders need to correct the anomalies resulting from the British amalgamation. The paper will essentially rely on both primary and secondary data.

**Nkwachukwu Orji**  
**Nigeria Centenary Celebration**  
**Abuja, Nigeria**

Н. Орджи  
Комитет по празднованию  
столетнего юбилея Нигерии, Абуджа

**Nigeria @ 100: Revisiting the Basis and Outcome of the Amalgamation Project**

**Нигерия в 100 лет: пересмотр оснований и последствий проекта образования**

On 1 January 2014, Nigeria will commemorate 100 years of the amalgamation of the disparate groups that constitute the country. The event offers a unique opportunity to focus global attention on Nigeria; her history, peoples, achievements, and aspiration. But on the other hand, the decision to celebrate Nigeria's centenary revived the age-long opposition to the amalgamation project. Opponents of amalgamation have traditionally argued that it is the foundation of all the challenges of Nigeria's yet unconsummated nation building project. Bearing this in mind, they question the logic behind celebrating the amalgamation project. This paper will examine the underlying issues behind the opposition to the amalgamation of Nigeria, and attempt to address the following fundamental questions: 1) why has amalgamation remained a contested aspect of Nigeria's national development? 2) What are the issues and forces that have made the amalgamation of Nigeria irreversible, even in the context of a persistent opposition? 3) What kind of outcome has resulted from Nigeria's amalgamation project and how does this support or refutes the concerns of the opponents of amalgamation?

This paper will argue that criticisms of the amalgamation of Nigeria are largely based on wrong notions held by opponents of amalgamation about: 1) the meaning of amalgamation, 2) what amalgamation should achieve but has failed to achieve, 3) the range and scope of amalgamation, 4) how the amalgamation project has proceeded or should proceed, and 5) the authors of or driving forces behind amalgamation. Regarding the undercurrents for amalgamation of Nigeria, the paper argues that interaction among pre-

colonial empires and family of states, the activities of the colonial authorities and Nigerian nationalists, as well as the actions of the post-colonial civilian and military rulers, serve as the driving force behind the continuity of the amalgamation project. Finally, the paper notes that the amalgamation of Nigeria has produced both negative and positive outcomes, including the persistent national question around distribution of power and resources as well as economic interdependency and prosperity, respectively.

**Emmanuel Samuel Iriemi Ejere**

**University of Uyo**

**Uyo, Nigeria**

Э.С.И. Эджере

Университет Уйо, Нигерия

### **Amalgamation of 1914 and the National Question in Nigeria**

#### **Объединение 1914 г. и национальный вопрос в Нигерии**

Nigeria's seemingly intractable crisis of nation-hood is traceable to her colonial past. In 1914 the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated without discursive engagement with the local peoples. Whereas, the two territories brought together had developed exclusive characters of their own during the period of separate colonial experiences. But because Britain was more interested in exploiting the country than unifying it, she accentuated and maintained the differences between the North and South through the deliberate colonial policy of "divide" and "rule".

Thus a problematic basis was laid for the quest for national unity in post-colonial Nigeria. Almost 100 years after the 1914 amalgamation and over 53 years of political independence, Nigeria cannot be said to be more unified today. Successive Nigerian political leaders have merely paid "lip service" to the ideals of nation-building and national integration. Thus, the various ethnic nationalities in Nigeria still elicit greater loyalties from their indigenes than the geographical entity called Nigeria.

Consequently, ethno-religious conflicts are on the rise in the country. This situation fuels the agitations for a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) to decide, among other things, whether the ethnic groups still desire to remain together as one country or if every group is to go its separate way. This paper therefore examines the national question in Nigeria in the context of the colonial policies as well as post-independence policies, and argues that given the failure of nation-building, there are no truly Nigerian Nationals though a country christened Nigeria exist as a mere geographical expression.

**Julius O. Adekunle**  
**Monmouth University**  
**West Long Branch, USA**  
Дж.О. Адекунле  
Университет Монмут  
Вест-Лонг-Бранч, США

**The 1914 Amalgamation in Nigeria: An Unholy Alliance**  
**Мезальянс: Образование Нигерии в 1914 г.**

In the pre-colonial times, Nigeria existed as atomized independent units. Some societies adopted with centralized political system with large kingdoms or empires while others were stateless. This is one of the reasons why Obafemi Awolowo described Nigeria as a “geographical expression” in his *Path to Freedom*, published in 1947. The new imperialism, which brought the Europeans to Africa, especially the British to Nigeria in the second half of the nineteenth century, brought about a significant political change. It also introduced a new dimension to ethnic relations. Under Frederick Lugard (working for the Royal Niger Company), the British conquered the Sokoto Caliphate, instituted the indirect rule, and brought the Northern and Southern Protectorates together. Lugard’s “unification” of Nigeria (known as the amalgamation) in 1914, was carried out for the administrative convenience of the British colonial government, but it has created ethnic and political problems for Nigeria in modern times. Little or no thought was put into the compatibility of the people forcefully interlocked together. The problems emanating from the amalgamation has prompted its declaration as “an unholy alliance.”

This paper will examine the pre-colonial political systems and the transition to the colonial period, emphasizing the role of the British in creating Nigeria as a nation, and discuss reasons why the amalgamation has been considered a wrong political move and why some Nigerians have called for its dissolution since it is perceived as retarding the socio-economic development as well as nation building.

**Abdul-Gafar Tobi Oshodi**  
**Lagos State University**  
**Lagos, Nigeria**  
А.-Г.Т. Ошоди  
Университет штата Лагос, Нигерия

## **The Coming Apocalypse? Nationalism, Instigators and the Dangers of a Balkanised Nigeria**

### **Приближающийся апокалипсис? Национализм, подстрекатели и опасности балканизированной Нигерии**

The creation of Nigeria in 1914 by the British colonial government is hinged on the forced theory. Consequently, while some early nationalists had described the country's emergence as "the mistake of 1914" or a mere "geographical expression," a number of contemporary views have not only re-echoed the same *thinking of artificiality* but Nigerio-pessimism have also gained expression in coinages such as the "Crippled Giant," "Sleeping State" or the "Dying State." In spite of witnessing a bloody civil war between 1967 and 1970, and coupled with historical and emerging challenges in the country's nationalism project, in recent times, some commentaries on the country's future have forecasted and/or imagined the possibility of the balkanisation of Nigeria into smaller but independent units. Thus, bearing in mind the struggle(s) between some identifiable centrifugal (especially ethno-religious divisions that gains expression in terms of periodic orgies of violence, ethnic militias, deportation and denationalising politics) and centripetal (such as intermarriages, nationalistic state policies, sports and civil societies actions) realities, here referred to as "instigators," since the 1914 amalgamation and while highlighting some of the advocated solutions to the nation question, this paper interrogates two core questions. First, what are the representations and manifestations of these centripetal and centrifugal *instigators*? Second, what are the likely dangers that would follow the balkanisation of the Nigerian State? Specifically, beyond a United States National Intelligence Council's report which predicted a 2015 break-up date, this paper situates the existence and functioning of forces and/or actors like the *Boko Haram*, Odua People's Congress (OPC), Niger Delta militants, and other militia groups within the context of identified *instigators* and "apocalyptic forbearers" (such as the recurring native-settler violence, failed governance, corruption, terrorism, foreign influence/sympathisers/fighters and ethnic politics). In adopting a historical analysis as well as borrowing from experiences in balkanised societies elsewhere, this paper identifies and discusses the national and international dangers of a balkanised Nigeria. It concludes with recommendations that speak more to pragmatic federalism, regional security and development as against secession.

**Ahmet Göksel Uluer**  
**Necmettin University**  
**Istanbul, Turkey**  
А. Г. Улуер  
Университет Нечметтин  
Стамбул, Турция

**New Faces of Objection? Boko Haram and MEND of Nigeria in 2000s**  
**Новые лица протеста? Боко Хаарам и Движение за освобождение**  
**Дельты Нигера в Нигерии в 2000-е гг.**

In the post-transition era of Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND have been seen as new “problems” of the country. Both groups have caused attacks that resulted in violence, deaths, and casualties. In two problematic region of the country, Northern Nigeria and Niger Delta Region, riots have been witnessed for a long time. For the north, Osman don Fadio period and Maitatsine movement; for the Delta, Ogoni, Ijaw movements and NDVF, can be analyzed as major figures of these uprisings. In 2000s, we can identify Boko Haram and MEND as new faces of that historical objection which use new instruments of this era. In that paper, I would like to analyze the common reasons of revolts of these groups against Nigerian state in consideration of past experiences. With the comparison, I would like to reveal the motives of them, both in the past and today with the reactions of Nigerian state and international society as well.

**John Boye Ejobowah**  
**Wilfrid Laurier University**  
**Waterloo, Ontario, Canada**  
Дж.Б. Эджобова  
Университет им. Уилфрида Лорье  
Ватерлоо, Канада

**Is Political Breakup a Defensible Alternative for Nigeria?**  
**Является ли распад государства оправданной**  
**альтернативой для Нигерии?**

Over half a century since gaining political independence from the British, Nigeria is still at loss over the type of political framework that will ensure peaceful coexistence of its over 350 ethnic groups. The federation that was inherited at independence collapsed in 1967, failed in 1993, and has been teetering around since the 2000s. Indeed since the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, insurgency groups and ethnic militias from almost every geographic region of the country have been taking turns to render the country stateless. The country’s political leaders have also been de-institutionalizing the polity

through relentless plundering of the public treasury. As the country marks the centenary of the British unification of their two separate colonial territories into what is now Nigeria, the historical debate about the regrettable act of 1914 has come to animate public discourse. This paper attempts to determine if there is a moral basis for political breakup as an alternative arrangement for Nigeria. Drawing on two approaches in political theory – that of John Locke and that of David Hume – it will argue that the Nigerian state has lost its moral basis for existence and for the enjoyment of citizens' loyalty. Further drawing on contemporary liberal nationalism arguments about secession, it will establish that ethno national groups in Nigeria should have exercise rights to self-determination if they occupy a discrete territorial space and form a community with unambiguous identity. However, the right applies if the life of the new autonomous states will not be impaired by viability issues or the emergence of new groups. Thus political breakup, while morally defensible, may not be an easy alternative.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-7**

### **Недействительные голоса на выборах в Нигерии: вызов системе непрерывного образования взрослых Nigeria Elections and Invalid Votes: A Challenge for Adult Continuing Education**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Tajudeen Adewumi Adebisi  
(Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria)**

The importance of elections in democracy cannot be overemphasized. Nigeria transition to democratic governance in recent years, from 1999 till date can be described as a democratic experiment as a result of many years of military dictatorship. The challenges of evolving a democratic culture in Nigerian citizenry have been a very daunting experience. Despite the fact that transitional elections are held every 4 years as enshrined in the Nigerian constitution a lot of demographic alterations take place. More significantly are changes in the information and communication technology associated with electioneering and voting processes. This paper therefore captures these changes and highlights the need for a re-orientation, re-information, and re-education of the citizenry for a healthy democratic culture which can herald credible elections in transitional politics in Nigeria. The paper further maintained that continuous education is imperative in providing adults, who constitute the prospective electorates, with requisite voters' education in order to inculcate a positive democratic culture and the development of a stable democratic dispensation. The paper concludes by exfoliating on the relevance of continuous and strategic voters' education which is categorically imperative of building a virile and stable democracy in the light of enormous changes Nigeria is undergoing.

**Ousmane Traoré**  
**Wagner College, New York**  
**USA**  
У. Траоре  
Колледж Вагнера  
Нью-Йорк, США

### **Youth, Civil Society, and New Political Strategies in Senegal Молодежь, гражданское общество и новые политические стратегии в Сенегале**

Political struggles and uprisings led by youth movements and hip-hop groups are not new in Senegal. They can, even, be considered as

epiphenomena if we consider Senegal's political history and its long and solid tradition of elections from 1840 to 2012. From its historical origins, the Senegalese political landscape was cast in a colonial mold and yet took on local idioms based on interactions, negotiations, and accommodation between local populations and the French colonial administration. However, what is relatively new in this political landscape is how Hip-hop voices succeed in imposing their societal views and claims on political leaders. In this paper, I first argue that we can read and better understand the trinity of "Hip Hop, Politics, and Civil Society" as commentary on an inextricably interwoven back-and-forth between colonial legacy and postcolonial nation and state building in Senegal. Second, I argue that hip-hop groups and their political strategies benefit from the colonial legacy, insofar as it granted Senegal its political stability. And finally, the philosophy of struggles incarnated by hip hop groups (led by *Y'en a marre*) could be better understood by tacking back-and-forth between the past and present and, very specifically, between Senghor's vision of nation-and-state building by drawing upon the colonial legacy and the calls for democracy and strong civil society made by young hip-hop leaders.

**Oladiran Akinsola Ayodele**  
**Osun State University**  
**Nigeria**

O.A. Айоделе  
Университет штата Осун  
Ифетедо, Нигерия

### **Party Politics, Election and Litigation in Nigeria**

#### **Партийная политика, выборы и судебные процессы в Нигерии**

This paper discusses internal democracy of parties and the democratic culture of politicians in the polity against the background of imposition of candidates, inter and intra-parties squabbles, legislative/executive face off among others bedeviling our fledgling democracy. It discusses conducts of elections and declaration of election results. It also discusses the procedure and requirements of the law in electoral cases. The paper x-rayed the problems usually encountered where a petitioner is faced with the need to retrieve electoral materials to prove his case from INEC who is usually a respondent in election petitions. The paper suggests far reaching measures to lessen the problem usually encountered in election petitions in meeting the high standard of the Evidence Act especially when it comes to presentation of witnesses and the weight the court would attach to their evidence. The paper appreciates recent amendment to Electoral Act but suggests further revision of the Act to strengthen our nascent democracy.



**Florence Adeoti Yusuf**  
**Osun State University**  
**Nigeria**

Ф.А. Юсуф  
Университет штата Ошун, Осогбо

**Abuses of Political Office in Nigeria: Implications for Re-Orientation Counseling**

**Злоупотребления политическими должностями в Нигерии: последствия для консультирования по изменению политической ориентации**

The study investigated the proclivity by political leaders to abuse political offices without recourse to democratic tenets as operational in advanced democracies. A total of 1500 civil servants participated in the study. They were randomly selected from Local Government Area offices, State and Federal ministries in Osun State, Nigeria. The design adopted was an across-stage mixed model design. Data were collected from the sample through oral interview, structured questionnaire and focus group discussions. The study revealed that almost all (99.1%) respondents agreed that there is high rate of abuses of political power in Nigeria. The major areas of abuses of political power identified by respondents are: injustice, immoral behaviors, corruption, and lack of respect for the rule of law. The findings of this study have implications for re-orientation counseling for people not to vote visionless and antidemocratic candidates to political offices; and political leaders to be more responsive to the need of masses that elected them to the position; desensitization of political leaders from unreasonable acquisition of wealth at the detriment of general masses who lives in poverty.

**Jerome Ikechukwu Okonkwo**  
**Imo State University**  
**Nigeria**

Дж.И. Оконкво  
Университет штата Имо  
Оверри, Нигерия

**Democracy in an Exclusive Civic Education: The Nigerian Perspective**  
**Демократия в эксклюзивном гражданском образовании: взгляд из Нигерии**

It is a fundamental conviction that education, especially “civic education”, must be at the forefront of any sincere political effort to enable democracy become really established in any given society. Nigeria is an emerging democratic society. On account of this fact, Nigeria in spite of her

constitutional democratic rules and regulations, has grossly failed the hermeneutical properties and modalities of democratic practices denoted and connoted in the political virtues of credibility, integrity, triumph of principles and the civilization of love in alterity. The multifaceted political vices of cheating, stubborn subordinations, hard-powers, duplicity, fraud, executive indiscipline, pretentious disclaimers and cabalisms-hidden-agendas etc. have stifled purely democratic dispensations in Nigeria. Based on the above factors, democracy in Nigeria has so far not protected and projected the representation of civil society, the coordination of the people's will and mandate, the common values, resourceful guidance of available skills, peaceful control, co-existence, identity, responsible social ideology etc. In the face of the above factors, democratic deliveries have been on the practices of civic exclusive pedagogy.

This paper, therefore, has the main occupation of presenting a "rule-following political projection" for an inclusive democracy made possible through civic education and genuine practices of citizenship. Furthermore, a re-examination of the factors that have bedeviled pure democratic practices will be reviewed from the backdrops of issues so far, why elections failed in the most recent democratic elections in Nigeria. Leadership traits and skills in political management, administration, accountability, rule of law, common shares of our common good and life are the options and value-substances of this paper for the guarantee of the "*conditio*"-measures of electoral logistics and inclusive civic education.

**Tajudeen Adewumi Adebisi**  
**Osun State University**  
**Nigeria**

Т.А. Адебиси  
Университет штата Ошун  
Осогбо, Нигерия

**Nigeria Elections and Invalid Votes:  
A Challenge for Adult Continuing Education  
Выборы и недействительные голоса в Нигерии:  
угроза непрерывному образованию для взрослых**

The importance of elections in democracy cannot be overemphasized. Nigeria transition to democratic governance in recent years, from 1999 till date can be described as a democratic experiment as a result of many years of military dictatorship. The challenges of evolving a democratic culture in Nigerian citizenry have been a very daunting experience. Despite the fact that transitional elections are held every 4 years as enshrined in the Nigerian constitution a lot of demographic alterations take place. More significantly

are changes in the information and communication technology associated with electioneering and voting processes. This paper therefore captures these changes and highlights the need for a re-orientation, re-information, and re-education of the citizenry for a healthy democratic culture which can herald credible elections in transitional politics in Nigeria. The paper further maintained that continuous education is imperative in providing adults, who constitute the prospective electorates, with requisite voters' education in order to inculcate a positive democratic culture and the development of a stable democratic dispensation. The paper concludes by exfoliating on the relevance of continuous and strategic voters' education which is categorically imperative of building a virile and stable democracy in the light of enormous changes Nigeria is undergoing.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-8

**Северная Африка и Ближний Восток: политические процессы в  
интерьере динамической релятивности цивилизационного  
развития**

**North Africa and the Middle East: Political Processes in the Context  
of Dynamic Relativity of Civilization Development**

**Руководитель: к.э.н. Александр Алексеевич Ткаченко  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Dr. Alexander A. Tkachenko  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы Секции предполагается основное внимание уделить следующим проблемам:

1. Крах авторитарной модели политической власти и кризис государственности: причины, характер, масштабы последствий.
2. Политические потрясения в странах Северной Африки и Ближнего Востока: роль политических партий и движений, сетевых групп.
3. «Старые» и «новые» модели политической власти: архаика, традиция и современность.
4. Проблемы модернизации в странах Северной Африки и Ближнего Востока и вызовы 21 века.
5. Гражданское общество и исламская традиция в интерьере «Арабской весны».
6. Международные отношения в РБВСА: состояние и перспективы.
7. Социально-экономические аспекты трансформационных изменений в РБВСА. Проблема безработицы, развитие малого и среднего бизнеса, проблемы эмиграции.
8. Межконфессиональные отношения в условиях политического кризиса.
9. Ближневосточный конфликт и перспективы его урегулирования в свете «Большой арабской революции».

The Section will focus on the following issues:

- the collapse of the authoritarian model of political power and the statehood crisis causes, characteristics and consequences;
- the political upheaval in the region of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): the role of political parties and movements, Internet groups;
- “old” and “new” models of political power: archaic elements, tradition and modernity;

- problems of modernization in the MENA and challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century;
- civil society and the Islamic tradition in the context of the Arab Spring;
- international relations in the MENA: the current situation and prospects;
- socio-economic aspects of the transformational change in MENA (the issues of unemployment, small and medium-sized enterprises development, and migration);
- interfaith relations in the context of political crises;
- the Middle East conflict and the prospects for its settlement in the light of “the Great Arab Revolution”.

**Bozorgmehri, Majid**  
**Imam Khomeini International University**  
**Iran**

М. Бозоргмехри  
Международный университет  
им. имама Хомейни, Казвин, Иран

**Arab Spring in North Africa A Challenge of Democratization**  
**«Арабская весна» в Северной Африке: вызов демократизации**

The **Arab Spring** is a term for the revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests (both non-violent and violent), riots, and civil wars in the Arab world that began on 18 December 2010 from North Africa.

The Arab Spring is widely believed to have been instigated by dissatisfaction with the rule of local governments, though some have speculated that wide gaps in income levels may have had a hand as well. Numerous factors have led to the protests, including issues such as dictatorship or absolute monarchy, human rights violations, political corruption, economic decline, unemployment, extreme poverty, and a number of demographic structural factors, such as a large percentage of educated but dissatisfied youth within the population.

The events that started in Tunisia in 2011 have to be seen in terms of a broad historical sweep that takes into account the character of the economies and the regimes in the region, the peculiarities of local political developments and the evolution of opposition movements over decades. To date, rulers have been forced from power in Tunisia, Egypt (twice) and Libya.

But what could we observe after these uprisings? If we could confirm the emergence of a definitive process towards democratization? The events do not confirm this hope. The result is massive unemployment and

underemployment, increasing inequality and a failure to make significant steps forward on democratization. The blockage on development is located in what we call the “patrimonial state”.

This article tries as its major question to discuss the main characteristics of Arab Spring in North Africa and its eventual future to see if this movement could be considered as a definitive process towards democratization or not?

As our conclusion, we argue that democratization in North African States involved by the Arab Spring, requires a long process of social and political developments.

**Долгов Б. В.**  
**ИВ РАН, Москва, РФ**  
Boris V. Dolgov  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Политический ислам в революциях 2011–2013 гг.  
в странах Магриба**  
**The Political Islam in the Revolutions of the years of 2011–2013  
in the countries of Maghreb**

Первыми результатами революционных протестных движений 2011–2013 гг. в Магрибе стали свержение правящих режимов в Тунисе и Египте и крушение такового в Ливии. В Тунисе и Египте главными причинами социального протеста, что по своей сути представляли собой революции «арабской весны», являлись внутренние факторы. А именно, социально-экономический кризис, коррупция и nepотизм правящего режима, отсутствие подлинных демократических свобод. В то же время крушение режима в Ливии, при наличии, хотя и в меньшей степени, аналогичных внутренних проблем, происходило в результате активного вмешательства внешних акторов.

Движущей силой революционных выступлений «арабской весны» явилась диссидентски настроенная, зачастую безработная, молодежь. В манифестациях протеста в Тунисе и Египте принимали участие либерально-демократические, левые, националистические силы. Что касается движений «политического ислама», то они присоединились к протестующим на последующем этапе. Тем не менее, после свержения диктаторских режимов именно партии, исповедующие политический ислам, вышли на политическую авансцену. Поддержка исламистов значительной частью населения была обусловлена, во-первых, тем, что в них видели силу, реально борющуюся с диктаторскими режимами и пострадавшую от его репрессий. Во-вторых, исламисты предлагали путь

развития, основанный на исповедуемых большинством населения традиционных исламских ценностях, и, как ожидали голосовавшие за них, альтернативный тому, который проводили обанкротившиеся коррумпированные режимы. Однако у лидеров движений политического ислама возобладали тенденция к монополизации власти и реализации своих партикуляристских целей по воплощению в жизнь «исламского проекта».

В то же время общественные силы, стремящиеся сохранить светские ценности, выступают против тотальной исламизации. Тем более, что социально-экономические проблемы в этих странах продолжают обостряться. Особым случаем «арабской весны» является гражданский конфликт в Ливии. Он не представлял собой результат развития внутреннего кризиса. Конфликтные ситуации здесь были активизированы внешними акторами для достижения своих стратегических целей путем военного вмешательства. Поражение движений «политического ислама» в Египте, активное противодействие им в Тунисе и в Ливии знаменуют собой новый этап арабского пробуждения. Он обусловлен подъемом общественных сил, противостоящих радикальному исламу и стремящихся реализовать цели, ради которых начинались арабские революции.

The first results of the revolutionary protest movements in the years of 2011–2013 in Maghreb became the overthrow of the ruling regimes in Tunisia and in Egypt and the crash of the regime in Libya. The main reasons of the social protest, what the “Arab spring” is, in Tunisia and in Egypt, were the internal factors. Namely it was the social and economical crisis, the corruption and the nepotism of the ruling regime and the absence of the real democratic liberties. At the same time the crash of the regime in Libya, which have the analogous internal problems, but in the less degree, became as a result of the active intervention of the external actors.

The motive power of the revolutionary movements of the “Arab spring” was the dissident youth, some of them were jobless. In Tunisia and in Egypt the Liberal-Democratic, Left and Nationalist forces participated in the protest manifestations. As a movements of the Political Islam, they joined the protest actions at the next stage. None the less just the parties which confess the Political Islam entered in the State authority in Tunisia and in Egypt after the overthrowing of the dictatorial regimes. The considerable part of the population supported the Islamists during the democratic elections because the people considered Islamists as a real opposition for the dictatorship regimes. The Islamists proposed also the way of the development, which was based on the traditional Islamic values, which the most of the population confessed. However the leaders of the movements of the Political Islam monopolized the power and started to realize their partycularist goals in order to put into practice “Islamic project”.

The crash of the Political Islam's movements in Egypt in 2013, the active counter-action against them in Tunisia and in Libya means the raising of the social forces, which don't accept the "Islamic project" and fight for the democratic goals, which the Arab revolutions proclaimed.

**Видясова М. Ф.**  
**ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ**  
Maria F. Vidyasova  
Lomonosov Moscow State University  
Russia

### **Ситуация в Тунисе после политических кризисов 2013 г.** **Situation in Tunisia after the Political Crises of 2013**

Со времени выборов в Национальное учредительное собрание (НУС), состоявшихся 23 октября 2011 г., и образования правящей коалиции, известной как Тройка, которая включила умеренно исламистскую партию Движение ан-Нахда и ее сателлитов, это Конгресс за республику (КЗР) и Демократический форум за труд и свободы (ДФТС), в Тунисе идет напряженная политическая борьба. Она резко обострилась в 2013 г. в связи с гибелью от руки мусульманских экстремистов двух левых политиков: Шукри Бельаида (6 февраля) и Мухаммеда Брахими (25 июля). Последний был депутатом НУС от небольшой партии Народное движение, которая исповедует идеологию арабского социализма в духе лозунгов эпохи Гамала Абдель Насера, и волилась в Народный фронт, созданный 20 октября 2012 г.

После убийства Брахими большая группа депутатов-оппозиционеров приостановила свою деятельность в НУС, приняла участие в митингах с требованием роспуска правительства во главе с закоренелым исламистом Али Лаарайедом и создания временного беспартийного, технократического кабинета министров. В свою очередь «квартет» самых влиятельных в стране НПО, состоящий из Всеобщего тунисского союза труда (ВТСТ), Тунисского союза торговли, промышленности и ремесел (ТСТПР), Тунисской лиги за права человека (ТЛПЧ) и Национальной ассоциации адвокатов, разработали «дорожную карту». Она была подписана двумя десятками политических партий, в том числе Движением ан-Нахда, и предусматривала отставку правительства Али Лаарайеда как условие для начала «национального диалога» и определение четкого графика будущих парламентских и президентских выборов. «Национальный диалог» открылся 25 октября 2013 г., однако через 12 дней был прерван из-за того, что ан-Нахда и оппозиция не сошлись на кандидатуре премьер-министра.

Возможно, это было уловкой Рашида аль-Ганнуши, лидера ан-Нахды, который от ее имени вступил в диалог с оппозицией и с опаской



смотрел как на события в Египте, где подверглась запрету деятельность «Братьев-мусульман», так и на формирование в Тунисе электорального блока, объединившего ряд левых и либеральных партий или коалиций. Разумеется, аль-Ганнуши хотел бы разбить этот блок, названный его создателями Фронтом национального спасения (ФНС), а для этого требовалось время.

«Бастовавшие» в течение 3 месяцев депутаты вернулись в НУС, но отказались участвовать в голосованиях и в работе специализированных комиссий, большинством из которых руководят члены ан-Нахды. Как результат, затормозился процесс обсуждения очередного, четвертого проекта новой конституции Туниса, а значит, и подготовки к выборам в парламент, которые уже дважды откладывались: с 2012 г. на 2013 г., а потом – на 2014 г.

Между тем в НУС появился законопроект о воссоздании ликвидированных в Тунисе еще в 1957 г. хабусов (или вакфов), которое было представлено главой комиссии по финансам, планированию и развитию, как средство укрепления гражданского общества. Критики же этой инициативы резонно назвали ее попыткой вернуть страну назад – в Средневековье. Особенно радеют о таком возврате салафиты и лидеры местного филиала партии Хизб ат-Тахрир, которые устроили 8 ноября митинг в столице под лозунгами «Народу нужен Халифат, а не национальный диалог» и «Нельзя восстанавливать светское государство под оболочкой исламистского». Это был явный упрек в адрес ан-Нахды, которая оказалась между двух огней: со стороны светской оппозиции и со стороны жестких исламистов.

Орлов В.  
ИСАА МГУ, Москва, РФ  
**Orlov Vladimir**  
**Moscow State University,**  
**Russia**

**Партия справедливости и развития и «Альтернативные исламисты» на марокканской политической сцене (начало XXI века)**

**The Party of Justice and Development and «Alternative Islamists» on Moroccan Political Stage**

До парламентских выборов 1997 г. правящие круги Марокко не допускали легализации религиозных партий и вынуждали местных исламистов либо идти на союз со светскими организациями, либо выступать в облике независимых кандидатов. Содействуя монополии государства на использование ислама, марокканские спецслужбы изобретательно

вносили раскол в исламистские движения. Неформальный авторитет исламистских лидеров Марокко так и не выразился в создании легальных политических объединений. Однако с 1998 г., когда левоцентристское «правительство альтернативы» Абд ар-Рахмана аль-Йусуфи изменило марокканский политический пейзаж, королевская администрация (*махзен*) сделала ставку на постепенный допуск исламистских сил к легальной политике в рамках Партии справедливости и развития (*Хизб аль-адала ва-т-танмиья*). На протяжении 2000-х годов за спиной ПСР власти также возвращали ее конкурентов. В июне 2005 г. с согласия двора была создана левоисламистская партия «Цивилизационная альтернатива» (ПЦИ, *Хизб аль-Бадиль аль-хадари*), а в декабре того же года в Рабате состоялось учредительное собрание Партии возрождения и благодати (ПВБ, *Хизб ан-нахда ва-ль-фадила*), созданной бывшими членами Народного движения, Национального объединения независимых и Истикляль под руководством экс-функционера ПСР Мухаммада аль-Халиди. Первый проект оказался неудачным: в 2008 г. «Цивилизационная альтернатива» была распущена по обвинению в содействии терроризму. Как выяснилось, генеральный секретарь партии Мустафа аль-Мутасим и председатель ее Национального совета Мухаммад аль-Амин ар-Ригала поддерживали контакты с исламскими радикалами в Европе и Алжире.

Тем не менее с появлением легальных исламистских партий марокканцы традиционалистских взглядов получили возможность политически самовыразиться, а это возымело стабилизирующее действие на марокканское общество. Создание легальной исламистской партии способствовало снижению радикальности требований исламистов. В силу этого либерализация начала XXI в. стала в Марокко своеобразной политической вакциной, компенсирующей «инфекционный эффект» военно-исламистского передела власти в соседнем Алжире и всплесков насилия в африканских странах к югу от Сахары.

Prior to 1997 parliamentary elections the ruling circles of Morocco never accepted legalization of religious parties and compelled local Islamists to co-operate with secular organizations or act as independent candidates. The Moroccan special services, contributing to the state monopoly in using Islam, provoked all sorts of dissent within the Islamist movements. The unformal influence of Islamist leaders of Morocco found no outlet in creation of legal political alliances. Since 1998, when the leftist-centrist “alternance government” of Abd al-Rahman al-Yusufi changed Moroccan political landscape, the royal administration (*makhzen*) bet on gradual permission to Islamist forces to use the legal political forms, e.g. Party of Justice and Development (*Hizb al-adala wa-l-tanmiya*). The authorities also nurtured the

competitors of PJD throughout the first decade of the XXI c. In June 2005 the leftist-islamist party “Civilizational Alternative” (*Hizb al-badil al-hadari*) was founded by approbation of the royal court, and in December of the same year the constitutive assembly of Party of Renewal and Favour (*Hizb al-nahda wa-l-fadila*) took place in Rabat. The latter party was set up by former members of Popular Movement, National Rally of Independents and Istiqlal under the direction of ex-functionary of PJD Muhammad al-Khalidi. The first of these projects ended in failure: in 2008 the “Civilizational Alternative” was dismissed and accused of assistance to terrorism; it appeared that the Secretary General of the party, Mustafa al-Mutasim and president of its National Council, Muhammad al-Amin al-Rijala were in touch with Islamic radicals in Europe and Algeria.

Nevertheless, the appearance of legal Islamist parties gave to Moroccans of traditionalist bias the possibility to express themselves in political stage, that led to stabilization of Moroccan social life. Creation of legal Islamist party contributed to alleviation of radical claims of the Islamists. Respectively, the liberalization of the early XXI c. became for Morocco a kind of political vaccine, which reduced the “infectious effect” of military-Islamist battle for power in adjacent Algeria and the outbursts of violence in sub-Saharan African countries.

**Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyali**  
**Kirikkale University, Turkey**

М.С. Кафкасыали  
Университет Кириккале, Турция

### **Africa as the Other of the West and the Self Consciousness of African Communities from Modern to Postmodern**

#### **Африка как не-Запад и эволюция самосознания африканских сообществ от модерна к постмодерну**

This study looks at the exploitation of Africa by the West from the perspective of the perception of *self consciousness* (mentality) and *the other*: In view of the mentality (self consciousness) which legitimized and executed the exploitation of all material and spiritual values of Africa and the self consciousness of the African communities which fell into the position of being the dominions and *the other* of the West. While one part of the study studies how the Western mentality, that is how *self consciousness* structures the other, how it is perceived and how it approaches *the other*, one part of the study is looking to determine which elements have been influential in the structuring of the *self consciousness* of the African communities. Within this framework the affiliation of the *self consciousness* of the African communities is studied in association with the recent events and the damage

which incurred in the *self consciousness* of the African communities during the colonial period as a result of the speculations of the West and the changes in the attitude of the West to *the other* during the colonial and the post colonial periods.

The reason why Africa was colonized and more importantly why it was exposed to colonialism for a long period was not only because the West was an overriding superior military and economic power. Africa may have been unable to save itself from colonialism but due to the existence of segments which manifested the honor of remaining a colony it remained void of a *self consciousness* and a perception of *the other* which enabled the colonialism to continue for so long is also significant. In fact this study reveals that the events of the past few years particularly in Northern Africa cannot be explained independently from other factors merely with power or economy, on the other hand the events must be viewed as a mutiny of the self consciousness of the indigenous populations against the West (*the other*) and the mutiny of the *other* against its local collaborators. Hereby it is revealed how the power centered realistic analyses which base the extended exploitation of the African communities by the West on mere power go beyond establishing the practicalities of the theory and serve to legitimize it.

Костелянец С.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ  
Sergey V. Kostelyanets  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Коллизия «ислам-исламизм» в суданском регионе Дарфур The  
“Islam-Islamism” Collision in the Sudanese Region of Darfur** Дарфур

– исторический регион на западе Судана, в прошлом независимый султанат. С 2003 г. регион охвачен конфликтом между центральным правительством и вооруженными антиправительственными группировками. Абсолютное большинство дарфурцев – мусульмане, и хотя в контексте этого конфликта фактор межконфессиональных противоречий отсутствует, столкновение между «народным» исламом как религией и политическим исламом внесло свой вклад в обострение дарфурского кризиса. В немалой степени это произошло из-за того, что, как известно, использование насилия над беззащитными в качестве средства достижения цели в исламе не находит текстуальной поддержки, в то время как «исламизм» отличался значительно большей жесткостью: термин родился на Западе и использовался для обозначения исламских фундаменталистов и военизированного ислама.

Дарфурцы известны своей преданностью Корану. Ислам вводился в Дарфуре мирно и постепенно начиная с XIII в. Жители региона приняли

мусульманскую веру в форме толерантного суфизма без давления и насилия, без сопротивления, снизу вверх, задолго до того, как султан Сулейман Солонг (1596–1637) адаптировал ислам в качестве официальной религии.

В свою очередь, распространение политического ислама в Дарфуре началось в конце 1940-х – начале 1950-х гг. С конца 1940-х до конца 1970-х гг. дарфурский исламизм прошел три наиболее важные фазы своего формирования. Во время первой группа дарфурских студентов-исламистов вернулась из Египта, и культура политического ислама, заметно отличавшаяся от доминировавшего в регионе суфизма, стала распространяться в городских центрах региона. Второй период, начавшийся в 1951 г., был отмечен массовой рекрутацией последователей в организацию «Братья-мусульмане», тесно связанную с одноименным египетским движением. Начало третьей фазы можно отнести к успешно проведенной в 1965 г. предвыборной кампании в Северном Кутуме, ставшей первой политической акцией исламистов в Дарфуре.

Тем не менее, до переворота 1989 г., после которого исламисты попытались распространить свое влияние на отдаленные сельские и провинциальные городские районы, исламизм в Судане оставался городским и элитистским движением.

В суданском исламистском движении доминируют силовые структуры, обладающие военной ментальностью. Жертвой этого обстоятельства стал Дарфур. Проблемы безопасности самого движения в течение длительного времени были главным пунктом повестки дня исламистского правительства при игнорировании большинства вопросов социально-экономического и политического развития периферии.

Произошедший в 1999 г. раскол правящей исламистской партии имел важные последствия для Дарфура, так как исламисты в значительной степени способствовали эскалации конфликта, преследуя свои цели установления контроля над регионом

**Лукьянов Г.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Grigory V. Lukyanov  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Идеи радикального политического ислама и их воплощение в современной Ливии**

**The Ideas of Radical Political Islam and Their Implementation in Contemporary Libya**

Обращение к идеям, так называемого, политического ислама, как инструменту политической консолидации населения, является харак-

терной чертой политического процесса в Ливии на протяжении всего периода развития в качестве единого независимого государства. До образования единого государства серьезной политической силой не только на территории Киренаики, но также в Триполитании и Феццане были суфийские ордена, среди которых наиболее известный сегодня орден сенуссия, будучи довольно молодым религиозным движением и политическим объединением, играл далеко не самую главную роль. В период итало-турецкой войны 1911–12 гг., а также итальянского колониального господства, продолжавшегося вплоть до Второй мировой войны, исламская идентичность выступала в качестве основы для поддержания и развития антиколониальной борьбы местного населения вне зависимости от племенной разобщенности, что позволило в конечном итоге сенуситам легитимировать свой приход к власти, осуществленный по воле иностранных государств. Политический ислам, – как идеология, использующая нормы, категории и элементы ислама в качестве инструмента обоснования и достижения политических целей, – стал неотъемлемым компонентом программы организации свободных офицеров социалистов-юнионистов, совершивших революцию 1969 г., а также их оппонентов. К последним следует в первую очередь отнести не только и не столько представителей суфийских братств, а представителей городского духовенства, традиционных исламских авторитетов и ливийского отделения движения «Братья-мусульмане».

Эффективное использование элементов идеологии политического ислама и их включение в официальный политический дискурс позволило революционному руководству одержать убедительную победу над исламистской оппозицией в Ливии в 1970-х и 1980-х годов. Тем самым М. Каддафи удалось обеспечить сравнительную стабильность и устойчивость созданных им социальных институтов и системы социально-политического взаимодействия.

Автор данного доклада ставит перед собой цель описать процесс и условия становления на этом фоне в Ливии в начале 1990-х гг. движения радикальных исламистов-джихадистов, действовавших под эгидой организации «Ливийская исламская боевая группа». Принципиальные отличия политических воззрений духовных лидеров и идеологов этой боевой организации, практикуемых ею методов борьбы от движения братьев-мусульман и других оппозиционных группировок, а также изменения, произошедшие в самой стране и североафриканском регионе, превратили ЛИБГ в одну из наиболее серьезных угроз власти правящему режиму М. Каддафи. Выводы, сделанные в докладе, могут быть полезны при анализе современной политической ситуации в Ливии, характеризующейся активным участием последователей радикального политического ислама в политическом процессе.

**Saleh Zamani**  
**Vrije Universiteit,**  
**Brussel, Belgium**

С. Замани  
Свободный университет Брюсселя  
Бельгия

### **An Analysis on State Breakdown and Vulnerability in Egypt 2011**

#### **Анализ крушения государства и волнений в Египте в 2011 г.**

Evolutions in the Middle East and North Africa have been one of the principal domains of many researchers' work in various aspects of issues. During the last two decades, especially after the Cold War, many of political, cultural and economic challenges in this region have been studied scientifically. The majority of these issues have been related to development, energy sources, education, democracy and human rights. The uprisings in 2011 led to emergence of new political perspectives in this region, among the most important ones was the study of the structure of the state in some countries in the region such as Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. Therefore, since two years ago, North Africa, in general and some Arab countries in particular have become important academic targets to study the structure of political power. It seems that many of domestic challenges in these countries result from the state and the process of its formation. Arab uprising in 2011 resulted in the expatiation of the structure of authoritarian state for the commentators especially in the case of Egypt. In this article, we try to present a structural analysis of the Egyptian state and its nature during the Mubarak era. To carry out this analysis, we will employ Max Weber's theory of authority as well as the theoretical model that Jeff Goodwin has devised about the state. In fact, we illustrate how and why the state and the political power became vulnerable in Egypt. The type of state organization (patrimonial/bureaucratic), political regime (liberal/repressive) and infrastructural power (strong/weak) are the main factors in our analysis. This analysis can undoubtedly provide future researchers with new theoretical keys.

**Чупрыгин А.**  
**НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, РФ**  
Alexey Chuprygin  
Higher School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Эрик Уолберг и «Большая Игра III». Северная Африка в  
«пост-весеннем» пространстве: «дороги, которые они выбирают»  
Eric Walberg and “Big Game III”. North Africa in the “Post-Spring”  
Space: “The Roads They Choose”**

В массе научных и публицистических исследований, рассматривающих события последних лет в регионе MENA, особый интерес представляют тезисы Э. Уолберга, изложенные в его теории “Большой Игры”. Природа “арабской весны”, ее последствия и судьбы затронутых государств и народов рассматриваются Уолбергом с точки зрения исторической роли ислама как главной и чуть ли не единственной альтернативы постмодернизму, а исламизма – как носителя столь необходимой миру вообще и мусульманской умме в частности “политической духовности” (М. Фуко)

В настоящей работе автор, анализируя некоторые ключевые положения Уолберга, предлагает свое видение процессов на Ближнем Востоке и Севере Африки, роль наднациональных акторов и их эволюцию в рамках политических событий, происходящих в регионе.

Одним из результатов событий в MENA стала трансформация политического ислама (ПИ), который, проиграв этот раунд политической борьбы в Египте, находясь на грани экономического поражения в Тунисе и не добившись успеха в Ливии, переходит к методике илового давления. Автор предлагает анализ вооруженного конфликта в Сирии и террористической активности на Африканском Роге в контексте осуществления плана создания исламистских квазигосударственных образований в экономически важном районе.

К обсуждению предлагается тезис о том, что конечной целью “поствесеннего” этапа, вопреки утверждениям Уолберга, является использование упомянутых квазигосударств для перегруппировки ПИ и реструктуризации групп влияния с целью завершения управляемого процесса реисламизации Европы.



**Ткаченко А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander Tkachenko  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Ближний Восток и Северная Африка:**  
**политические процессы в интерьере динамической релятивности**  
**цивилизационного развития**  
**The Middle East and North Africa: Political Processes in the Context of**  
**Dynamic Relativity of Civilization Development**

Широкий круг факторов фундаментального характера стремительно формирует новые модели политического устройства (власти). Их появление неизбежно влечет крупные внутренние социальные и хозяйственные трансформации, динамично влияя не только на мегатенденции цивилизационного развития, но и на причинно-следственные связи между ними. Данное обстоятельство видоизменяет, трансформирует прежние, исторически сложившиеся механизмы цивилизационной динамики. Возросло многообразие, мозаичность «конструкционных» элементов политического устройства (власти), появились более сложные (ново)образования (институты, структуры, сетевые связи, общественные движения). Усилились как их внутренняя эволюционная динамика, так и динамика взаимодействия с многообразными акторами на политической сцене и, как следствие, динамическая неустойчивость внутривластной ситуации. Возросла неопределенность основных векторов происходящих изменений.

В результате происходящих политических процессов рельефно проявилась динамическая релятивность цивилизационного развития, одним из проявлений которой может стать формирование «реверсивной», «дискретной» модели(ей) власти, общественного устройства (одна из характерных черт которой - стремительный переход, кардинальная - «революционная» смена вектора развития).

Появление новой парадигмы цивилизационного развития характеризуется возросшей противоречивостью трансформационных процессов. С одной стороны, они приносят высокую степень опасности беспрецедентных потрясений в общественной жизни «периферийных» обществ: эрозию государственности, распад «молодых» государств, деградацию общественных институтов и движений... С другой, происходящие перемены открывают перспективы, возможности продолжить и завершить начавшиеся в последней четверти 20 века в общественно-политической жизни и экономике стран региона модернизационные реформы.

В докладе представлен круг факторов, определяющих возможные варианты смены моделей политической власти в странах РБВСА.

**Кобищанов Ю.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Yuriy Kobishchanov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Этно-конфессиональные факторы политической борьбы в арабских странах и странах Африканского Рога: тенденции и результаты**  
**Ethno-Religious Factors of Political Struggle in the Arab Countries and on the Horn of Africa: Trends and Results**

В обществах арабских стран сохраняются традиционные структуры – родо-племенные и этно-конфессиональные (этно-религиозные). Соотношение между ними менялось на протяжении последних веков, последних десятилетий и последних лет. Несмотря на недостаток информации, прослеживается существенное значение этих структур как факторов политической борьбы в наши дни.

Арабы изначально составляли этническую общность, делившуюся на родо-племенные группы (кланы, племена, племенные союзы); со временем к ним прибавились этно-конфессиональные группы. Создав во второй трети VII – середине VIII вв. огромную исламскую империю – Халифат – арабы ассимилировали многие народы Западной Азии, Северной и Северо-Восточной Африки. Эти народы частично трансформировались в этно-конфессиональные группы.

Потомками областных этнографических групп различного этнического происхождения являются алавиты Сирии, друзы Ливана, Сирии и Израиля, ибадиты Омана. В XVIII – начале XX вв. в арабских странах Африки, а также в Сомали и других африканских странах, происходил процесс формирования новых этно-конфессиональных общностей в рамках *турук* – исламских духовных орденов. Со второй половины XIX в. в наиболее развитых арабских странах начался процесс формирования наций. Дальше всего он продвинулся в Египте, Тунисе и Сирии, но и в Египте и Сирии сохранились арабоязычные этно-конфессиональные группы, мусульманские и христианские.

В прошлом между этно-конфессиональными группами (христианскими и мусульманскими, либо ханбалитами и мусульманами других мазхабов) происходили войны или кровавые столкновения и погромы. Можно говорить о латентном конфликте между этно-конфессиональными группами в арабских странах, который обостряется и выходит наружу в случае резких политических перемен.

В ряде стран борьба между этно-конфессиональными группами (а в Судане, Чаде, Мавритании, Сирии, Ираке, Омане, Йемене – также с неарабскими народами) периодически обостряется до боевых действий. Особую политическую роль играет проблема Курдистана, разделенного государственными границами между Ираком, Сирией, Турцией и Ираном. Только иракская часть Курдистана имеет национальную государственность, но еще не полную независимость. В двух странах Магриба – Алжире и Марокко – сохранилась проблема берберских народов.

**Кобищанов Ю.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Yuriy Kobishchanov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Национальный процесс в условиях глобализации  
(на примере арабских стран)**  
**Ethnic and national processes under the conditions of Globalization  
(Arab Countries Case)**

Глобализация – это невиданное прежде умножение инфосвязей независимо от расстояний. Условия, в которых протекают этнические, культурные и социальные процессы, унифицируются. Диаспоры еще никогда не были так связаны со своими национальными очагами. Если в прошлом арабы-мусульмане, жившие в Европе, США или Бразилии, лишь мечтали когда-нибудь побывать на родине (либо исторической родине), как и совершить хаджж, то теперь многие из них постоянно посещают арабские страны, проводят здесь отпуск и т. д. Вместе с тем, продолжаются незавершенные этнические процессы и в арабских странах, и в арабских диаспорах за пределами этих стран.

Арабы изначально составляли этническую общность, делившуюся на родо-племенные группы (кланы, племена, племенные союзы); со временем к ним прибавились этно-конфессиональные группы. В XVIII – начале XX вв. в арабских странах Африки, а также в Сомали и других африканских странах, происходил процесс формирования новых этно-конфессиональных общностей в рамках *турук* – исламских духовных орденов.

В прошлом между этно-конфессиональными группами (христианскими и мусульманскими, либо ханбалитами и мусульманами других мазхабов) происходили войны или кровавые столкновения и погромы. Можно говорить о латентном конфликте между этно-конфессиональными группами в арабских странах, который обостряется и выходит наружу в случае резких политических перемен.

Со второй половины XIX в. в наиболее развитых арабских странах начался процесс формирования наций. Дальше всего он продвинулся в Египте, Тунисе и Сирии, но и в Египте и Сирии сохранились арабоязычные этно-конфессиональные группы, мусульманские и христианские.

Национальный процесс в арабских странах чрезвычайно сложен. Его составляющими являются арабские народы отдельных стран и государств; бедуинские племена и племенные союзы; этно-конфессиональные группы, живущие компактно или дисперсно; неарабские народы; арабы групп стран (Магриб, Плодородный полумесяц и пр.), весь арабский мир. Новые факторы не отменяют старые связи, но порой придают им новый смысл.

There were never in the world history so close connections between diaspora and its traditional homeland as under the conditions of globalization. At the same time all the uncompleted ethnic and national processes go on. From time immemorial the Arab ethnic community consists of clans, tribes, sub-tribes, tribal federations etc. eventually ethno-religious groups added them. The Arabs assimilated many peoples of the West Asia, North and North-East Africa. These peoples transformed into the ethno-religious groups. The processes of the forming of the new ethno-religious groups went on in the frames of *turuq* – Sufi orders in the Arab countries of Africa at the 18th – early 20<sup>th</sup> cc. The Wahhabiyya played the similar role in Arabia. The process of the formation of the nations began in more developed Arab countries at the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. This process advanced farer in Egypt, Tunis and Syria. There are ethno-religious groups in Egypt and Syria. The biggest ethno-religious groups became the nuclear of the nation in some other Arab countries such as the Wahhabites in Saudi Arabia, the Ibadites in Oman, the Shiites Baharina in the Bahreyn, the Sinusites in Lybia etc. The struggle between ethno-religious groups (in Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen etc.) and ethnic groups (in Sudan, Tchad, Iraq, Oman) periodically develops into wars. The problems of the Berber peoples rest in Morocco and Alger. The new factors of the integration within the Arab community appeared at the last 60 years: secondary and high education in Arabic, increasing influence of media, mass labour migrations. Egyptian media are the largest in the Arab world, and its influence is felt over it, so as French media in some Arab countries. In spite of this, every Arab country has its own television, radio, newspapers. Arab diaspora in France and other European countries are forming new communities, which influencing over their historical homelands.

**Французов И.**  
**ИСАА МГУ Москва, РФ**  
Frantsuzov Ilya  
Moscow State University, Russia

**Феномен «Арабской весны» в странах Магриба**  
**The “Arab Spring” Phenomenon in the Countries of Maghrib**

Волна забастовок и путчей, известная под названием «Арабская весна», так или иначе затронула все арабские государства Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки. Несменяемые авторитарные режимы и неразрывно связанная с этим усталость от слишком долго держащихся за власть правителей, а также трудное социально-экономическое положение (безработица, коррупция) привели, в итоге, к массовым митингам, демонстрациям, погромам, самосожжениям и прочим формам протеста. Несмотря на тот факт, что причины недовольства и формы его выражения были одинаковыми во всех, даже самых благополучных, странах, результат этих действий был в каждом случае разным: от незначительных волнений и последовавших за ними уступок со стороны правительства до широкомасштабных бунтов, революций, затяжных войн и свержения режима.

Режим, который находится у власти слишком долго, рано или поздно загнивает. Примером тому может послужить Тунисская республика, в которой с 1987 по 2011 гг. бразды правления принадлежали лишь Зин аль-Абидину Бен Али и его клану. Беспорядки, начавшиеся в этой стране, вместе с невозможностью принять сколько-нибудь действенные меры для стабилизации ситуации и снижения накала страстей, по принципу домино распространились на другие арабские страны. Вместе с тем, горький опыт «Второй Жасминной революции», окончившийся бегством З. Бен Али, послужил примером для других стран. Так, с целью избежать дальнейшей эскалации напряжения, правительство соседнего Алжира, а также Марокко, правильно оценив сложившуюся ситуацию, приняло решение пойти на некоторые изменения: Абд аль-Азиз Бутефлика отменил режим чрезвычайного положения, а Мухаммад VI провел референдум по проекту конституционной реформы.

Феномен «Арабской весны», как отмечено выше, не носил однообразного, «шаблонного» характера, который можно было бы применить к странам Магриба. С одной стороны, отказ от диалога и нежелание идти на компромисс привело к резким политическим изменениям в Тунисе; с другой стороны, некоторые уступки в пользу демонстрантов в Алжире и Марокко сохранили стабильность в этих государствах.

The wave of strikes and putsches, known under the name “Arab spring”, affected all Arab States in the Middle East and North Africa anyway. Constant authoritarian regimes and fatigue inseparably linked by these from governors too long holding the power, and also difficult economic and social situation (unemployment, corruption) led to mass meetings, demonstrations, riots, self-immolations and other forms of a protest as a result. Despite the fact that the reasons of discontent and the form of its expression were identical in all, even the most wealthy countries, the result of those actions was different in each case: from minor unrest and subsequent concessions from the government to large-scale riots, revolutions, protracted war and the overthrow of the regime.

The regime that has been in power for too long, molders sooner or later. The Tunisian Republic, where reigns belonged only to Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and his clan from 1987 to 2011, can serve as an example. The riots that started in this country, together with the inability to take any effective measures to stabilize the situation and reduce the passions, spread to other Arab countries in a domino effect. However, the bitter experience of the “Second Jasmine Revolution” ended Ben Ali fled, served as an example for other countries. So, in order to avoid further escalation of tensions, the governments of neighboring Algeria and Morocco correctly assessed the situation and decided to make several changes: Abd al-Aziz Bouteflika canceled the state of emergency, and Muhammad VI held a referendum on the draft constitutional reform.

As it was noted above, the phenomenon of “Arab spring” didn't carry monotonous, “sample” character which could be applied to the countries of the Maghrib. On the one hand, refusal of dialogue and unwillingness to make a compromise led to serious political changes in Tunisia; on the other hand, some concessions in favor of demonstrators in Algeria and Morocco kept stability in those states.

**Вагарш Азатян**  
**Экзетерский Университет**  
**Великобритания**  
Vagarsh Azatyan  
University of Exeter, UK

**Военно – Гражданские взаимоотношения после начала  
Арабской весны**

**The Civil – Military Relations after the Arab Spring**

В декабре 2010 года ситуация на Ближнем Востоке резко изменилась в связи с началом Арабской Весны. Массовые протесты в Тунисе, Ливии и Египте привели к свержению диктаторских режимов и началу

новых динамик во внутренней и внешней политик стран. После свержения Зин эль-Абидин Бен Али в Тунисе, следующим лидером который был свергнут стал президент Египта Хосни Мубарак.

Свержение четвертого президента Египта, Хосни Мубарака, привело к значительным изменениям внутри страны. После отставки правительства Мубарака в роли самой сильной политической оказались Египетские военные.

С 1952, как группа офицеров захватила власть, все египетские правители приходили из рядов военных и полагались на их поддержку. Контроль над внутренними делами, бизнесом и политикой дали египетским военным большую власть внутри страны. Свидетельством большой власти египетских военных является то, что режим Хосни Мубарака полностью пал только после того, когда военные перешли на сторону протестующих на площади Тахрир.

Даже после изменений Арабской Весны египетские военные играют огромную роль в основном во внутренней, но также и в региональной политике. Задачи египетских военных совпадают с исторически сложившимися задачами: контроль над экономикой, обеспечение безопасности, и контроль правительства над процессами в общественно-политической жизни. После Арабской Весны обозначилась еще одна цель – заменить режим Мубарака и Братьев мусульман на более демократическое правительство, которое бы удовлетворяло и гражданских, и военных.

Демократически избранный президент Мурси не удовлетворял ни требованиям гражданских общественно-политических сил, ни требованиям военных. После прихода к власти Братья мусульмане повели борьбу с оппозицией, начали сотрудничество с радикальными группами в Сирии и в секторе Газа. Это не устраивало военных, которые были обеспокоены с внешними связями Братьев мусульман.

Гражданское общество было обеспокоено внутривнутриполитическим курсом Братьев мусульманами из-за растущего давления на оппозицию, запретов на свободу слова, других шагов, в которых усматривало угрозы для будущего Египта. Политика Мухаммеда Мурси, который хотел стать следующим диктатором Египта, вызвала нарастание недовольства граждан.

Это привело ко второму «союзу» между военными и гражданскими силами и, в конечном счете, к отстранению от власти Мохаммеда Мурси.

Для развития демократии в Египте первым необходимым шагом является изменение структуры и роли Высшего Совета Вооруженных Сил (ВСВС). Роль ВСВС имеет как позитивный, так и негативный характер. Положительно то, что ВСВС имеет возможность предотвратить приход радикальных групп к власти в Египте. Отрицательным факто-

ром является «интегрированность» ВСВС со всеми сферами внутри страны, и стремление предотвратить приход либеральных демократов к власти. Аналитики отмечают, что военные «готовы» к приходу к демократов во власть, но опасаются, что вследствие этого им будет сложно сохранить контроль и власть над страной. Таким образом можно предположить, что для того чтобы привести либеральных демократов во власть в Египте без радикальных исламистских элементов требуется изменить структуру самого сильного «игрока» на политической сцене Египта – Высшего Совета Вооруженных Сил.

The situation in the Middle East had drastically changed since the beginning of “Arab Spring” in December 2010. The mass protests pushed regimes of Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt to step down and brought new dynamics into domestic and regional trends. After the resignation of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia, the next president who resigned was Hosni Mubarak in Egypt.

The 4<sup>th</sup> president of Egypt ruled for thirty years and his resignation changed the domestic situation in the country. Despite of the significant changes followed by his resignation, one domestic political power stayed strong even after the collapse of Mubarak’s regime – Egyptian military.

“Since 1952, when a group of army officers seized power, all of Egypt’s rulers have come from the military and have relied on it for support”. The control of the domestic affairs, profitable business and political dynamics made Egypt’s military one of the most powerful domestic actors. Hosni Mubarak’s regime fully collapsed, when the military began to support the Egyptians gathered to protest at Tahrir Square and abandoned Mubarak.

This paper argues that even after the Arab Spring, the Egyptian military remains a very powerful actor mainly in domestic, but also in the region affairs. The main goals of Egyptian military have not changed. They are similar to the goals of the past, which were the control of economic / business sector, foreign and security policy, the political and state apparatus. The only additional feature, which appeared after the “Arab Spring”, is the replacement of Mubarak and Muslim Brotherhood by the more democratized government, which should satisfy both sides of the revolution, the public and the military.

The election of Mohammed Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood is a clear example of the argument mentioned above. They were elected by the public, but did not satisfy the interests and demands neither of public nor of military. After the seizure of power, the Muslim Brotherhood began to oppress the opposition and to align with radical forces in Syria and Gaza. This strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood clashed with the interests of military.

The people of Egypt were not satisfied either, because Muslim Brotherhood continued the same corrupt and oppressive politics of Mubarak.



The politics of Mohammed Morsi, who wanted to become the next dictator of Egypt and to gain more power raised more and more discontent among the public.

This led to the second alignment between the public and military, in order to overthrow Muslim Brotherhood from power.

Thus, the second argument is that in order to bring the development of democracy to Egypt, the first necessary step is to change the structure and role of SCAF (the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces). The role of SCAF is positive and negative at the same time. Its positive role is connected with its' ability to overthrow or to stop the radical elements such as Muslim Brotherhood or Salafists to be elected in Egypt. The negative role of SCAF is its' own desire for control and influence of the processes inside Egypt. As Jeff Martini and Julie Taylor mentioned in their article in Foreign Affairs, the military is prepared for democratic government, but "yet the generals may find that democracy, once unleashed, is difficult to control." Therefore, in order to bring Egypt to strong democracy without radical Islamist elements, it is necessary to reshape the strongest political institution – SCAF.

**Кондорский Борис  
НПФ «Синбиас»**

**Донецк, Украина**

**Boris M. Kondorsky**

**“Sinibas”, Donetsk, Ukraine**

### **Революционный период в арабских странах Revolutionary Period in the Arab States**

В новое время все революции и последующие контрреволюции в одной стране (или группе близких стран, имеющих общую историческую судьбу) составляли революционный период, как целостную систему в пространстве и во времени, имеющую свои законы. Конкретные революции были лишь проявлением этих процессов.

В арабских странах революционный период начался после второй мировой войны.

События «арабской весны» как раз и стали проявлением этих процессов. Для понимания и оценки происходящего и, главное, для прогноза дальнейшего развития, есть смысл попробовать выявить основные закономерности революции, как фундаментальной исторической категории.

В период революции действуют особые объективные законы, не зависящие от сознания. Т.е. революции происходят за пределами политического поля (где основные политические силы ведут лишь символическую борьбу за власть). Все носит чрезвычайный, революционный характер: органы власти, армия, мораль, даже религия. Борьба различных

социально-политических сил в парламенте также носит революционный характер, вне рамок обычного правового поля. В период революции обычным является двоевластие: с одной стороны органы государственной власти, с другой – революционные, действия которых носят определяющий характер на происходящие процессы.

Если правящий режим не проводит своевременных реформ, в которых остро нуждается общество, оно само создает условия для революции, делая ее неизбежной. Происходит дискредитация режима, все попытки реформ терпят неудачу и лишь ускоряют этот процесс. Запутавшись в своей внутренней и внешней политике, правящий режим просто не знает, как поступить. Его действия носят судорожный характер. Наступает паралич власти.

В революционный период происходит кардинальные изменения на уровне социального сознания. Основная задача революции – устранение носителей старого сознания путем террора или иными способами.

Элита, в обычном понимании этого слова, во время революции отсутствует. Старая элита или репрессирована, или находится в эмиграции, новая еще не сформировалась. Их место занимают политические силы, основная задача которых возглавить, организовать и мобилизовать народные массы, добиться их поддержки, получить кредит доверия. Но в то же время какие бы радикальные силы не возглавляли революционный процесс, в случае выхода масс из под контроля принимаются самые жесткие меры.

Выявленные закономерности в той или иной степени проявили себя во время «арабской весны», особенно в Египте. В революционный период происходит окончательное формирование нации и национального государства. В арабских странах в этом процессе значительная роль принадлежит религиозному фактору, который уже подчиняется законам политической системы. Учитывая тот факт, что революционный период обычно длится около ста лет, подобного рода события следует ожидать на Ближнем Востоке до середины 21 века.

**Мещерина К.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Kira Meshcherina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Гендерный фактор в событиях «арабской весны» и права женщин**  
**The Gender Factor in the Arab Spring Events and Women's Rights**

Женщины активно участвовали в демонстрациях и протестных движениях в странах, охваченных революциями «арабской весны».

Сегодня молодые арабские женщины более религиозны, чем, скажем, представительницы предшествующего поколения, однако, они более стремятся к получению образования, позже выходят замуж, рожают меньше детей, а многие из них грезят о карьере за границей.

Стремления женщин к большим правам и свободам формировались на протяжении многих лет. Волна восстаний в арабском мире сыграла своего рода мобилизирующую роль: женщины разных возрастов, социального статуса и вероисповедания (если рассматривать, например, страны Северной Африки, безусловно ислам исповедует большая часть женского населения) выступали в качестве демонстрантов, активистов или организаторов политических кампаний, особенно в соцмедиа. Призывы против политических режимов, коррупции, социального неравенства подкреплялись призывами против гендерной дискриминации, домашнего насилия, а также требованиями к участию женщин в политической жизни общества, широкому доступу к образованию, медицинскому и социальному обслуживанию и т.д.

Помимо киберактивизма – одной из составляющих «революционной активности», весьма беспрецедентным было количество женщин, принявших участие в уличных восстаниях. Например, демонстрации 2011 г. на площади Тахрир в Каире уникальны со времен антиколониальных восстаний в 1919 г.

Возможно ли, что женщина стала своего рода иконой революций в арабском мире, а произошедшие события позволили ей открыто заявить о себе? Тем не менее, волна «весенних» протестов в регионе положила начало новому этапу такого движения, как «исламский феминизм». Арабские женщины стали смотреть на веру и как на источник своих прав.

Ислам как государственная религия и права женщин в арабских странах, казалось бы – понятия несовместимые, поскольку коранические формулировки относительно статуса женщины – довольно неоднозначны. Специфика ислама, его воздействие, с одной стороны, на политическую сферу, а с другой – на общественное поведение, в т.ч. на отношение к женщине, вновь вызвали интерес у правозащитных движений за права женщин во многих исламских государствах.

Ряд стран арабского региона переживает сегодня переходный период: выборы, выработка новой конституции, законов и, в некоторых случаях, учреждение механизмов нового правосудия. Результат этих процессов очень важен для прав женщин, их статуса на пути к желаемому гендерному равенству в контексте новых политических режимов.

**Бондаренко С.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Bondarenko S.  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Российские компании в энергетическом секторе Африки Russian Companies in Electric Power Sector of Africa**

Африканский континент обладает значительными запасами различных источников энергии мирового значения. Ведущее место среди них принадлежит ископаемым жидким и газообразным углеводородам, гидроресурсам, урану, нетрадиционным источникам энергии (солнечная, энергия морской волны, ветровая). В мировых разведанных запасах нефти доля Африки составляет примерно 10% (17 млрд т), природного газа – 8% (свыше 15 трлн м<sup>3</sup>), урана-235 – свыше 20%. Континент располагает богатейшими гидроресурсами – на него приходится около 1/3 мировых гидроресурсов. Относительно невелики разведанные запасы угля, доля которого в общемировых – менее 4% (ок. 32 млрд т).

Крупнейшие производители «черного золота» в Африке – Нигерия, Ливия, Ангола и Алжир, на которые приходится более 3/4 всех ресурсов данного энергоносителя на континенте. Нигерия и Алжир располагают 2/3 разведанных запасов природного газа. Каменный уголь в основном добывают в ЮАР (более 4/5 всей добычи на континенте).

Из 54 стран Африки примерно в 20 обнаружены запасы нефти промышленного значения, интенсивные усилия по разведке на ископаемые углеводороды, главным образом на нефть, ведутся в ЮАР, Зимбабве, Мадагаскаре, Мозамбике, Гвинее и Уганде; но большинство африканских государств остаются чистыми импортерами этого важнейшего энергоносителя.

Крупнейшие гидроресурсы сосредоточены главным образом в странах Тропической и Южной Африки, расположенных в бассейнах Нила, Конго, Нигера, Замбези и других. Однако их использование крайне невелико.

Таким образом, несмотря на то, что Африка располагает богатыми ресурсами разнообразных энергоносителей, подавляющее большинство государств континента сталкивается с серьезными трудностями в энергообеспечении современных промышленных и бытовых нужд в электроэнергии и энергии (топлива) в целом.

Для их покрытия континент остро нуждается в развитии энергетики, как базовой отрасли национальной экономики, наращивании добывающих мощностей для обеспечения экспортных потребностей и электроэнергетических объектов.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-9

### Социально-политическая динамика в Судане до и после разделения в 2011 г.: конфликт, активизм и диаспора Social and Political Dynamics in Sudan prior to and after the 2011 Separation: Conflict, Activism, and the Diaspora

**Руководители: Prof. Sondra Hale**  
(University of California, Los Angeles, USA),  
**Gada Kadoda**  
(Independent Researcher, Khartoum, Sudan),  
**к.и.н. Александр Евгеньевич Жуков**  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
**Conveners: Prof. Sondra Hale**  
(University of California, Los Angeles, USA),  
**Gada Kadoda**  
(Independent Researcher, Khartoum, Sudan);  
**Dr. Alexander E. Zhukov**  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

In this panel we explore a complex political paradigm of modern Sudan that has existed over six decades of independence and continues to shape the political landscape of the country, both its external relations, and internally, as related to its ethnic group conflicts, oppositional parties and movements, rural and grassroots activism, the growth of civil society, women and youth movements, and the growing salience of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), etc. Although a priority will be given to the problems of “northern” Sudan, we also welcome contributions dealing with socio-political dynamics in southern Sudan before its secession in July 2011. As background, we take into consideration a number of factors that have characterized the political life in modern Sudan before and after its separation into two states. These include, to name just a few, the colonial legacy, the leading role of the military in the national politics, the role of rebel groups at the regional level, fragmentation of the society and the rise of marginalized groups throughout the country, the displacement of populations, the dominance of sectarian (based on competing Sufi orders) politics, and the more recent rise of *salafi* Islam, the general failure of political parties, the economic and environmental factors such as the discovery of oil and desertification, the strong influence from the diaspora and its returnees, and eventually political and economic consequences of the secession of South Sudan. The panel will then look into the divisions in Sudan which did not end with the country’s

separation but, instead, took up new forms of armed struggle in the Nuba mountains and Blue Nile (the so called Sudan's "new South"). A backbone to our discussion will be a very complex issue of political activism in Sudan and its global diaspora. In our analyses, we will deal with both the present-day politics in and around Sudan and its recent history. One of our key research propositions is that many political actors (our most neutral term), have moved away from self-identifying as members of a particular political party and/or espousing an established political ideology (e.g., socialist) and have begun to refer to themselves as "activists," a relatively new term in Sudan. We have also seen activism emerge among rural women previously aligned with other political forces. We will argue that this has happened for a range of reasons to be discussed. The panel will also argue that many of these Sudanese phenomena have coalesced with and/or are reactions to similar processes in other countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and reflect some global trends. Having discussed these and other empirical observations, the panelists will raise theoretical issues of transnationalism and diasporic engagements for home-state politics, of new means of political mobilization (e.g., via social media), and of the shifting emphases on NGO's, "grassroots", and direct action politics in the political life of MENA and Sub-Saharan African states in general.

**Hale Sondra**  
**University of California,**  
**Los Angeles (UCLA), USA**  
С. Хэйл  
Университет Калифорнии  
Лос-Анджелес, США

**Sudanese Women: NGOs, Grassroots Organizations,  
and the New Civil Society**

**Суданские женщины: неправительственные организации,  
организации инициатив снизу и новое гражданское общество**

The contemporary political landscape of Sudan is changing rapidly with regard to women and youth. I would argue that this reflects the new Middle East/North Africa (MENA). I will summarize the complex set of sociopolitical forces that have changed the ways that political actors self-identify and some of the changes in oppositional strategies. My main research proposition is that many political actors, especially women and youth, have moved away from self-identifying as members of a particular political party or espousing an established political ideology and have begun to refer to themselves as "activists," a relatively new term in Sudan. This tendency has coincided with the rise of various youth movements (internationally), a dismissal of

organized politics in much of MENA with the anarchist-tinged movements of the Arab Spring, and in Sudan with such groups as the *Girifna* [“We are Fed Up”] movement and its anarchist and direct action tendencies). I argue that political actors no longer confine themselves to self-identifying only as members of parties or sectarian groups for a range of reasons: exclusion of women in the leadership; domination of affiliated women’s wings by the main party; and the consequent migration of many women into non-governmental organizations (NGO’s), resulting in the growth of civil society and its heavy reliance on women and youth activists. I also point to the accompanying changed strategies in activist work. I try to account for some of the factors that have set the stage for this transformation.

Through a fieldwork study of the leading women’s NGO’s in Greater Khartoum and through interviews with women and youth activists, I analyze why new political terminology and new strategies of direct democracy have come about, what it means to the actors, and what they think this reflects of the changing political landscape in Sudan in the new MENA.

**Khalafallah Nayla Mohamed Elhassan**  
**Sudan Academy for Administrative Sciences,**  
**Khartoum, Sudan**  
Н.М.Э. Халафалла  
Суданская академия административных наук  
Хартум

**Economic and Political Dynamics in Sudan after July 2011 and the  
Prospects for Moving Forward**

**Экономическая и политическая динамика в Судане после июля  
2011 и перспективы движения вперед**

Sudan after July 2011 is no longer the largest African country with abundant petroleum reserves. Resulting from the secession of South Sudan, Sudan’s population decreased by about one third, the country lost 75% of its oil resources and saw a major downfall in foreign exchange reserves. An oil agreement reached with South Sudan earlier this year will bring more revenues as transit fees, but these will not be enough to cover the public expenditure.

In general, the new situation in Sudan is characterized by multiple economic and political complexities. There has been a significant rise in commodity prices resulting from inflation and the budget deficit. The GDP is contracting at a rate of about 10 percent annually, and the unemployment is high, particularly for the youth.

The paper argues, in particular, that, given its multiple political and economic challenges, Sudan will continue to experience economic hardship

as long as there are no solutions in place. It is also emphasized that Sudan needs a new political equation internally plus a significant international support in order to resolve its internal violent conflicts and implement suitable political and economic reforms. There is an acute need of a national strategy for development and employment as well.

The proposed paper will discuss possible ways of reducing poverty, obtaining sustainable development and stimulating labor market in Sudan. This can be done, in particular, by launching national programs for investment.

The author believes that the government of Sudan must prioritize the agricultural sector, i.e. rehabilitate the existing agricultural schemes especially the one in Gezira which is the largest in Africa. This step will increase Sudan's economic output and exports, reduce unemployment in the country and make it possible to improve living conditions for a significant part of its population.

**Kostelyanets Sergey V.**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
С.В. Костелянец  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

### **Sudan after the Division with South Sudan: Economic Decline and Growing Political Instability**

#### **Судан после разделения с Южным Суданом: экономический упадок и нарастание политической нестабильности**

The current situation in the Republic of the Sudan can be characterized by political instability and attempts to find a way out of economic crisis against the backdrop of falling oil revenues and unceasing conflicts between the center and the periphery. The division of the country, which was officially proclaimed on 9 July 2011, left its northern part – more industrially developed – with just about 25% of oil reserves and 66% of oil revenue, whilst South Sudan, which had practically no industry, claimed most of the natural resources, including oil, gold, copper and water.

In 2012, Sudan's expenditures exceeded its revenues by over \$3.5 billion<sup>35</sup>. Prices multiplied several times over the period following the country's oil revenue loss. Khartoum was forced to abolish the government subsidies on fuel, which has led to mass urban protests and exacerbated

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<sup>35</sup> CIA Factbook.

<<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/su.html>>



political and economic turmoil. Hundreds of protesters are said to have been killed in these protests.

At the same time, the continuing insurgency in Sudan's regions of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile destabilizes the periphery and puts further strain on the socio-political and financial situation in the country.

Sudan's Government is placing greater emphasis on developing alternative export products, primarily gold. In 2012, Sudan exported \$2.5 billion worth of gold and became the third largest African producer of the metal after South Africa and Ghana. However, as most of Sudan's gold is located in Darfur, the country's least secure region, extraction is accompanied with intense clashes as local tribes fight the Government and each other over the control of export revenue<sup>36</sup>.

It remains an open question whether Khartoum is able to keep the lid on the growing discontent of the population, hold off or defeat the rebels and resolve its border disputes with South Sudan.

**Zhukov Alexander Y.**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
А.Е. Жуков  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**A Transnational Lobby in the Making? Southern Sudanese Diaspora over Two Decades (1991-2011) and the Impact of its Engagement with Foreign Governments**

**Образование транснационального лобби? Южносуданская диаспора на протяжении двух десятилетий (1991–2011 гг.) и значение ее связей с иностранными правительствами**

The proposed paper addresses the issue of homeland-oriented political activism among the southern Sudanese in diaspora, and attempts to explore the historical dynamics of this phenomenon from 1991 (the year of dramatic events inside and outside Sudan which changed the course of the country's second civil war and transformed the geopolitical landscape around it) to 2011 (independence of South Sudan). The choice of this time frame is not arbitrary since this long period is characterized by continuous efforts of the southern Sudanese antagonists of the government in Khartoum to expand their support base abroad, especially by "courting" a number of Western and African governments.

The aim of this study is, therefore, to understand to what extent the policies of foreign governments towards Sudan in the period concerned were

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<sup>36</sup> Sudan Tribune, 31.01.13. <<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article45351>>

actually influenced by lobbyists from the southern Sudanese diaspora, and whether or not these latter have ever attempted to create a “standing” lobby mechanism anywhere in the world. Although it is acknowledged that the southern Sudanese diaspora at that time included protagonists of many competing political groups and ideologies, the paper focuses on a limited number of them, namely the followers of the mainstream Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement (SPLM) / the Government of South Sudan) and other protagonists of the southern Sudanese nationalism.

By comparing the diasporic engagements at two different stages of struggle for the region’s self-determination led by the SPLM, namely during the civil war and in the postwar interim period of 2005-11, the paper seeks to explain how the transition from war to a fragile peace brought about by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) changed the directions and methods of political activism by members of the diaspora.

The sources used here are both primary and secondary and include original interviews by the author, official documents and vast memoir literature.

**Khorami Nazanin**  
**Imam Khomeini International University**  
**Tehran, Iran**

Н. Хорами  
Международный университет  
им. имама Хомейни, Тегеран, Иран

**Role and Efforts of UNHCR for Sudanese Refugees of South after  
Independence: Description & Evaluation**  
**Роль и усилия агентства ООН по делам беженцев в отношении  
суданских беженцев с Юга после провозглашения независимости:  
описание и оценка**

On July 9, 2011, South Sudan gained independence from Sudan and became the world’s youngest country. After more than two decades of civil war, it was hoped that this separation would finally lead to peace for the people of the South. Unfortunately, independence has not brought stability to the entire country, as ongoing border clashes and internal violence continue to cause displacement. At the end of 2012, there were an estimated 203,000 refugees in South Sudan, and 111,000 internally displaced persons.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (**UNHCR**), also known as the **UN Refugee Agency**, is a **United Nations** agency mandated to lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems. Its primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees. It strives to ensure that everyone can exercise the right to seek asylum and find safe refuge in another State, with

the option to return home voluntarily, integrate locally or to resettle in a third country.

The Republic of South Sudan has established a Commission for Refugee Affairs (CRA) as hundreds of thousands of refugees have entered the new republic from the neighboring countries.

The operating environment in Sudan, where displacement and population movements occur continuously, is extremely challenging. **Based upon its defined duties, UNHCR has tried to implement advocacy, protection, assistance, emergency response** and has also offered the durable solutions. For example, in eastern Sudan, UNHCR has promoted the socio-economic integration of the refugees in the region by implementing self-reliance and livelihood projects.

This article tries, as its major question, to evaluate the role and the efforts of UNHCR concerning the issue. It begins its analysis with a general description of situation of the refugees, then it presents its evaluation of the measures taken by UNHCR during the crisis.

**Seregichev Sergey Y.**

**Russian State University for the Humanities**

**Moscow, Russia**

С. Серегичев

Российский государственный  
гуманитарный университет, Москва

### **An “Arab Spring” Scenario in the Republic of Sudan: still Realistic or yet Unrealistic?**

#### **Сценарий «арабской весны» в Республике Судан: все еще реалистичный или пока еще не реалистичный?**

In 2011–2012, the dramatic events of the “Arab Spring” swept away the political regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen all of which had previously seemed to be well-established. These regimes collapsed despite the fact that they had enjoyed the support of mighty allies both within and outside their countries. However, the metamorphoses of the “Arab Spring” brought about very different results in each of the countries in question which can be best exemplified by a comparison of Tunisia and Libya. While the former did not see much politically motivated violence in the aftermath of the regime change, the latter became overwhelmed by local violence and experienced a major backlash in terms of its economic development and nation-building. With Egypt teetering on the brink of civil war and Syria struggling to put an end to a *de facto* civil war, one can find more examples to discuss the devastating consequences of the “Arab Spring”.

At the same time, there is an opposite example presented by the Republic of Sudan which experienced a major loss of territory and oil resources in

July 2011, due to the secession of its southern region, and thereafter appeared to be very vulnerable to any scenario from the “Arab Spring”. However, despite the returning upsurges in a mass protest movement in the country, the Sudanese regime has, in the past two years, proven to be paradoxically stable and capable of controlling the level of protest moods in the society.

The proposed paper is a reflection on what may be called a “Sudanese paradox” amid the march of “democratic revolutions” across the MENA region. It points out the reasons why, in the author’s opinion, none of the scenarios of the “Arab Spring” has taken place in Sudan so far and assesses the probability of such scenarios in future.

**Kadoda Gada**  
**Khartoum, Sudan**  
Г. Кадода  
Хартум, Судан

**Sudanese Youth Movements and Social Media** Суданские молодежные движения и социальные масс-медиа Youth activism, becoming associated with new media technologies as in the “Arab Spring”, can be argued as prompting much interest among academics, policy makers, and other practitioners on the intersection among youth, activism and social media. This paper reflects on the role of social media in the activism of Sudanese youth, who also took centre stage at recent demonstrations calling for regime change, and adopted mechanisms similar to their counterparts elsewhere. While political forms of activism were more prominent in the “Arab Spring”, this paper examines the wider community engagement phenomena of contemporary urban Sudanese youth; and explores the dimensions of conflict, activism, and the diaspora and their influence on organizing.

More recently, a surge in the number of youth groups and networks can be observed along two trends. The first relates to global/regional political youth movements, while the second is concerned with development issues and usually focus on a specific domain or topic. The effects of globalization on youth identity, where new media brings creative ways of communication and relationships, is regarded as a risk to youth behavior and the national fabric as well as an indicator of the emergence of a new Sudanese society to be harnessed. Notwithstanding the noted role of social media in youth community engagement, they are exposed to government countering mechanisms (e.g. “cyber Jihadists”) which creates a new dimension and a cycle of innovation and counter-innovation largely fed by Arab Spring ideas and lessons learned, but also shows the prominence of youth as new actors

on the scene as a major deviation from earlier Sudanese uprisings and the importance of social media, although not well-developed in Sudan in terms of volume of use, in political organizing and in other social networking.

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-10**  
**Социальные изменения в странах Юга Африки**  
**Social Change, Southern African Case Studies**

**Руководитель / Convener: Prof. Rosabelle Boswell**  
**(Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa)**

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has experienced dramatic social change in the past 100 years. From the institution of apartheid in South Africa to decolonisation in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe as well as the implementation of a Truth and Justice Commission in Mauritius. The region's nations have been compelled to adapt to new social circumstances and to forge alternative modes of living. Drawing on anthropological and historical fieldwork, this panel will offer country specific examples from southern Africa to explore and interrogate how change has been experienced or managed and what processes of change mean for society in southern Africa.

**Rosabelle Boswell**  
**Rhodes University, Grahamstown**  
**South Africa**

Р. Босуэлл  
Университет им. С. Родса  
Грэхэмстаун, ЮАР

**Can Justice be Achieved for Slave Descendants in Mauritius? Может ли быть достигнута справедливость для потомков рабов на Маврикии?**

In recent decades democratic nation states have sought to address gross human rights violations within their borders, by implementing transitional justice (TJ) mechanisms. However most have only considered cases of human rights abuse not long after the atrocities have occurred (Duthie 2008:293). Mauritius, an island nation of SADC (the Southern African Development Community) instituted a Truth and Justice Commission (TJC) in 2009 which it mandated to investigate the legacies of slavery and indentured labour, over a period of 370 years. Focusing on Mauritius, this article asks whether justice and especially reparations can be achieved after centuries of colonisation and oppression.

The proposed discussion is valuable because (1) the TJC is the first truth commission in the world to address the legacy of slavery and indenture and

(2) the literature on transitional justice mechanisms does not address the issue of time, the problem of ancient atrocities (such as slavery and indenture) and the human rights challenges of long term socioeconomic injustice. The following discussion draws on historical and ethnographic research in Mauritius to make its case. It concludes that Mauritius' civic organisations may be best placed to restore justice to slave and indentured worker descendants, since these organisations employ multiple strategies to engage with the Mauritian population. By offering a discussion on efforts to respond to the contemporary experiences of slave descendants in Mauritius, this article hopes to make known the processes of social change in the region and to discuss the issue of reparations in Mauritius. The discussion may also prove useful to scholars interested in slavery in the Caribbean and North America – since it tackles the issues of memory, identity and the restitution of African slave descendants.

**Vladislav Kruchinsky**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
В.В. Кручинский  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

### **Eating From Different Pots: Survival Strategies in Afrikaans “Shelters” in Contemporary South Africa**

#### **Кушая из разных горшков: стратегии выживания в африканерских «приютах» в современной Южной Африке**

Predominantly Afrikaans “shelters” for the poor, also known as “missions”, or simply “white informal settlements” recently started to attract noticeable media attention and academic scrutiny. However, despite being labeled as “informal settlements” these establishments fall quite outside the scope of conventional South African urban informality. Majority of them are registered as non-for-profit organisations, which lets the owners of “shelters” to operate in somewhat legally grey area and run often dubious economic projects on their premises, using desperate residents as a source of extremely cheap labour. Some of these “missions” are in fact the foci where poverty reproduces itself, quite opposite of being “rehabilitation centres” some of them claim to be.

This paper investigates the survival strategies employed by the residents of these areas and aims at placing these strategies in the broader national context. It provides classification of such areas based on the nature of business enterprises present, and evaluates their dependance on private donations and NGO support. It also aims to provide some insight on the

causes of formation, structure and day-to-day functioning of such settlements and the political economy of white poverty in contemporary South Africa in general.

The paper is based on the field studies conducted in Northern Gauteng and Western Cape provinces in 2011 and 2013, including in-depth interviews with the residents and owners of the “shelters” and interviews with the operatives of various humanitarian organisations ranging from Solidarity trade union-affiliated Helping Hand to some lesser privately run NGOs. The paper also provides some statistics based on the data collected among the residents of 8 “shelters” in Tshwane Metropolitan Area in 2013.

**Joy Owen**  
**Rhodes University**  
**South Africa**

Дж. Оуэн  
Университет им. С. Родса  
Грэхэмстаун, ЮАР

**Telling a Complex Story: Xenophobia and Xenophilia in South Africa**  
**Рассказывая сложную историю: ксенофобия и ксенофилия в Южной Африке**

Prior to 1994 when the Aliens Control Act still held sway, in-migration from the rest of Africa was controlled. Labour migrants from Lesotho and Mozambique were employed in the gold mines as contract workers. At the end of their contracts they were expected to return to their countries of origin. In the 1980s however a new form of migrant started to enter South Africa – educated African immigrants who serviced the bantustans or homelands were employed as doctors, university lecturers and dentists. Later in the 1990s and particularly after 1994 working class migrants particularly from the DRC gained access to South Africa seeking asylum. Their numbers have increased over the past decade, as have the numbers of other migrants/asylum seekers and refugees from countries like Somalia, Sudan and Senegal.

The sheer number of uncoordinated refugees in the country overwhelmed the South African government, as the government had no structured plan to deal with asylum seekers or refugees in its democratic infancy. As a result most migrants from the continent have entered the rural and urban landscape of South Africa without assistance from the government, and mostly reliant on national networks. As reported in local and international media the government and South African citizens responded negatively to these “others” in their midst. Xenophobia and xenophobic attacks were rife in townships, public spaces and on public transport in the early part



of the twenty-first century. A less well known response was xenophilia – or the love of the other. In this paper I look at these two responses to the presence of African migrant others framing each within the insular and isolated socio-cultural history of South Africa. I argue that the presence of each of these social phenomena is a complex indication of South Africa and its citizens' response to dissimilar others and more particularly to the social changes wrought by the arrival of these “others”. Xenophobia is thus only half the story. A complete narrative of South Africa's response to African dissimilar others has to include xenophilia.

**RJ (nico) Botha**  
**University of South Africa**  
**Pretoria**

Р. Дж. (Н.) Бота  
Университет Южной Африки  
Претория

**Social Changes in South African Education after Democratization:  
The Place and Role of Creative Leadership in Schools Социальные  
перемены в образовании в Южной Африке после  
демократизации: место и роль творческого лидерства в школах**

After the ending of Apartheid in the early 1990s, the South African nation has been compelled to adapt to new social circumstances and to forge alternative modes of living and even surviving. In this process, the country had been compelled to adapt to new social structures and circumstances. Nowhere more are these changes visible as in social aspects of society such as in the education system. As the country still struggles to transform its education system to equip learners with the knowledge and skills needed to function in a rapidly changing society, the roles and expectations for school leaders have also changed. School reform initiatives that are continually taking place necessitate creative and new ways of thinking with regard to the concept of educational leadership. Principals in traditional South African schools can simply no longer lead in the old and traditional ways. This paper, based on a descriptive review of the literature, focuses on evolving school leadership within the changing South African school context. It portrays the South African school context as dynamic and characterised by the interaction of external and internal factors, with the latter dominated by issues such as school-based management and social problems that lead to a large number of dysfunctional schools. Understanding this dynamic nature and the enormous challenges that emerge is a prerequisite for understanding the creative leadership approaches suitable for the new environment. The paper concludes with a framework for creative school leadership to indicate

leadership's response to the changing context and includes elements of emerging leadership approaches such as the school principal as community servant, as organisational architect, as social architect, as moral educator and as visionary leader. All of these issues will be discussed from a post-Apartheid South African social context and the paper will explore and interrogate how these changes have been experienced and managed within the South Africa society.

**Muchaku Shadreck**  
**University of Venda**  
**South Africa**  
М. Шадрек  
Университет Венды  
Тохоянду, ЮАР

**Social Cohesion and Sustenance in South Africa: Experiences from  
Zimbabwe Foreign Nationals**  
**Общественные сплоченность и поддержка в Южной Африке:  
опыт граждан Зимбабве**

This proposed paper set out to examine the measures that were taken by the South African government in re-integrating various foreign nationals in the aftermath of the May 2008 xenophobia violence. By reflecting on both cohesion and social sustenance, the paper endeavors to establish the sustainability of the reintegration mechanisms. It argues that lack of both scholarly and official position on the cause of attacks on foreign nationals communicates the multifaceted nature of the problem and that such contradictions desensitize militates against any purported reintegration framework. Theoretically, the paper utilizes the social integration framework as a paradigm for understand the rehabilitation of foreign nationals. Methodologically, the paper also knowledge, attitudes perceptions and beliefs systems in order to establish the South African citizens' position on the whole process. Lastly, the paper concludes by arguing that the reintegration process is marred with controversies as evidenced by the continued social cohesion and attacks on foreigner nationals.

**Alister C. Munthali**  
**Centre for Social Research**  
**Malawi**  
А.С. Мунтали  
Университет Малави, Зомба

**Barriers to Accessing Health Care Services among People with Disabilities in Malawi**

**Барьеры на пути получения медицинских услуг людьми с ограниченными физическими возможностями в Малави**

Even if people with disabilities know about the availability of health services in their communities and they would want access these services a significant proportion of them do not receive health care. They therefore face a lot of challenges as they attempt to access health care during illness episodes. This paper, based on interviews with people with disabilities conducted in 4 selected districts in Malawi, explores the experiences of people with disabilities in accessing health care. The paper demonstrates that people with disabilities generally experience three major barriers namely financial, structural and programmatic barriers in the search for health care. The major challenges that people with disabilities experience include cost of accessing health care, long distances to health facilities, lack of transport, hilly terrains and flooding of rivers during the rainy season, communication challenges with the health providers and poor attitude of health workers. Some of these challenges are not only unique to people with disabilities but among non-disabled people as well. They are however more of a problem among people with disabilities. There is there a need to address these challenges through for example the provision of assistive devices as well as comprehensive outreach services targeting people with disabilities.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VII-11**

### **Тропическая Африка: специфика регионального развития Tropical Africa: Specifics of Regional Development**

**Руководитель: к.и.н. Татьяна Сергеевна Денисова  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Convener: Dr. Tatiana S. Denisova  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

В ходе работы секции предполагается обсудить социально-экономические и политические проблемы стран Тропической Африки, в том числе: последствия влияния международного финансово-экономического кризиса на развитие государств региона; факторы дестабилизации политической обстановки, причины, предпосылки и методы урегулирования политических конфликтов, особенности проведения президентских и парламентских выборов.

The panel will focus on the socio-economic and political issues of Tropical Africa, including: the effects of the international financial crisis on the development of the region; factors destabilising political situation in the region; causes, preconditions and methods of resolving political conflicts; specifics of presidential and parliamentary elections.

**Виноградова Н.В.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ  
Natalia V. Vinogradova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia**

### **Центральноафриканская Республика до и после военного переворота 2013 г.**

#### **Central African Republic before and after the Military Coup of 2013**

История ЦАР представляет собой череду государственных переворотов. Смена власти в этой стране практически всегда происходила вооруженным путем: в 1966 г. Д. Дако был свергнут Ж.-Б. Бокассой, в 1979 г. Д. Дако отстранил от власти Ж.-Б. Бокассу, в 1981 г. Д. Дако был свергнут генералом А. Колингба, в 2003 г. А.-Ф. Патассе, избранный в 1993 г. президентом, был смещен генералом Ф. Бозизе. И ровно через 10 лет, в 2013 г., произошел очередной государственный переворот. 24 марта в результате конфликта, начавшегося в декабре 2012 г., президент Ф. Бозизе был свергнут, власть захватили повстанцы под руководством Мишеля Джотодии.

М. Джотодия – новый человек на политической арене Центрально-африканской Республики, лидер повстанческой группировки «Селека», которая образовалась в сентябре 2012 г. как альянс Союза демократических сил за единство, Объединения патриотов за справедливость и мир, Патриотического объединения за спасение страны и насчитывает, по разным оценкам, от одной до двух тысяч боевиков (численность регулярной армии ЦАР составляет 3,5 тыс. солдат).

Для ЦАР всегда была характерна политическая нестабильность. Смена власти не приводила к каким-либо серьезным изменениям в обществе. Страна была и остается в группе наименее развитых государств мира. 63% населения страны живет за чертой бедности, около 50% – неграмотные, детская смертность достигает 97 на 1000 новорожденных, а продолжительность жизни не превышает 44 лет.

Для осуществления власти руководству ЦАР не надо полностью контролировать всю территорию страны, достаточно удерживать лишь столичный округ. С учетом указанной специфики можно утверждать, что, скорее всего, в ближайшие годы М. Джотодия сохранит власть и в течение объявленного переходного периода подготовит страну к проведению президентских, парламентских и местных выборов.

В ходе конфликта международные миротворческие силы, размещенные на территории ЦАР, прежде всего южноафриканский контингент, понесли существенные потери: было убито 13 и ранено 28 солдат, что, безусловно, должно отразиться на двусторонних отношениях между ЦАР и ЮАР.

Бывшая метрополия – Франция – заинтересована в стабилизации обстановки в регионе. ЦАР – очень богатая страна, имеющая крупные месторождения алмазов, которые обнаружены на 40% территории. На ЦАР приходится 2% мировой добычи алмазов. Здесь также ведется разработка месторождений золота, железной руды, меди, олова. Перспективное значение имеют запасы урана. Все это не может не интересовать Францию. М. Джотодия нуждается в поддержке Франции, ради нее он готов пойти на пересмотр ранее заключенных с Китаем контрактов по разработке горнорудных месторождений.

**Винокуров Ю.Н.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Yuri N. Vinokurov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

## **Вооруженные конфликты как компонент истории Демократической Республики Конго**

### **Armed Conflicts as a Component of History of the DRC**

Уже в доколониальный период традиционная знать и правители ранних государственных образований, используя примитивное оружие, вступали в междоусобные вооруженные конфликты с целью захвата имущества, земель и рабов, усмирения непокорных вассалов, а также для сопротивления европейским колонизаторам. У некоторых народов (азанде и др.) в тот период образовалась своя военная аристократия. Куба, вооруженные копьями и стрелами, долго (с 1899 по 1910 г.) сопротивлялись попыткам властей т.н. Независимого Государства Конго подчинить их власти Леопольда II.

В колониальный период (1908–1960 гг.) характер вооруженных конфликтов резко изменился, превратившись в средство силового подавления всякого рода массовых антиколониальных восстаний и проявлений социального протеста (забастовок). Самыми крупными из антиколониальных выступлений были религиозно-политические движения кимбангизм, китавала, секты «людей-леопардов»; из крестьянских и рабочих волнений – восстание бапенде (жестоко подавленное в 1931 г.), забастовка докеров порта Матади (1945 г.), переросшая в вооруженное восстание и также жестоко подавленное армейскими подразделениями «форс публик». Последние расстрелы антиколониальных манифестаций населения пришлось на 1959 г., всего за шесть месяцев до провозглашения независимости Бельгийского Конго.

Самые значимые трансформации силового компонента конголезской истории относятся к более чем полувековому периоду существования независимой ДРК. Это разнотипные вооруженные конфликты: гражданские войны в Квилу (1963–1966), в Восточной провинции (1963–1965), в Киву (1963–1965); военные действия против сепаратистов в Катанге и в Южном Касаи (1961–1963); государственные перевороты 1960, 1965, 1977 и 2001 гг.; Первая (1996–1997) и Вторая (1998–2002) гражданские войны в ДРК, переросшие в т. н. Первую мировую африканскую войну в Регионе Великих озер (РВО), локализовавшуюся в трудноразрешимый военный конфликт, погасить который не удастся всему мировому сообществу.

Одна из причин перманентного пребывания ДРК в состоянии войны заключается в низкой боеспособности ее армии. Относительно раз-

меров этой страны, протяженности ее границ, численности населения, а также общей напряженности политической ситуации в РВО армия ДРК малочисленна, плохо вооружена и обучена, недисциплинирована, коррумпирована, ослаблена конфликтами на почве межэтнических противоречий. В 2004 г. власти ДРК приняли закон «Об организации обороны и вооруженных сил» и на его основе – поэтапную «Программу реорганизации», рассчитанную на 2010–2025 гг.

**Кондорский Б.М.**  
**НПФ «Синбиас»**  
**Донецк, Украина**  
Boris M. Kondorsky  
“Sinibas”, Donetsk, Ukraine

**Специфика исторического развития социумов Тропической Африки в свете теории революций**  
**Tropical African Societies' Historical Development in the Light of the Theory of Revolutions**

Переход от одного этапа исторического развития к другому всегда происходил революционным путем. В результате революций один тип сознания сменялся другим. На смену старому архетипу социальной организации приходил принципиально новый архетип. В процессе исторического развития можно выделить следующие основные революции (точнее эпохи революций): неолитические, архаические, феодальные, революции нового времени.

Архаические революции имели место в рамках Евроазиатской ойкумены в середине I тыс. до н.э. в Греции, Италии, Ближнем Востоке, Северной Индии, Центральном Китае и знаменовались появлением социумов полисного типа. В Тропической Африке, как и в Америке, архаической революции не было. Основная причина – изолированное положение данных регионов. Социумы здесь остались на неолитической стадии развития.

Эпоха феодальных революций также не затронула Тропическую Африку. Наличие определенных феодальных признаков ни о чем не говорит. Это только форма.

В новое время все революции и последующие контрреволюции в одной стране (или группе близких стран, имеющих общую историческую судьбу) составляли революционный период как целостную систему в пространстве и времени, имеющую свои законы, происходил также процесс формирования нации (национального государства) и соответствующего типа сознания. Во Франции революционный период закончился в 1870 г., в Германии, Италии, Японии – с окончанием Второй

мировой войны, в России и Китае – в конце XX в. В арабских странах революционный период начался после Второй мировой войны, в Тропической Африке – в 1960-е гг.

Для того, чтобы понять специфику этого процесса, следует разделить два типа сознания: цивилизационный и личностный. Цивилизационный тип формируется в детстве. Соотношение двух типов определяет характер нации. В западноевропейских странах наблюдается полное доминирование личностного начала на основе законов политэкономической системы. В России, Китае, Японии – относительно слабое проявление цивилизационного сознания. В арабских странах – уже заметное его влияние в религиозной форме. В Тропической Африке цивилизационный тип сознания полностью определяет характер «ориентации» в рамках социального пространства.

Это относится и к членам элиты, даже если они имеют европейское образование. Получается своеобразная «химера», характеризующаяся несоответствием между личностным и цивилизационным сознанием элиты, между элитой и народом, между общинным содержанием и капиталистической формой. Основное противоречие заключается в том, что в странах Тропической Африки капитализм (так же, как в свое время социализм) воспринимается и преломляется цивилизационным сознанием (по существу неолитического типа), со всеми вытекающими отсюда последствиями.

Основу хозяйственной (а не экономической) деятельности составляет не прибавочный, а избыточный продукт, который должен «утилизироваться» в процессе социального круговорота по законам т.н. престижной экономики.

В европейских (и не только) странах капитализм формировался путем разрушения феодальной общины. В обществе, где полностью доминирует общинный тип сознания, подобного рода процесс полностью исключен. Попытки разрушения общины могут привести только к гибели всего социума и анархии.



**Константинова О.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Olga V. Konstantinova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Роль международных и региональных организаций в становлении  
мира и стабильности в Центральной Африке**  
**The Role of International and Regional Organizations in the  
Establishment of Peace and Stability in Central Africa**

На сегодняшний день в Центральноафриканском регионе наиболее напряженная военно-политическая обстановка наблюдается в Центральноафриканской Республике (ЦАР) и Демократической Республике Конго (ДРК).

В ЦАР в январе 2013 г. прошли переговоры между повстанцами и представителями правительства, в результате которых был подписан договор о мирном урегулировании кризиса. Посредником выступило Экономическое сообщество стран Центральной Африки (ЭКОЦАС). Однако уже в марте мятежники вновь начали военные действия. В стране сложилась крайне тяжелая обстановка, прежде всего отразившаяся на мирном населении, страдающем от грабежей и насилия. Для обеспечения безопасности и порядка ЭКОЦАС приняло решение о размещении в ЦАР миротворческого контингента в составе 2 тыс. солдат и офицеров.

24 февраля 2013 г. в Аддис-Абебе 11-ю государствами было подписано Рамочное соглашение о мире, безопасности и сотрудничестве для ДРК и района Великих озер. Его гарантами выступили четыре международные организации: ООН, Международная конференция по району Великих озер, Южноафриканское сообщество развития (САДК) и Африканский союз (АС).

Совет Безопасности ООН держит «руку на пульсе», взаимодействуя в деле достижения выполнения мирных соглашений с региональными организациями, которые обладают глубоким пониманием ситуации и владеют более полной информацией с мест событий, используя источники на местах. Уже удалось добиться определенных успехов в налаживании обмена информацией о назревающих кризисах и в совместном планировании миротворческих операций.

По словам Генерального секретаря ООН Пан Ги Муна, мирные договоренности должны дать «дивиденды» в сфере здравоохранения, образования и занятости. Всемирный банк планирует выделить дополнительно 1 млрд долл. для развития в регионе трансграничной торговли, энергетики и инфраструктуры.

Только совместными усилиями государств, региональных и международных организаций возможно достижение мира и стабильности. А это, в свою очередь, послужит основой для экономического роста и достижения политической стабильности в Центральной Африке.

**Куприянов П.И.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Petr I. Kupriyanov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Программы по развитию сельского хозяйства Нигерии** **Programs for Agriculture's Development in Nigeria**

Нигерия располагает большим потенциалом для развития сельского хозяйства. Различные почвенно-климатические условия позволяют возделывать многие сельскохозяйственные культуры, как для внутреннего потребления, так и для экспорта, а также успешно заниматься животноводством и рыболовством. В сельскохозяйственный оборот вовлечено менее половины потенциально пригодных к обработке земель. Однако несмотря на богатые сельскохозяйственные ресурсы, страна вынуждена импортировать продовольствие в значительных объемах.

За годы независимости в Нигерии было разработано около 10 программ развития сельского хозяйства. Рассмотрим некоторые из них. В 1973 г. была принята программа «Ускоренное развитие продовольствия». Путем предоставления крестьянским хозяйствам высокоурожайных семян, удобрений и пестицидов ставилась задача повышения урожайности основных сельскохозяйственных культур.

В 1976 г. в стране была начата компания «Прокормим нацию», главная цель которой заключалась в том, чтобы привлечь городское население к участию в решении продовольственной проблемы.

В 1980 г. начала реализовываться комплексная программа развития сельского хозяйства под названием «Зеленая революция», целью которой было за пять лет добиться самообеспечения страны продовольствием, а через семь лет возобновить экспорт сельскохозяйственной продукции.

В 1985 г. была принята программа структурной перестройки экономики, в рамках которой предусматривалось развитие сельского хозяйства в целях достижения самообеспечения продуктами питания и диверсификации экспорта.

В 1994 г. приступили к разработке и реализации программы, главной целью которой было стимулирование развития других, помимо нефтяной, отраслей хозяйства. Был принят 10-летний план увеличения объемов экспорта сельскохозяйственной продукции.

В 2004 г. в Нигерии были приняты меры по привлечению в страну белых фермеров из Зимбабве. В штате Квара первой группе зимбабвийцев из 13 человек было предоставлено в аренду по тысяче гектаров земли на срок в 25 лет. Это были участки целинной саванны, которые предстояло расчистить от кустарников, деревьев и термитников для последующего выращивания кукурузы, риса, сои, а также создания животноводческих и птицеводческих ферм.

**Лебедева Э.Е.**  
**ИМЭМО РАН,**  
**Москва, РФ**

Eleonora E. Lebedeva  
Institute of World Economy and  
International Relations  
Moscow, Russia

### **Тропическая Африка: перспективы регионализма** **Tropical Africa: Prospects for Regionalism**

1. Наиболее перспективный путь комплексного решения проблем, касающихся развития стран АЮС, – укрепление региональной интеграции в соответствующих четырех (западный, восточный, центральный и южный) культурно-географических регионах и в субсахарском ареале в целом. Новое поколение африканских лидеров рассматривает регионализм как ключевой элемент в решении проблем безопасности (политической, продовольственной, экологической) и экономического развития (в первую очередь создания транспортной, энергетической, коммуникационной инфраструктуры), а также миграции и демографии. Ведь отдельные государства, особенно «хрупкие», а их в АЮС большинство, сами не имеют возможности справиться с этими проблемами.

2. Проводниками интеграции несколько десятилетий служили, но без особого успеха, региональные экономические сообщества (РЭС). Ситуация начала меняться в 2000-е годы по мере включения африканских стран в глобализационные процессы с их стремительным нарастанием интеграции в мировой экономике. Развитие торгово-экономических отношений Восточноафриканского сообщества (*EAC*), Сообщества стран общего рынка Восточной и Южной Африки (*COMESA*), Южноафриканского сообщества развития (*SADC*) в различных формах с нерегиональными традиционными и новыми акторами сказалось положительно и на расширении внутрирегиональной торговли.

3. Тем не менее существует много факторов экономического, организационно-институционального, социокультурного, политического и иного характера, препятствующих становлению РЭС и региональной

интеграции. И вообще регионализм в его классическом, пространственно ограниченном виде, ориентирующемся на «жесткие» интеграционные форматы постепенно уходит в прошлое. Он во многом исчерпал свой экономический и геополитический ресурс, а практика интеграции все более удаляется от «жестких» форм, предполагающих наднациональное регулирование. Более конструктивной выглядит идея координации деятельности отдельных РЭС в целях формирования зон свободной торговли.

3. Называясь экономическими сообществами, *EAC*, *SADC*, Экономическое сообщество стран Западной Африки (*ECOWAS*) формировались как политико-экономические группировки. В них, по примеру Африканского союза, были образованы парламенты, что свидетельствует о стремлении сформировать широкую демократическую базу объединений путем вовлечения в интеграционный процесс гражданского общества, политических партий, экономических игроков. Более того, в документах *ECOWAS* и *EAC* присутствует идея создания на основе этих объединений федеративных государств. Однако данная идея вряд ли имеет шансы быть реализованной даже в долгосрочной перспективе. Ведь эти и другие регионы АЮС остаются зонами проблемной государственности с тенденцией дальнейшей десоверенизации.

4. В этой ситуации вызывает интерес концепция коллективного суверенитета, нацеленная на интеграцию африканских стран в глобальную систему, но при опоре на стратегию развития, учитывающую интересы стран АЮС. Однако проблема делегирования части суверенитета региональным наднациональным структурам остается наиболее чувствительным моментом для государств – членов РЭС. Поэтому, по всей видимости, данная проблема будет решаться путем межправительственных согласований в рамках РЭС. Это уже происходит в плане обеспечения мира и стабильности, а также поддержания конституционного порядка в государствах – членах *ECOWAS* и *SADC*. В перспективе концепция коллективного суверенитета найдет признание, поскольку предполагает сохранение и укрепление государственного суверенитета африканских стран в рамках экономических сообществ и одновременно становление РЭСов как субъектов международно-политических процессов.

**Позднякова А.П.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Ariadna P. Pozdnyakova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Земельная реформа в Уганде** **Land Reform in Uganda**

1. Сельское хозяйство – основа экономики страны. Оно обеспечивает 22,9% ВВП, более 90% экспортной выручки. С ним прямо или косвенно связано 77% экономически активного населения. 85% жителей страны проживают в сельской местности. Однако если в 2000-х гг. рост экономики достигал 7–8% в год, то сельскохозяйственного производства – не превышал 3–4%, а в отдельные годы был даже ниже (в 2007/08 ф. г. – 0,7%). Среди причин этого – нерешенные вопросы землевладения.

2. Конституция 1995 г. определила основную цель земельной политики – закрепление права владения землей за всеми жителями страны, в том числе женщинами и детьми. В ней декларируются общие принципы земельной политики, фиксируется наличие в стране четырех систем землевладения, определяется субъект управления земельными ресурсами. Детализация проведения земельной реформы определена в Земельном законе от 1989 г.

3. Земельная реформа предполагает приобретение арендаторами земли в частную собственность путем получения сертификата на право проживания на возделываемой им земле, а в дальнейшем – сертификата на право владения этой землей.

4. Предполагается, что приобретение земли в частную собственность позволит создать в стране земельный рынок, что будет способствовать более справедливому распределению земли, повышению производительности сельского хозяйства и благосостояния крестьянских хозяйств и в конечном итоге снижению уровня бедности.

5. Осуществление земельной реформы пришлось на 2000-е гг. Выяснилось, что существует множество объективных факторов, мешающих ее проведению. В частности, были неверно определены финансовые затраты, которые оказались в 3 раза больше запланированных.

6. Определение результатов земельного реформирования стало возможным после обследования зарубежными и местными специалистами 309 домохозяйств в разных регионах страны. В результате анализа полученных данных специалисты пришли к следующим выводам. Во-первых, земельный рынок в стране медленно, но развивается. Во-вторых, благосостояние хозяйств, которые приобрели землю через рынок, выросло больше, чем домохозяйств, получивших участки иным способом.

Турьинская Х.М.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ  
Khristina M. Turyinskaya  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Федерализм в Восточной Африке:  
территориальный и культурный аспекты**  
**Federalism in East Africa: Territorial and Cultural Aspects**

Федеративная идея обсуждается и находит применение повсеместно в Африке. «Культурный» и территориальный федерализм практикуется в Восточной Африке как на региональном уровне, так и в отдельных государствах. «Этнический» федерализм функционирует в Эфиопии. Федерализация происходит в переживающем состоянии распада государстве Сомали, в прошлом унитарном. Танзанию – результат объединения Танганьики и Занзибара – считают союзом, договорной ассиметричной федерацией или региональным государством. Автономный статус Занзибара и условия союза пересматриваются: социально-экономическая и политическая подоплека регионализма и сепаратистского движения на архипелаге заслоняется риторикой культурной отличительности занзибари от населения мейнленда.

Как и соседняя Уганда, где федеративная идея продолжает обсуждаться, Кения имела недолгий федеративный опыт после обретения независимости. Впоследствии в унитарной Кении шла борьба за возвращение федерализма, который представлялся средством устранения «исторических несправедливостей», допущенных в отношении различных групп населения страны. Новая кенийская система напоминает эфиопскую, функционируя в форме этнорегиональной децентрализации. В политическую практику вводится принцип деволюции, превращающий Кению в «региональное» государство. Термину «маджимбо» (регионализм, федерализм) кенийские политики предпочитают «деволюцию», имея в виду делегирование центром части своих полномочий регионам. Вместо прежних провинций в качестве основных территориально-политических единиц образовано 47 округов (counties), многие из которых называются так же, как племена, составляющие численное большинство в населении округа.

Восточноафриканское сообщество (ВАС) объединяет Кению, Танзанию, Бурунди, Уганду и Руанду. ВАС было организовано в 1967 г. в качестве «преемника» ранее существовавших, инициированных британцами проектов, которые касались таможи, общего рынка, инфраструктуры. Сообщество распалось в 1977 г. вследствие экономических дисбалансов и политических разногласий между государствами-

участниками Кенией, Угандой и Танзанией и было реанимировано в 2000 г. Региональная интеграция в Восточной Африке затрагивает главным образом сферу экономики. В планах – политическая федерация, однако экспертам подобная перспектива видится отдаленной или нереальной вследствие противоречий в отношениях между членами Сообщества, в частности между Танзанией и Руандой по ситуации в ДРК. Показателен девиз ВАС «Один народ, одна судьба», не только свидетельствующий о стремлении стран-партнеров к территориальному объединению, но имеющий культуралистскую коннотацию.

**Хабенская Е.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Khabenskaya E.  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Проблема рабства в Мавритании** **Problem of slavery in Mauritania**

Исламская Республика Мавритания – одно из последних рабовладельческих государств в мире. Институт рабства в этой стране, несмотря на периодические попытки его официального запрета, продолжает де-факто функционировать до сих пор. Рабство зародилось на этой территории в VIII в., когда первые арабские колонисты начали поработать местное африканское население. Произвольно установленные французами границы колонии закрепили эту тенденцию. До сих пор все рабовладельцы в Мавритании – «белые арабы» («beydanés»). Рабы происходят из африканского или смешанного населения («haratines»).

Местная элита трижды пыталась официально отменить рабство в стране – в 1905, 1980 и 2007 гг. Последний закон 2007 года, принятый «либеральным» президентом шейхом Абдуллахи, впервые ввел уголовное наказание за рабовладение – до 10 лет лишения свободы. Однако закон так и не начал работать, поскольку затрагивал интересы самой влиятельной части общества. В 2008 г. в результате очередного военного переворота к власти пришел французский ставленник генерал Азиз, вновь де-факто разрешивший рабовладение. С 2007 по 2013 гг. в Мавритании зафиксирован лишь один случай уголовного наказания рабовладельцу.

В периоды экономических кризисов ряды невольников пополнялись за счет обедневшей части сельского населения, которая не смогла устроиться и адаптироваться в городах и была поставлена перед выбором: рабство или голодная смерть. Именно по причине крайней нищеты многие уже освобожденные рабы продолжают работать на своих хозяев, поскольку это обеспечивает им элементарное выживание.

По информации на 2011 год, в Мавритании невольниками являются около 20 % населения (600 тыс. из 3 млн.). Они лишены фамилий, собственности и права опеки над своими детьми. Рабство является самовоспроизводящейся структурой – рожденные у рабов дети автоматически становятся собственностью хозяина их родителей.

Рабство слишком глубоко интегрировано в экономические отношения и стало своего рода социокультурной нормой мавританского общества, чтобы его можно было искоренить только политической волей. Для этого требуется длительная и многосторонняя перестройка всей системы социальных отношений в стране, возможно – создание специальных служб для помощи в адаптации бывшим рабам к новым общественным и экономическим нишам.

**Шлёнская С.М.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Svetlana M. Shlyonskaya  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Президентские выборы на Мадагаскаре:  
выход из политического кризиса или его новый виток?**  
**Presidential Elections in Madagascar:  
A Way Out of the Political Crisis or Its New Round?**

1. В последние четыре года Мадагаскар живет в условиях перманентного политического кризиса, наступившего в марте 2009 г. в результате неконституционного прихода к власти А. Радзуэлины. Этот кризис – самый продолжительный и тяжелый из всех пережитых Мадагаскаром за годы независимости. Ситуация усугубляется жесткими санкциями со стороны ряда государств и международных организаций. Доноры заморозили финансовую помощь, США лишил Мадагаскар преференций по АГОА, что привело к ликвидации 30 тыс. рабочих мест только в текстильной промышленности. Значительно сократились расходы правительства на здравоохранение, образование, социальную помощь. 92% населения живет менее чем на 2 долл. в день.

2. Надежды на урегулирование очередного кризиса связываются с проведением президентских выборов. Специальный орган САДК по политике, безопасности и обороне, в течение четырех лет непосредственно занимавшийся урегулированием кризиса, создал «дорожную карту», в соответствии с которой шла подготовка к выборам, которые состоялись 25 октября 2013 г., в них участвуют 33 кандидата. Победитель, скорее всего, определится в декабре, во втором туре. М. Равалуманана, А. Радзуэлина, Д. Рацирака и А. Зафи, представляющие интере-



сы самых мощных политических и экономических группировок страны, не были допущены к выборам. Но в избирательном списке есть лица, замещающие главных конкурентов на президентский пост. Основная борьба, вероятнее всего, развернется между сторонниками А. Радзуэлины (действующего руководителя страны) и отстраненного им от власти президента М. Равалумананы.

3. Судя по тому, как прошли предыдущие выборы, проигравшая сторона вряд ли смирится с поражением. Тем более что организация выборов, проводившихся в первый раз по единому бюллетеню, может дать множество поводов для того, чтобы опротестовать их результаты. Ситуация осложняется и различиями в направлениях стратегического партнерства. У М. Равалумананы и А. Радзуэлины это – США и Франция. Во всяком случае, возобновление донорской помощи после выборов не сможет быстро решить накопившиеся экономические проблемы, а обострившееся политическое противостояние усугубит нестабильность и может привести страну к новому кризису.

**Денисова Т.С.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Denisova T.S.  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Африканские конфликты: война как способ обогащения** **African Conflicts: War as a Means of Enrichment**

Соперничество за доступ к природным ресурсам – источникам воды, плодородным землям, пастбищам и недрам, богатым полезными ископаемыми, борьба за возможность незаконной эксплуатации месторождений и сбыт продукции в целях обогащения, а также за контроль над другими видами нелегальной деятельности (торговля наркотиками, оружием и др.), бурно развивающимися во время войны, – среди главных причин возникновения и продолжительности конфликтов в Африке.

Безусловно, не следует игнорировать и политические аспекты противостояния – борьбу за власть и участие в процессе принятия ответственных решений, межплеменные разногласия и др. Между тем, многие повстанческие движения, такие, как, например, Национально-патриотический фронт Либерии (НПФЛ) и Объединенный революционный фронт (ОРФ) Сьерра-Леоне, даже не выдвигали конкретных политических требований. Отсутствие в ряде случаев у руководителей боевиков политических целей ведет к тому, что разница между войнами и обычными криминальными разборками становится почти незаметной.

То, что наиболее кровопролитные войны на континенте велись в странах, обладающих наиболее богатыми недрами, – в Анголе, Демократической Республике Конго, – это не случайно.

кратической Республике Конго (ДРК), Либерии, Сьерра-Леоне, Нигерии и Судане – не совпадение. Конфликты создают возможности обогащения для различных групп населения, именно поэтому так трудно добиваться урегулирования: слишком много отдельных лиц и групп заинтересовано в их продолжении.

Важный концептуальный вопрос, неминуемо сопровождающий процесс миротворчества, – выявление «держателей акций» в конфликте. Эскалации военных действий, обусловленных экономическими интересами, способствует деятельность периферийных участников конфликта. Среди них – иностранные предприниматели, компании и правительства государств (прежде всего соседних), вовлеченных в эксплуатацию природных ресурсов страны, охваченной конфликтом (они действуют в условиях относительной экономической анархии и почти полного отсутствия государственного контроля над предоставлением лицензий и сбором налогов); отдельные лица или компании, занимающиеся торговлей наркотиками и оружием; наемники – профессиональные солдаты, нанятые для участия в конфликте на той или иной стороне; частные охранные и военные компании (основные клиенты – государственные структуры, ТНК, крупные местные фирмы, торговцы наркотиками расхитителями государственного имущества и наемниками). Существуют и другие косвенные участники конфликта, в зависимости от ситуации заинтересованные либо в установлении мира, либо в его оттягивании. Прежде всего, это т.н. лорды бедности – лица и организации, обогащающиеся на гуманитарной помощи, предоставляемой различными донорами жертвам войн и конфликтов, и ТНК, действующие в развивающихся странах с богатыми недрами.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK VIII**

### **РЕЛИГИЯ И КУЛЬТУРА RELIGION AND CULTURE**

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-1**

#### **Африканский кинематограф: взгляд из Москвы African Cinema: The View from Moscow**

**Руководители: к.и.н. Александра Александровна Архангельская  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия),  
к.п.н. Дарья Александровна Зеленова  
(Институт Африки РАН, Москва, Россия)  
Conveners: Dr. Alexandra Arkhangelskaya  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia),  
Dr. Daria A. Zelenova  
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)**

Африканское кино, или кино об Африке, одно из наименее исследованных в России, но в то же время одно из наиболее эмпирических направлений современной африканистики. Термин «Африканское кинематограф» объединяет в себе не только кино об Африке, не только кино сделанное африканцами, но и кино созданное африканскими эмигрантами за пределами «чёрного континента».

Африканский кинематограф считают одной из новых мировых киношкол. Жорж Садуль писал во «Всеобщей истории кино»: «В 1960 году, через 65 лет после изобретения кинематографа, еще не было создано ни одного подлинно африканского полнометражного фильма, то есть написанного, сыгранного, снятого и смонтированного черными африканцами и озвученного на одном из африканских языков». Через несколько лет, когда появились первые фильмы молодых государств черной Африки, Садуль заявил: «Африканское кино – самое молодое в мире. Оно делает только свои первые шаги в очень трудных условиях. Но можно не сомневаться, что в последнюю треть XX века к нам придут из Африки глубоко национальные талантливые произведения».

Данная секция делает первую попытку возродить интерес как научной, так и широкой общественности к африканскому кинематогра-

фу в России, в качестве инструмента познания и исследования Африки, ее истории, ее проблем и, возможно, ее будущего.

Предлагаемые темы для обсуждения:

- 1) История африканского кинематографа
- 2) Кино как познание африканской культуры
- 3) Перспективы и проблемы современного африканского кино
- 4) Советское кино об Африке
- 5) Что ждет нас? Кино как культурный мост, сближающий Россию и Африку в современности.

African cinema, or a cinema about Africa, is one of the least studied in Russia, but at the same time one of the most empirical trends in modern African studies. The term “African cinema” combines not just cinema about Africa, not just cinema made by Africans, but cinema, made by the African immigrants outside of the “Dark Continent”. African cinema is considered to be one of the world's new film schools. Georges Sadoul wrote in the “General History of Cinema”: “In 1960, 65 years after the invention of cinema, it has not yet created any truly African feature film that is written, played, shot and edited by African black and voiced by an African Language”. A few years later, after creation of first films by the young African states, Sadoul stated: “African cinema – is the youngest in the world. It only makes first steps in very difficult conditions. But there is no doubt that in the last third of the XX century, we'll see deeply talented works”. This section makes the first attempt to revive interest in both academic and general public in Russia to the African film industry, as an instrument for understanding and research of Africa, its history, its problems, and perhaps, its future. The themes suggested for discussion are:

- the history of African cinematography;
- cinema as an instrument for understanding of African culture;
- Prospects and problems of contemporary African cinema;
- Soviet Cinema of Africa;
- What will happen to us? Cinema as a cultural bridge that makes Russia and Africa closer to each other.

**Шахов А.С.**  
**НИИ киноискусства (ВГИК)**  
**Москва, РФ**  
A.S. Shakhov  
Cinema Studies Institute  
Moscow, Russia

**Глобализация и вопросы сохранения национальной кинокультуры**  
**Globalization and the Problems of National Cinema Cultures**  
**Preservation**

Глобализация и ее воздействие на повседневную жизнь и сферу кинематографа. Развитие ситуации в международном кинопрокате. Доминирование в нем экранной продукции США. Попытки и способы защиты национального кинорынка.

Результаты кинематографической глобализации в России после распада Советского Союза. Демонстрация фильмов в телевизионном формате. Место и функции рекламы, следующей принципу: «Искусство – это яд для кассы».

Деструктивное влияние глобального рынка на содержание российских кинофильмов и выбор экранных персонажей.

Чувство родины. Его связь с традиционной системой людских взаимоотношений и с визуальным образом страны. Вызовы национальным кинематографиям как самобытному виду искусства и потенциальная роль государства в противостоянии данным вызовам.

Что такое высокохудожественные произведения кинематографа. Примеры из истории арабо-африканского кинематографа.

Для кинематографистов, которые хотят, чтобы их талант был признан не только одними соотечественниками, национальность является первым и необходимым условием. По-настоящему ценят, уважают и любят того, кто несет с собой свое лицо, свою самобытную и неповторимую культуру.

**Rossen Djagalov**  
**Koç University, Istanbul**  
**Masha Salazkina**  
**Elena Razlogova**  
**Concordia University, Montreal**  
Р. Джагалов  
Университет Коч, Стамбул, Турция  
М. Салазкина, Е. Разлогова  
Университет Конкордия  
Монреаль, Канада

**The View from Tashkent: The Afro-Asian (and Latin American)  
Film Festival as a Cinematic Contact Zone**

**Взгляд из Ташкента: фестиваль афро-азиатского (и  
латиноамериканского) кино как синематическая  
контактная зона**

This paper takes at its object the Tashkent Festival of African, Asian (and after 1974, Latin American) Film, which during the years of its existence (1968–1990) functioned as one the main sites where a Third-World cinematic field was constructed. If the Soviet festival organizers sought to reinforce their prestige and influence among film-makers from the developing world, the connections they forged unintentionally provided the latter with a platform where they could see each others' works and generally develop a discourse of socially engaged cinema often at odds with that of socialist realism. Helping us reconstruct this story are the archives of the Soviet Union of Cinematographers containing rich reports of Soviet bureaucrats' visits to foreign countries for the purposes of soliciting films and participants for the Tashkent festivals, transcripts of the organizing committees' meetings, post-mortems of the festivals as well as collections of foreign press coverage. Newspaper articles, interviews, and memoirs by foreign participants such as the Senegalese film-maker Sembene Ousmane populate it with voices other than those of the Soviet organizers. As a whole, the paper argues for the centrality of a small number of cities in Central Asia and the Caucasus (and especially Tashkent) for Soviet cinematic relations with Africa (and the Third World in general). While Moscow-based institutions such as VGIK and several studios did train a number of prominent African film-makers, in the Soviet division of cultural labor, it was Tashkent that was meant to provide African cinema with an example of a non-Western modernity.

**Alexander Bud**  
**University of Edinburgh, UK**  
А. Бад  
Университет Эдинбурга  
Великобритания

**The end of Nollywood's gilded age?  
Film Marketers, the State and the Struggle for Distribution  
Конец золотого века Нолливуда? Дистрибьюторы  
фильмов, государство и борьба за прокат**

The 2006 Distribution Framework was the first meaningful attempt by the Nigerian state to regulate Nollywood marketing. It aimed to create a centralized film distribution structure, but its implementation was traumatic, with the parastatal Censors Board and marketers' guilds struggling to shape the process. The paper examines the interactions between conflicts over the enforcement of regulation, contestations over institutional legitimacy and individual marketers' struggles for social self-realization and honour.

The initiative is analysed across four scenes. In Scene 1, Impasse, the Board struggled with communication, surveillance and enforcement and faced legal suits and physical threats. The Board and guilds contested each other's legitimacy along three axes: core industry creation and development narratives, legal rights, and commentaries on extraction.

Scene 2 saw a Realignment of strategic groups, as many Edo and Hausa marketers licensed, utilizing the Board's arguments in their own strategies. In Scene 3, Coercion/Shaming, the Board's refusal to certify new films began to squeeze the marketers, accelerating uptake. The Board then publicly shamed the recalcitrant marketers by publishing a list of licensees, which included anti-Framework campaigners. This stimulated the collapse of opposition to licensing with the accession of the Igbo guild.

In Scene 4, Transformation, the remaining marketers licensed. However, the Board was unable to remould them into the desired structure. Emboldened, marketers found opportunities to appropriate the Board's conflict and contestation strategies through their own uses of the licenses. A typology of these relationships between institutional strategies and marketer applications is created, including: coincidence, correspondence, redeployment, and recycling.

**Панов А.А.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Alexander A. Panov  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**История руандийского кинематографа сквозь призму  
национального строительства**

**The History of Rwandan Cinema in the Light of Nation Building**

Национальный руандийский кинематограф ведет отсчет своей истории с начала 21 века. Первые его шаги были связаны с переосмыслением руандийским обществом своей драматической истории и отражали поиск подходящего для размышлений и дискуссий о главной национальной трагедии – геноцида тутси в 1994 года языка. Первый игровой фильм снятый вернувшимся после долгих лет прожитых в изгнании в соседнем Заире руандийским режиссером Эриком Каберой, «100 дней» совместно с британскими коллегами посвящен как раз повседневности геноцида. Главная героиня фильма – девушка тутси спасающаяся от боевиков Интерахамве. Уникальность этой ленты в том, что в качестве актеров режиссеры привлекли не профессионалов, а рядовых руандийцев, переживших геноцид, как тутси так и хуту.

В 2004 году, т.е. в год отмечаия десятой годовщины геноцида вышел в прокат документальный фильм Каберы «Хранители памяти», как не трудно догадаться также посвященный истории трагических событий 1994 года. В последующие годы эта традиция была продолжена еще рядом фильмов посвященных геноциду («На заднем дворе монастыря» 2008 г.), однако в это же время в руандийском кинематографе зарождается новая тенденция: на экраны один за другим выходят ленты, как игровые, так и документальные, посвященные руандийской молодежи, вступающей во взрослую жизнь в 21 веке («За этими стенами» П. Кайитаны, 2005 г., «День вручения дипломов» А. Касаса Мааго, 2006 г., «Шрамы дней моих» Ж. Ндахайо, 2006 г. и др). Судьбы этих молодых людей также неразрывно связаны с историей национального раздора, но теперь в фильмах наряду с трагизмом и болью появляется надежда на будущее, что безусловно отражает возрастающий оптимизм связанный с первыми успехами новых руандийских властей в проведении социально-экономических реформ и восстановлении работы нормальных государственных институтов. В некоторых фильмах, как например в игровой ленте «Любовное письмо к родине» (Т. Душимиримана, 2006) тема этнодизвионизма и социальных последствий геноцида и тема современной руандийской молодежи перекликаются, создавая портрет героев своего времени. Молодые руандийцы здесь смело и решительно



выступают против до сих пор бытующей в некоторых слоях общества идеологии этнического дивизионизма и реваншистских настроений. Тенденция к героизации сопротивления геноциду и «идеологии геноцида» воплощается в создании фильмов, основанных на реальных историях сопротивления («Мы все руандийцы», 2008 снятый британским режиссером Дебс Гарднер-Патерсон на студии Rwandan Cinema Centre), а также готовящийся к выходу фильм посвященный сопротивлению оказанному ополчению тутси на холмах Бисесеро.

Лево-националистическая, популистская идеология современного руандийского политического режима ярко проявляется в идее ежегодно проводящегося в стране с 2005 года передвижного кинофестиваля «Hillywood», в рамках которого кинопоказы проходят не только в столице, но и в других городах и даже деревнях страны. По замыслу организаторов, таким образом достижения национального кинематографа должны активнее продвигаться в массы стать более доступны широким слоям руандийского общества.

**David Forbes**  
**Shadow Films**  
**South Africa**

Д. Форбс  
«Шэдоу филмз», ЮАР

**Cinema Production and Decolonisation of Minds in Africa**  
**Кинопроизводство и деколонизация умов в Африке (на**  
**примере ЮАР)**

Africa is emerging from a post-colonial narrative into a global economy that is filled with all sorts of media that are instantly disseminated around the world. Africans have to up-end the traditional colonial view of Africa, not only within the continent, but also in the global markets. Africans have to also cut off the shackles of colonial-style production, raise funds globally in a market heavily biased against Africa, and struggle against cultural imperialism through all kinds of media, from cinema to documentary, from print to social media. Part of this struggle involves freeing up Africa's history from its archives. Africa's story is hidden in its archives, and the prohibitive cost of retrieving, restoring, digitising and monetizing this archive is one of the reasons Africa is unable to take its rightful place, for now, in the global economy. The "slavery of Africa" has not ended with the abolition of slavery, or the independence of African states. Africans are still decolonizing their minds, reclaiming their history, overturning the lies of its former masters and rewriting its own history. The paper will be about Africa, but with specific reference to South Africa, which has one of the oldest film industries in the world

**Марков А.В.**  
**СПбГУКиТ,**  
**Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Alexander V. Markov  
St. Petersburg State University  
of Cinema and Television, Russia

**Съемки советских документалистов на африканском континенте  
1957–1992 гг.**

**Soviet Documentalists' Shootings on the African Continent, 1957–1992**

Советские фильмы об Африке находятся в забвении. Большая часть этих заказных картин снималась на Центральной студии документальных фильмов в Москве или, как ее еще называли, на «придворной» студии. Это был «великий заказ империи». На фильмы об Африке денег не жалели. Лучшая пленка, лучшие кинематографисты направлялись в Африку для выполнения особой миссии. Советские кинематографисты снимают Африку так, как, наверное, ее никто и никогда не снимал. И уже не снимет. Любой африканец, случайно выхваченный из толпы, становится образом перемен. Ведь на него смотрит пытливый «киноглаз» советского оператора, жаждущий новых стран и новых людей.

Так кем же были советские режиссеры-документалисты, снимавшие фильмы об африканских странах, о сотрудничестве между африканскими странами и СССР?

Чаще всего – это были лучшие студийные профессионалы. Именно им доверялись ответственные съемки за рубежом. Ирина Венжер, Леонид Махнач, Георгий Асатиани, Михаил Литвяков, Юрий Альдохин, Алексей Учитель, Викторас Старошас, Римитаутас Шилинис, Семен Школьников, Андрес Сёет и другие – это специалисты в съемках фильмов о политике и этнографии, многие из них прошли суровую школу войны.

В выступлении затрагиваются следующие темы:

\* Основные тенденции и направления государственного заказа на съемку в Африке.

\* Советские кинематографисты, снимавшие в Африке. Персоналии и мотивации.

\* Нарративные изменения в «советском африканском» фильме с течением времени. Периодизация.

\* Цензурные установки заказчика: Госкино и африканские правительства.

## **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-2**

### **Глобализация, эволюция демократической культуры и политическая переориентация в Африке Globalization, Democratic Culture Evolution and Political Re-orientation in Africa**

**Руководители / Conveners: Dr. Ehiyamen Medaiyanose Osezua  
(Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria),**

**Dr. Tajudeen Adewumi Adebisi**

**(Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria),**

**Dr. Clementina Oghoadena Osezua**

**(Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria)**

This panel will weave together four themes in the evolution of democratic culture in African continent in the last two decades. The first paper appraises the relevance of a vibrant, informed eclectic civil society in birthing and nurturing a healthy democratic culture in African states in the light of the overarching and ambivalent effects of globalization on most countries in Africa. The paper concludes that a highly engaged civil society will mitigate the adverse effects of globalization in post-colonial Africa democratic processes. The second paper elucidates the torturous processes experienced by the most populous African nation-Nigeria its transitional bid from military rule to democratic governance in the past few years. The paper observed a critical change in the transitional process in the changes in voting patterns arising from the adoption of new informational technologies. The paper maintains that these changes may negatively impact on the adult citizens of the Nigeria who constitute a viable number of prospective electorates in any election. The paper therefore concludes that there is a need for re-orientation of the adult population in order to strengthen the emerging but fragile democratic culture in the face of critical security challenges Nigeria is presently undergoing. The third paper underscores the emerging evolution of nascent democratic culture being witnessed in an African State-Nigeria, among the women folks. The paper observed these changes are attributable to the active deployment of the mass media enabled by the new technologies in the communication world. The paper concludes by underscoring the role of re-orientation and gender education as viable tools in engendering democratic culture and active political participation among women who constitute about half of the prospective electorates in elections. Finally, the last paper presenter identified the proclivity by political leaders to abuse political offices without recourse to democratic tenets as operational

in advanced democracies. The paper argued that corruption among political office holders through irrational amassment of wealth have made political office holders irresponsible to her citizenry and further created a negative value structure, which are potential threats to the fragile democratic culture in Nigeria. The paper concludes that democratic responsive governance can be achievable through what the author referred to as re-orientation counseling. All four papers affirm the imperativeness of an active and informed civil society which holds the potentiality of building and sustaining the nascent democratic culture in many African states, using Nigeria as a window.

**C.O. Osezua**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University,**  
**Ile-Ife, Nigeria**

К.О. Оsezуа  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**Nigerian Women and the Evolution of a Democratic Culture:  
Engendering the Mass Media towards its Attainment**  
**Нигерийские женщины и эволюция демократической культуры:  
стимулирование СМИ к ее принятию**

Traditionally, the mass media remains a critical socialization agency to human actors in any society. The recent advancement in technology culminating in visible revolution in the mass media is note worthy in Nigeria. Huge volume of information is disseminated across the Nation with a speed of light. This paper advocates the engagement of the mass media as a veritable tool in effectively reorienting the Nigerian women who constitute about fifty percent of the electorates. It argues that developing a democratic culture is all inclusive process which must take into accounts the views and experiences of Nigerian women. The paper proposes engendering the mass media which includes gender – sensitive reportage; coverage as well as programme allotment should provide opportunities to women of different strata, to express their views in national and political matters of interest will serve as stimulant towards gender reorientation and education. The paper concludes that in contemporary Nigeria, the mass media holds the ace in promoting gender education that will birth a new order in the evolving democratic culture.

**Agbalajobi Damilola Taiye**  
**Obafemi Awolowo University**  
**Ile-Ife, Nigeria**

А.Д. Тайе  
Университет им. Обафемии Аволово  
Иле-Ифе, Нигерия

**A Geopolitical Perspective of the Relative Inclusiveness of Women in Nigerian Politics (1999–2011) Геополитическая перспектива относительной включенности женщин в нигерийскую политику (1999–2011 гг.)**

Over the years, there have been raging debates over the participation, desire and desirability of women in Nigerian politics. Mostly, women are regarded as weaker sexes in general social constructs owing to social value, norms and beliefs, which have neglected their meaningful contributions and have placed them in a subordinate position to men in the nation's political system. The political enfranchisement of women in Nigeria politics seems to have maintained on the surface a level of gender equity politically, because it is assumed that constitutionally there are no barriers to women's participation. But what exactly is/are the problems and prospects women encounter in their quest to participate in politics? This study is aimed at evaluating women's participation in Nigerian politics from the local geopolitical perspective highlighting those factors responsible for increase in any such participation and those that have hampered and may still be hampering women's participation in Nigerian politics, as possible function of local geopolitical influences. Much of the literature on women participation have focused on the general factors affecting women participation and specifically noting the idea/notion that the society perceives that women's space is in the private and not the public. Many of these literatures also see religion and culture as major factor affecting women's participation in politics. While in agreement with existing literature my research, the study is therefore going a step ahead to look at peculiar locational influences on women's participation in politics, by comparing the level of women participation in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. Although reliance would be placed on existing literatures, which are mostly qualitative in nature, my research methodology will be largely quantitative.

**Ousmane Traoré**  
**Wagner College**  
**New York, USA**  
У. Траоре  
Колледж Вагнера  
Нью-Йорк, США

**Youth, Civil Society, and New Political Strategies In Senegal Молодежь, гражданское общество и новые политические стратегии в Сенегале**

Political struggles and uprisings led by youth movements and hip-hop groups are not new in Senegal. They can, even, be considered as epiphenomena if we consider Senegal's political history and its long and solid tradition of elections from 1840 to 2012. From its historical origins, the Senegalese political landscape was cast in a colonial mold and yet took on local idioms based on interactions, negotiations, and accommodation between local populations and the French colonial administration. However, what is relatively new in this political landscape is how Hip-hop voices succeed in imposing their societal views and claims on political leaders. In this paper, I first argue that we can read and better understand the trinity of "Hip Hop, Politics, and Civil Society" as commentary on an inextricably interwoven back-and-forth between colonial legacy and postcolonial nation and state building in Senegal. Second, I argue that hip-hop groups and their political strategies benefit from the colonial legacy, insofar as it granted Senegal its political stability. And finally, the philosophy of struggles incarnated by hip hop groups (led by *Y'en a marre*) could be better understood by tacking back-and-forth between the past and present and, very specifically, between Senghor's vision of nation-and-state building by drawing upon the colonial legacy and the calls for democracy and strong civil society made by young hip-hop leaders.

**Tajudeen Adewumi Adebisi**  
**Osun State University, Nigeria**  
Т.А. Адебиси  
Университет штата Ошун  
Ошоґбо, Нигерия

**Political Education: A Panacea to Pre- and Post-Election Violence in Africa**

**Политическое образование: панацея от пред- и послевыборного насилия в Африке**

Democracy as a recurrent phenomenon has become a turn in the flesh of many African nations. This is largely due to violence that incessantly mars

political transitional elections in most nations in the African Continent. Education in whichever form and at whatever level is central to fostering and maintaining sustainable democracy. It is however regrettable that a very large population of adults who are eligible to vote and be voted for lack political education that is very essential for free and fair, credible and violence-free democratic elections in Africa. These eligible adults therefore need political education. This paper, consequent upon the foregoing, digs deep into the causes, nature and dimensions of pre and post election violence in Africa. Also, the paper dwelling on the existing literature explores various forms of political education, which imperatively should be given to the adult populace through some adult education programmes. The paper posits that since education is continuous and couple with the change that information and communication technology has brought to all facets of life, giving continuing political education to prospective electorates will be very germane to curbing political violence not only in Africa but world over.

**Ehiyamen Medaiyanose Osezua**  
**Osun State University, Osogbo**  
**Nigeria**

Э.М. Осезуа  
Университет штата Ошун  
Осогбо, Нигерия

**Political Culture, Democracy and Voting Behaviour in Nigeria**  
**(1960-2007)**

**Политическая культура, демократия и электоральное поведение**  
**в Нигерии (1960-2007 гг.)**

Absence of shared national political culture based on democratic values such as popular participation of citizens in the electoral process is more likely to bring about political instability in a multiethnic society like Nigeria. This paper argued that shared national, rather than ethnic and undemocratic political culture is more likely to engender proper voting behaviour amongst citizens to elect competent leaders. It concluded that the existence of shared national political culture and the reforms of the electoral system would result in the election of democratic national and competent leaders, and hence promote political development in a multiethnic society like Nigeria.

### СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-3

#### Размышляя о традиционализме и развертывании парадигм развития Африки Reflecting on Traditionalism and Reels of Africa's Developmental Paradigms

**Руководитель / Convener: Olatunji Olateju**  
(Swansea University, UK)

Understanding the state of Africa involves examination of governance, governing ideologies, nature and character of ethnic pluralism, monopolisation of political and economic power, ideological pathways of development in Africa and the transition of Africa's pre-colonial societies to post-colonial states. Though, many theoretical approaches have evolved, both within and outside Africa, to address Africa's underdevelopment and Africa's political tragedy but unfortunately not all are helpful. Many of these approaches contextualise Africa's political development in one universal model or the other. They thereby wrongly interpret Africa's political instability either as a consequence of ethnic rivalries or the negative consequences of some retrogressive cultural values. This error of judgment [mis]leads the proponents of the universal theorists to by-pass the central issue involved in the genesis of Africa's political crisis. Africa's political instability have at different times also been subjected to various interpretations ranging from modernisation to neo-Marxist theories with each interpretation identifying different sources of the African crises and which subsequently have impact on the "best-practice" thinking of each interpretation. Best-practice thinking as explained by Levy (2011) and Booth (2011) is a "one size-fits all" approach to governance and development. It involves identification in all societies, of uniformity in what drives changes in institutions, governance, development, as well as in society while ignoring feasible entry points that are country-specific for democracy and development. From this approach comes a uniform set of policy prescriptions that are ideologically based irrespective of the peculiarities of each country. This approach, as applied to the interpretations of African crises and subsequent prescriptions of each interpretation, has profound implications for state state-building, democratisation processes and development. Scholars such as Harrison and Huntington, who stressed "*Culture Matters*" (2002) in Africa's political instability failed to see how the same culture can facilitate autochthonous political and economic models for economic sustainability, political development and democratic consolidation. We need to be conscious that



African socio-political crises are embedded in the social structures of their post-colonial forms. These are the after-effects of the relegation of the African traditional values to the fringes of the political and state building processes; and the disarticulation of African politics, economy and hybridisation of the traditional patrimonial political system by the colonial and the post-colonial administrations. This panel welcomes contributions that examine the consequences of by-passing Africa's traditional values in the state-building and democratisation processes and how such by-pass politicised Africa's economical and political development and indeed everyday lives of the African peoples who continue to aspire to be citizens in their supposedly independent countries.

**Clara Saraiva**  
**New University**  
**Institute for Tropical Research**  
**Lisbon, Portugal**  
К. Сараива  
Новый университет  
Лиссабон, Португалия

**Caring and Nurturing in the Diaspora for African Migrants in Portugal:  
where Political and Management Aspects Intersect with Traditionalism**  
**Забота и воспитание в диаспоре африканских мигрантов в  
Португалии: там, где политические и управленческие аспекты  
пересекаются с традиционализмом**

In spite of the interest that the recent status of Portugal as an immigration country arises, some important issues dealing with immigrant's states of suffering and death, have hardly been dealt with. How do immigrants perceive death and dying and incorporate them in their conceptualization of the diaspora? For immigrants, death is a reality that often conditions the relation with the home country. Death is thus here looked upon as a process, which involves specific emotional states and triggers the use of rituals in order to cope with the unavoidable distress, acquiring more complicated aspects when away from home. Using as case study the example of immigrants from Guinea-Bissau in Portugal, this paper will deal with the multiple levels that death touches upon, from the symbolic to the more practical ones, which deal with political and administrative procedures. How does the state and the embassy in Lisbon deal with the death of its subjects? How do the shifts between very traditional cultural approaches and the tentative to "modernize" such practices by the Guinean state take place and their implications for the development of the country? Death is one realm in which a transnational approach is mandatory; it entails

an intense circulation of material goods and wealth, but also of highly symbolic significant universes which circulate along with the goods and the people: the corpse, but also the spirits and the relations with the other world that people brought along into the diaspora situation. Tradition and innovation is certainly an issue to be dealt with in this paper.

**Lawrence Ogbo Ugwuanyi**  
**Great Zimbabwe University**  
**Masvingo, Zimbabwe;**  
**University of Abuja, Nigeria**  
Л.О. Угвуаньи  
Университет Абуджи, Нигерия

**Towards an African Philosophical Anthropology of Development:  
Development and Anthropology in African Cultural Context**  
**К африканской философской антропологии развития:  
развитие и антропология в африканском культурном контексте**

The paper sets out to demonstrate the role that anthropology can play in interpreting and intervening in development crises in Africa. It does so by taking on an aspect of anthropology known as philosophical anthropology and discussing the role it can play in this regard. It defines philosophical anthropology as the philosophical investigation that combines the practical study of man with the theoretical (conceptual study) to provide an enduring insight into the human mode of being. The paper believes that this study is relevant to understand the dominant passions that determine and therefore define the quality of the growth of African personality.

It has been variously observed that African underdevelopment lies in such factors as poor knowledge system; population growth; weak and ineffective political system; and poor productivity, etc. But all these are socio-cultural variables that represent poor, wrong or improper expressions of an inner human passion. Thus, if (e.g) it should be admitted that there is poor political will among citizens of modern states of Africa, there is still the anthropological question of why the will should be poorly expressed in the modern political systems in Africa. What factors (physical, spiritual and otherwise) stand against the expression of the will in the state and how or why does the will to procreate (population) find a stronger expression than the will to enhance the quality of life (politics)? Our study sets out to demonstrate why and how this is the case and why and how philosophical anthropology can and should find a space in the development desires and systems of modern Africa.

In particular our paper takes on cultural expressions in Africa and examines how and why particular forms of cultural expressions have found a

space in modern traditions while others have not. It investigates the dominant passions that these cultural expressions defend and the extent to which these passions account for the development imperatives or desires of the African. It illustrates this concern with the instance of burial traditions in Benin culture of Nigeria where burial ceremony has become an important item that defines faithfulness to culture, high economic status, social relevance and strength and where the burial of aged parents and grandparents serve as a reliable evidence of wealth and worth; where it is often characterized by mortuary services, employment of undertakers, media advertisements, hiring of recognized artists and comedians and huge financial involvements. The paper advertises the need to apply philosophical anthropology to analyze the dominant passions that are met by this tradition and evaluates the extent to which this desire would promote a relevant measure of development.

**Charles A. Khamala**  
**Kabarak University, Kenya**

Ч.А. Хамала  
Университет Кабарак  
Накуру, Кения

**Re-inventing Social Capital to Facilitate Law and Order in Kenya**  
**Повторное изобретение социального капитала в целях у**  
**становления законности и порядка в Кении**

Kenya's independence was won using social capital to undermine discriminatory and repressive rule but its significance is being fettered in the post-colonial Kenya. For example despite being International Criminal Court's suspects, both Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto are respectively President and Deputy vice ethnic affinity. Public officials engage in corrupt practices under the guise of ethnic groups' patronages wrapped in the garbs of rule of law by the state. Conversely, these groups acquiesce in the wrongdoing since they vicariously benefit from such patronages under the [mis]conception of right to such benefit from the state. This paper applies Robert Putnam's arguments to Kenya's context. Kenya like some post-colonial states took after the western liberal democracy only to transform Kenya into a failing state. The paper sets to underline whether ethnic affinity, the rule of law or both undermine the full application of social capital to transform post-colonial Kenya into a self-reliant and just state. It also identifies those factors that can make social capital an asset to address the issues of poverty and ethnic violence, transform problematic social institutions and regulate free expression of Kenyans to elevate the state from its imminent failed state status. According to New Institutional Economics, state failure includes economic non-performance and failure to transform

problematic social institutions. This paradigm shows that institutions like the rule of law as received in Kenya undermine African customary laws, to the extent that it is repugnant to justice and morality thereby depriving the traditional societies the importance of norm-clarification to settle their own disputes using traditional mechanisms. Whenever the state manipulates conflicts, the formal processes of dispute resolution ought to be legitimate and inclusive but Kenyans are currently alienated from the judicial process hence the perpetuation of corruption and self-help enforcement rather than state enforcement that can flourish economic growth and justice.

**Dmitri M. Bondarenko**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Д.М. Бондаренко  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Community: A Foundation of the African Historical, Cultural, and  
Socio-Political Tradition**

**Общинность как основание африканской историко-культурной и  
социально-политической традиции**

The principle of communality is denoted in the paper as ability of originally and essentially communal socio-political norms and relations, worldview and consciousness, behavioral pattern, to spread on all the levels of societal complexity including, though in modified or sometimes even corrupted forms, sociologically supra- and non-communal. (The modern African city as a holistic phenomenon and in many concrete manifestations of its social life is a striking example of this). Thus, the nature and fundamental importance of the principle of communality follows from, but is by no means reduced to, the fact that the local community has always – from the earliest days of history to the present – remained the basic socio-economic institution and nucleus of political organization in Africa. The principle of communality is also irreducible to those of kinship (as in the most typical African community kin ties are compromised by those of other kinds) and collectivism (actually, one of the reasons for the “African socialism” projects’ failure was that their ideologists tended to ignore the dualistic nature of the community overemphasizing its collectivistic side and underestimating individualistic). As a pivotal socio-cultural foundation, the principle of communality has a direct impact on all subsystems of the African society at all the levels of its being throughout its whole history. Precisely this is what can explain to a large extent the originality of African civilization, as notwithstanding the immense changes, including those of the

colonial and postcolonial eras, today the cultures of Africa still preserve their identity, what means that beyond the visible novelties, they are still based on the fundamentals characteristic of them since olden times. Hence, in the embodiment of the principle of communality it can make sense to seek the roots of specificity of the socio-political processes in postcolonial Africa, including the processes of nation- and state-building.

**Abdul-Gafar Tobi Oshodi**  
**Lagos State University**  
**Nigeria**

А.-Г.Т. Ошоди  
Университет штата Лагос, Нигерия

**The Chinese Option and Africa's Development:  
in Search of Africanisation Китайская  
опция и развитие Африки: в поисках  
африканизации**

Bearing in mind that Africa represents some sort of laboratory where both endogenous and exogenous developmental postulations have been tested and advocated, the “Chinese option” represents one of the most recent in these series of postulates. Beyond attempts at compartmentalizing Sino-Africa developmental partnership into pessimism, optimism or caution, this paper interrogates the Chinese option within the context of what had been earlier termed the three realities of Sino-Africa relations (i.e. *Chinese Domestica*, *Chinese Internationa* and *Chinese Africana*). In adopting this approach that situates Sino-Africa relations within a Chinese, global and African milieu, the paper engages three questions. First, what is the Chinese option? Second, how does it differ from earlier developmental options some of which further impoverished the toiling masses of Africa? Third, what are the likely futures of the Sino-Africa development partnership? While arguing that the Chinese model or what is sometimes referred to as the ‘Beijing Consensus’ grew from the specific traditions of the Chinese people, the paper argues for the *Africanisation* of the Chinese option to Africa’s development. Having provided numerous cases to buttress the answers to these questions, the paper concludes by making a strong case for the elusive Africa’s China Plan as a counterpoise to the already existing China African Plan.

**Olatunji Olateju**  
**Lagos State Polytechnic, Nigeria**  
**Swansea, University, UK**

Ою Олатеджу  
Университет Суонси, Великобритания  
А. Аладеника  
Политехнический университет  
штата Лагос Нигерия

**Sino-Afro Economic Relationship: Any hope for Africa?**  
**Китайско-африканские экономические отношения:**  
**надежда для Африки?**

At the beginning of the 21st century, changes in global economies, geopolitics and industry occasioned new patterns of development and production that affect the volume and flows of natural resources from Africa. Africa being a primary resource-continent became vulnerable to these changes due to the volumes of global demand for the extractive mineral resources. Chinese ‘characteristics’ industrialisation strategy boosts its import demand for these extractive minerals – oil and minerals such as iron ore, bauxite, nickel, copper from Africa thereby transforming its relationship with Africa into a prominent position in the global economy. The demand does not only significantly increase China’s demand for natural resources from Africa but also intensifies its investments in African industries and infrastructures. China is now Africa’s third largest trading partner. Identifying this trend as a priority research area, this paper focuses on how the trend of the investment affects economic growth, governance and the local livelihoods in Africa.

The paper identifies the economic, social and environmental trade-offs associated with Chinese investments in different economic sectors, as well as the role of governance instruments at diverse levels in shaping identified outcomes or impacts. Cognizance is taken in the paper of how the relationship contributes to the Chinese overall development and how it improves African nations’ GNI but without significance economic growth and positive impact on the local livelihoods – a principal source of security challenges in the continent.

The principal conclusion is that while China is likely to remain engaged with Africa and continue to reap the full benefits as the real player in the relationship, African countries may remain as spectators and may not be able to transform the relationship into developmental growth opportunities if the problems of Afro-Chinese communication, technological backwardness, poor governance, high level of illiteracy, poor educational facilities, high level poverty, security challenges, etc.; remain unaddressed by the African

governments. More importantly if African states still remain tied to the apron string of the free market economy without making efforts like the Chinese, to blaze their own trail and build on the grains of their peculiar characteristics.

#### **СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-4**

#### **Политика религиозной идентичности в Африке: новые перспективы**

#### **Religious Identity Politics in Africa: New Perspectives**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Nathan P. Devir**  
**(University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA)**

In the past decade, much scholarly work has been done on religion in the “Global South,” in particular with regard to the spread of Christian movements. However, much academic research has neglected to look at other emerging religious movements that are interdependently connected with local and transnational politics, such as neo-Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, mystic, and resurging traditionalist/animist movements. The popularity of these movements has demonstrated the deep link between national and religious identity in many postcolonial African national discourse. The panel which I propose, “Religious Identity Politics in Africa: New Perspectives,” will bring together scholars of African religion and politics in an attempt to document and analyze emergent religious movements that – by discursive, legal, or unconscious means – have become synonymous with the tentative for political change or national volition. It will also welcome papers that trace the diasporic connections and motives of the so-called “major religions” in their encounter with local African mores and praxis.

**Nathan P. Devir**  
**University of Utah**  
**USA**

Н.П. Девир  
Университет Юты  
Солт-Лейк-Сити, США

#### **Lost Tribes and Neo-Jews: Emergent Jewish Communities from the Developing World**

#### **Потерянные колена и неоевреи: возникающие еврейские общины в развивающихся странах**

Since the 1990s, so-called “neo-Jewish” groups from little-known communities in India and sub-Saharan Africa have garnered much attention in the international press. Many such communities claim Israelite ancestry based on legends regarding the Lost Tribes of Israel, which were scattered from the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the 8th Century BCE after the invasion of the Assyrian Empire.



My presentation explore these groups' self-identification with an Israelite ancestry based on transformations of dietary laws, relations with philo-Judaic and millennial religious movements, and the incorporation of local lore into standard Biblical stories, taking into account the proximity to missionary activity, postcolonial constructions of ethnicity, and pan-Semitic cultural exposure. I will also look at the interaction – namely, through the prisms of religious affiliation, immigration policy, and media exposure – between these groups and the larger Jewish/Christian Zionist World.

**Teferi Abate Adem**  
**Human Relations Area Files at Yale**  
**New Haven**

Т.А. Адем  
Йельский университет  
Нью-Хейвен, США

**Dynamics of Muslim Community Protests in Ethiopia:  
Contrasting Courses and Consequences in three Protest Sites**  
**Динамика протестов мусульманской общины в Эфиопии:  
три различных по направленности и последствиям случая**

In 1995, the EPRDF-led Ethiopian government promulgated a new constitution which recognized the country's religious plurality and prohibited government intervention in religious matters. Over the years since then, however, members of Ethiopia's three major religious communities (Orthodox Christians, Muslims, and Protestants) have at different times staged protests of various scales against unwanted government interferences in their affairs. In July 2011, for example, Muslims at the Awolia School in Addis Ababa started a protest alleging that the ruling party illegally removed their leaders and replaced them with its own loyal supporters who all reportedly followed a politically favored, but locally less known, sect of Islam. This protest has continued to expand to other towns and regions since then but with marked variations in duration and intensity of reported protest events. In this paper, I suggest some broad explanations by contrasting what became of protesting Muslims in three local communities. My central argument is that much of the variation in the courses and consequences of protest events should not be attributed to government action alone. It has also to do with broad structural factors, deep-rooted, in Ethiopia's national political culture. The most important of these concerns the absence of enduring solidarity for collective action and engaged citizenship which continued to foster pervasive fear and distrust among community members.

**Julius Gathogo**  
**Kenyatta University**  
**Mombasa, Kenya**  
Дж. Гатого  
Университет им. Кениатты  
Момбаса, Кения

**Emerging Christianities and Kenya's Coastal Region:  
A Socio-Historical Perspective**

**Возникающие течения христианства и прибрежный регион Кении:  
социо-историческая перспектива**

The article sets out to demonstrate the strong influence of the emerging Christianities in Kenya in socio-political affairs. In its methodology, it surveys the growth of Pentecostal wave since 1960s when TL Osborn inaugurated the movement in Kenya. It goes on to show the changing patterns of Pentecostalism where, in Kenya, its ability to capture African ethos of wholeness where religion provides solution to every life problem, including health. Hence various challenges in the coastal region of Kenya such as inter-ethnic/regional divisions, insecurity, water borne diseases, historical injustices find their solution in Christianity. Addressing cutting-edge issues facing the African society, without necessarily losing their gospel constituency makes the emerging Christianities become afro-Pentecostalism. In this article, the unique challenges of the coastal region of Kenya are surveyed with intent to show, from a socio-historical perspective, that with the introduction of devolution in Kenya's political landscape, afro-Pentecostalism, as the emerging Christianity in Kenya cannot be ignored. As in the church of the 16<sup>th</sup> century reformation, it has a critical role in the devolved system of governance. The research covered a wide range of issues, scholarly literature and reports (including newspaper articles and blogs etc.), and other background materials. Formal methods employed focused on short surveys and semi-structured interviews; informal observations and meetings complemented these methods.

**Sofya A. Ragozina**  
**National Research University**  
**“Higher School of Economics”**

**Moscow, Russia**

**С.А. Рагозина**

**Высшая школа экономики**

**Москва, Россия**

### **The Reasons for the Growth of Interreligious Tension in Kenya**

#### **Причины роста межрелигиозной напряженности в Кении**

Muslims in Kenya, according to various estimates, account for about 11% of the population (about 4.3 million), while Christianity of different directions is professed by approximately 83%. The Islamic community in Kenya has never been characterized by the presence of conflict or potential trends towards radicalization. The only exceptions are the Pakistani movement “Tabligh” founded in Nairobi, among other cities in Eastern Africa, and the Islamic Party of Kenya. Both organizations were quite few in number and existed since the mid 90's to early 2000's. However, now it becomes commonly known that Islam in Kenya is radicalising. Thus, within the framework of this report I'd like to provide a detailed analysis of how these factors decisively influence the growth of interreligious tension in Kenya.

**Dasré Aurélien, Hertrich Véronique**

**National Institut for**

**Demographic Studies (INED), France**

**Д. Орельен, В. Эртриш**

**Национальный институт**

**демографических исследований**

**Париж, Франция**

### **How to Measure Individuals' Religious Affiliation in sub-Saharan**

#### **Africa? Lessons from a Longitudinal Survey in Rural Mali Как**

#### **измерить религиозную принадлежность индивида в**

#### **субсахарской Африке? Выводы из длительного исследования**

#### **в сельском Мали**

The study of religious affiliation of individuals in sub-Saharan Africa faces distinct challenges to those encountered in Western countries. The strong influence of traditional religions, coupled with the recent implementation of universalistic religions (especially Christian religions in West Africa) contributed to the adoption of non-exclusive religious practices (syncretism, religious changes). Even though debates on the plurality of religions and dynamics are present in sociology and anthropology, they are rarely based on statistical data, which would allow

measuring the diversity of practices and resulting social differences. Conversely, quantitative studies, although they often collect information on the religion of peoples, ignore the diversity of religious practices and mobility. In this paper we evaluate, based on a case study, the relevance and feasibility of a statistical approach to religious practices, taking into account the complexity and variability of practices in the individuals' lives. Our data covers a population followed over 25 years by a longitudinal survey in Southeast Mali (*Slam* project, Ined), where traditional and Christian religions coexist. A particular strategy, balancing demographic and anthropological approaches, has been developed to capture the complexity of religious behavior. Thus, in the context of a comprehensive biographical survey (2 villages, 3165 biographies), a specific module has been dedicated to religious itineraries. It recorded for each individual the succession of religions over their lifespan, as well as information to approach the level of commitment to the Christian religion and the level of distance taking from the traditional religion. This study contributes thus to sociologists' and anthropologists' debates on religious mobility by proposing a formal quantitative perspective and other elements on the feasibility of a complex record of religion in quantitative surveys.

**Natalia Voronina**  
**Institute for African Studies**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Н. Воронина  
Институт Африки  
Москва, Россия

**Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa:  
Current Trends and Future Prospects**  
**Миссия апостольской веры Южной Африки:  
нынешние тенденции и будущие перспективы**

The largest Pentecostal Church in South Africa, AFM is a graphic example of the main trends in South African Pentecostalism. Among these trends are diversification of practices and policy and decentralization, as well as the continuing ethnic frictions.

Although AFM sticks to religious practices which are worldwide common for Pentecostal churches, the 2000 constitution of AFM sets guidelines towards diversification and decentralization, enabling local AFP churches to develop their own policy.

In spite of the racial unity policy proclaimed by the AFP in the 90s, ethnic differences are still here to stay. The way ethnic groups seek isolation from contacts with the outer world may be traced at the example of the General Business Meeting, the main representative body of the AFP, which

elects four national offices who shall represent four different ethnic groups. The very idea that equal representation shall be honored reveals the fact that ethnic groups do not consider themselves as a unique homogenous nation.

When it comes to the contacts of AFM with other Christian denominations, it should be mentioned that the Mission, as well as other Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, does not participate in SACC (South African Council of Churches) which encompasses the Methodist Church, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican), Lutheran and Presbyterian churches.

**Clara Saraiva**  
**New University**  
**Institute for Tropical Research**  
**Lisbon, Portugal**  
К. Сараива  
Новый университет  
Лиссабон, Португалия

**How Death Changes Politics and Religious Conceptions: Caring and Nurturing in the Diaspora for African Migrants in Portugal**

**Как смерть меняет политику и религиозные концепции: забота и воспитание в диаспоре африканских мигрантов в Португалии**

**The immigration of people from Guinea-Bissau to Portugal started after the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974 revolution and the independence of Guinea-Bissau, and increased after 1984, with the opening of the country to more westernized economic and social models (Machado 2002; Saraiva 2008; Quintino 2004). Portugal is seen as a paradise, where one can have a job and send remittances to the families back home (Saraiva 2008:256). Guinea Bissau is a small country, with ca 1.2 million of inhabitants, but with a large ethnic diversity, counting more than twenty three ethnic groups (Einarsdottir 2000). Most groups in the interior are Islamized, and the coastal ones are animistic, but religious affiliation does not always follow an ethnic division (Jao 1995), and there are multiple combinations of animistic and Christian religious options.**

In spite of the interest that the recent status of Portugal as an immigration-friendly country arouses, some important issues dealing with immigrants' states of suffering and death, have hardly been dealt with. Using as case study the example of immigrants from Guinea-Bissau in Portugal, this paper will deal with the multiple levels that death touches upon, from the symbolic to the more practical ones, and especially the religious connections that death rituals imply, in how immigrants perceive death and dying and incorporate them in their conceptualization of the diaspora. These topics on tradition and innovation are to be dealt with in this paper.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-5

### **Страны Африки южнее Сахары в эпоху глобализации: проблема сохранения культурной идентичности States of Sub-Saharan Africa in the Age of Globalization: Preservation of Cultural Identity**

**Руководитель: д.п.н. Константин Арсеньевич Панцеров  
(Санкт-петербургский государственный университет, Россия)  
Convener: Prof. Konstantin A. Pantsev  
(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)**

В современном мире происходит активизация процесса глобализации всех сфер жизнедеятельности общества. Однако глобализация имеет как положительные, так и отрицательные стороны. Критики современных глобализационных процессов высказывают не лишнее оснований предположение о том, что современная глобализация неизбежно приведет к трансформированию мирового пространства в единое гомогенное образование, в котором весь мир перестраивается в соответствии с западной типологической моделью развития. Чтобы этого не произошло, представляется необходимым более активное включение в международный диспут о характере формирующегося нового международного порядка малых развивающихся государств, в том числе и стран Африки, расположенных южнее Сахары. В этой связи, организаторы секции предлагают обсудить широкий круг вопросов, связанных с формированием альтернативной (африканской) модели социально-культурного развития, которая требует теоретического анализа и эмпирического подтверждения.

Nowadays, Globalization of all the societal spheres is taking place. In the meantime, Globalization has not only a positive side but also a negative one. Critics of modern global trends suggest that Globalization will lead to the unavoidable transformation of the world-wide space to the one and homogenous formation in which the whole World will change its approach according to the Western model of the development. In order to prevent this process it is very important for small developing countries, so as for the states of Sub-Saharan Africa, to participate more actively in the international discussion of main features of the new world order which is under construction. Thereupon we intend to discuss a wide range of questions concerning an idea of the creation of an alternative (African) model of social and cultural development which demands a theoretical analysis and empiric verification.

**Панцеров К.А.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург**  
**РФ**

Konstantin A. Pantserev  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

**Страны Африки южнее Сахары в век информационной глобализации: к вопросу сохранения культурной идентичности**  
**Sub-Saharan Countries in the Age of Informational Globalization:**  
**On Preservation of Cultural Identity**

В настоящее время, когда знание, информация и новейшие информационные технологии становятся неотъемлемым компонентом жизнедеятельности человека, приобретают товарный статус и являются важным стратегическим ресурсом, развитие национальной информационной инфраструктуры признается большей частью международного сообщества наций наиболее важной стратегической целью государства.

Сегодня мы наблюдаем ситуацию, когда формирование экономики, основанной на знании, становится одним из основных стратегических приоритетов политики как развитых, так и развивающихся стран, которые видят в современных инновационных технологиях эффективный инструмент, способный обеспечить устойчивый социально-экономический рост.

Тем не менее, следует признать, что современный уровень развития информационных технологий в государствах Тропической Африки не позволяет странам рассматриваемого региона рассчитывать на скорую равноправную интеграцию в глобальное информационно-коммуникационное пространство. Страны Африки в большинстве своем не располагают надлежащими финансовыми и материально-технологическими ресурсами для создания на своей территории развитой информационно-телекоммуникационной инфраструктуры.

Чтобы догнать в своем развитии страны Запада, им приходится прибегать к помощи все тех же западных государств, которые, умело спекулируя на финансовой зависимости и технологической отсталости своих африканских партнеров, вынуждают последних проводить выгодные западным инвесторам экономические и политические преобразования, направленные на создание благоприятного инвестиционного климата, способного обеспечить приток иностранных инвестиций. Этот процесс, получивший наименование «структурной перестройки» экономик африканских стран, изначально носил характер «контролируемой либерализации», однако достаточно быстро он превратился в практически бесконтрольный стихийный процесс, в результате которого в частную собственность предприятий с иностранным участием попала практически вся информационно-коммуникационная индустрия континента.

Однако опасность чрезмерной зависимости от зарубежной помощи развитию и прямых иностранных инвестиций очевидна. Активная помощь со стороны развитых стран превращается в мощный инструмент, посредством которого западные державы привязывают коммуникационный сектор стран Африки к своим типологическим моделям и стандартам.

Понятно, что в сложившихся условиях странам Африки будет очень сложно рассчитывать на равноправную интеграцию в глобальное мировое информационное пространство и отстоять, таким образом, свою культурную идентичность в грядущем информационном веке. В результате, даже несмотря на наличие относительных рейтинговых успехов, страны Африки будут неизбежно скатываться на периферию мировых информационно-коммуникационных процессов.

**Sengulo Albert Msellemu**  
**Dar es Salaam University**  
**Tanzania**

С. А. Мселлему  
Дар-эс-саламский университетский  
педагогический колледж, Танзания

### **Africa Integration and Cooperation, is it Possible?**

#### **Интеграция и кооперация в Африке: возможно ли это?**

This paper look at the predicaments of the social-economic and political cooperation/integration of African countries look at the possibilities whether one day they will be able to overcome this barriers. While economic integration has relatively fared well in various earlier cooperation schemes, political cooperation/integration has so far proved to be the most difficulty goal to attain. Political integration for many countries, a desire towards a political federation or union has turn out to be farfetched dream. None of them wants to cede its sovereignty to supranational institution. Using historical approach this paper wants to see whether is it possible to have social-economic integration without political integration or the other way round. Because it seems there have been a lot of political union without the economic support which ended in failure. Together with that African Leaders vividly understand the economic and political balkanization of the continent as a major obstacle to its socio-economic development. But still there is this desire for African unity. The fact that African leaders have realized that the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) has failed to achieve the required unity, of the continent due to its various objectives, they decided to come up with the African Union (AU). Economic integration can only happen because state produce policies that enable the flourishing of informal transborder economic activity. So political cooperation is always regarded as an



important means of facilitating economic integration and also as an end in itself. History has shown that it is the political aspect that forms the basis for economic integration. The importance of political integration lies on the fact that in any cooperation to be created there has to be a sense of political will that is readiness to join and be joined in an organization.

**Чернов И.В.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Igor V. Chernov  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Африканская франкофония и ислам** **African Francophonie and Islam**

Значительная часть африканских стран является участниками Международной организации Франкофонии (МОФ). Прежде всего, это бывшие французские колонии, до сих пор использующие французский язык (как государственный, один из государственных или официальный) в работе своих государственных органов и в системе образования. Такие африканские страны как Сенегал, Нигер, Тунис стояли у истоков создания и институционализации Франкофонии как международной организации (с заглавной буквы, в узком смысле). Это произошло из-за того, что, несмотря на негативное наследие колониализма, значительное количество африканских стран даже после получения независимости не желали разрывать культурные и политические связи с бывшей метрополией. Поэтому французский язык и культура (франкофония в широком смысле) остались в современной Африке как значимый фактор их внутреннего развития и внешней политики. Африканских франкофонов интересовала не только экономическая и военная помощь от бывшей метрополии, но и некая «идеология», предлагаемая Францией и французской культурой. «Идеология успеха» западной цивилизации, которая могла бы помочь в деле модернизации континента.

С другой стороны в значительной части франкофонных государств Африки преобладает ислам, который предлагает свою идеологию, культуру и даже язык (арабский). Очевидно, что данная идеология претендует на универсальность и построена, в значительной степени, на неприятии западных ценностей.

Таким образом, Северная и Центральная Африка стали местом встречи Запада и Востока, франкофонии и ислам, неким «опытным полигоном» для синтеза культур и цивилизаций. Этот же синтез происходит и в самой метрополии, где иммигранты из африканских мусульманских стран и их потомки играют всю более важную роль и становятся всё многочисленнее.

В эпоху глобализации и интенсивного межкультурного взаимодействия опыт франкоязычной Африки и Франции может оказаться бесценным. Не случайно Международная организация Франкофонии уделяет всё большее внимание взаимоотношениям франкофонии и ислама, проходящему в русле «диалога культур». Впрочем, это название скорее, является эвфемизмом. Прежде всего, речь идёт, о диалоге Запада и ислама. Франкофония всё больше позиционирует себя в современном мире как инструмент культуры и диалога, который поможет покончить с предубеждениями и стереотипами, которые делают из всех мусульман интегрисов и сепаратистов, а из всех представителей западного мира – колонизаторов и «неверных». Встреча культур не так страшна, как шок взаимного незнания и бескультурия.

**Следзевский И.В.  
ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Igor V. Sledzevski  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Культурный стиль рэгги - феномен новой африканской идентичности**

#### **The Reggae Culture Style – A Phenomenon of New African Identity**

Доклад посвящен яркому и уникальному явлению африканской культурной субглобализации – распространению на континенте культурно-музыкального стиля рэгги. Сложившейся в 60-е годы XX в. далеко за пределами Африки – на Ямайке, принизанный символикой и смыслами религиозно-философского течения растафари, этот стиль с 80-годов приобрел необычайную популярность в африканских странах. В молодежной среде он стал символом современной африканской идентичности. В докладе сделана попытка оценить влияние стиля рэгги на мышление и мировосприятие молодых африканцев в качестве общеафриканской коммуникационной и символической системы, преодолевающей этнические, религиозные, политические барьеры. Отмечается смысл и значение восприятия рэгги как наиболее популярного в конце XX века образа общеафриканской идентичности. Обычная, широко принятая характеристика рэгги не идет дальше его восприятия как антирасистского молодежного движения, созданного Бобом Марли. Однако за этой внешней, репрезентативной формой контр-культуры скрывается более сложный образ мышления и поведения, который влияет на восприятие окружающего мира, горизонт интерпретаций его ценностно-смысловой доминанты: «мы (африканцы) в мире». Рассматривается новизна этого образа по сравнению с интеллектуальными конструкция-

ми «старого» афроцентризма: самоценность образа чернокожего человека дополняется соотношением (по существу, диалогом) образов различных культур; утверждается специфическая поведенческая модель «вольнодумца», противопоставляющего традиционным ценностям ценности личной независимости, а отсюда – восприятие традиционной культуры в целом как ущербной, не захватывающей воображение и потому неприемлемой. Обращается внимание на феноменальное коммуникационное значение регги, приближающего молодежный афроцентризм к уровню культурно-цивилизационных сетей: экзистенциальные смыслы общения и принадлежности к культурной общности (расте), наличие профессиональных и почти идеальных коммуникаторов (известные африканские музыканты и музыкальные группы), восприятие ценностей и моделей поведения в одном смысловом горизонте понимания. В результате возникает ситуация преодоления культурных барьеров – уникальная для континента, разделенного множеством государственных, языковых, этнических и пр. барьеров. Отмечаются и факторы, которые мешают превращению рэгги в широкое культурное движение с реформационными возможностями: гендерные рамки распространения и преимущественно контр-культурный уровень установок и идей, дистанцирование от традиций, наличие расового компонента восприятия себя и Другого, все это превращает регги в достаточно маргинальное явление глобальной культуры.

**Саватеев А.Д.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Anatoly D. Savateev  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

### **Вершители истории: исламские пророки в Тропической Африке** **Makers of History: Muslim Prophets in Tropical Africa**

История Африки южнее Сахары XIX – начала XX вв. дала невиданный для этой части мира пример рождения исламского пророчества. Оно было подготовлено ходом развития афро-исламской ветви цивилизации и возникло как ответ на бурное распространение влияния мусульманских духовно-религиозных орденов (тарикатов, братств), как протест против попрания свобод со стороны «неправедной власти», чинимых ею несправедливостей и экономического угнетения и выразилось в стремлении ниспровергнуть «неисламских правителей», подчинить все народы континента принципам религии Пророка Мухаммада, создать общину единоверцев, живущих по законам ислама и объединенных узами братства.

Носителями пророческой идеи стали одухотворенные личности, пережившие опыт соприкосновения с сверхреальностью, уверовавшие в свое высшее предназначение стать посланцами Мухаммада среди африканцев. Установить на земле законы шариата – религиозные, правовые, этические, культурные, политические – так они понимали свое призвание. Эти харизматики – Осман дан Фодио, ал-Хадж Омар, Мухаммад Ахмад (махди), Мухаммад Абдилле Хасан, Амаду Бамба, Мухаммаду Марва (Майтадине) выделялись глубокой религиозностью, блестящим знанием исламских наук и основ социальной философии. Они были наделены литературным даром, глубокой убежденностью в своей богоизбранности. Проникновенность социального обличителя, уверенность пламенного вероучителя, понимание нужд и чаяний рядовых людей помогали им быстро склонить на свою сторону многочисленных учеников, образовывавших духовно-религиозную общину единомышленников (джамаат), где пророк становился ее полюсом, духовно-религиозным и военным вождем, «повелителем правоверных» (*amir al-mumīnīn*). На поверхности событий пророчество разворачивается джихадом «меча» (т.е. вооруженным восстанием, значительно реже – джихадом «сердца» (борьбой с личными пороками).

Роль исламских пророков, которые появляются в самые критические моменты жизни общества и государства, заключается в объединении африканцев-мусульман, создании исламо-африканской цивилизационной системы, части которой наделены общими социокультурными признаками, отвечающими определенному типу человеческих отношений. Ислам становился источником культурной идентичности, заменившей прежние нити лояльности, он создавал единое социокультурное пространство. В Тропической Африке эти, "малые пророки", стали первыми лидерами-провидцами, кто организовал массовое сопротивление европейским колонизаторам.

Высшее призвание пророков – созидать (или ниспровергать) не просто государства, но цивилизации, закладывая их религиозные основы, благодаря которым цивилизации живут многие десятилетия. Пророк противостоит современному типу правителей и власти, он силен своей опорой на доверие огромного числа приверженцев.

**Geoffrey I. Nwaka**  
**Abia State University**  
**Uturu, Nigeria**  
Дж.И. Нвака  
Утуру, Нигерия

**Tradition as a Modern Strategy: Indigenous Knowledge as Local  
Response to Globalization in Africa**

**Традиция как современная стратегия:  
местные традиции как ответ глобализации в Африке**

Globalization is now widely perceived in Africa as a new version of earlier forms of external domination and exploitation. Its economic and welfare benefits appear to bypass, and in some respects to retard progress in Africa. But Marshall Sahlins has rightly emphasized the need for all peoples “to indigenize the forces of global modernity, and turn them to their own ends”, as the real impact of globalization depends largely on the responses developed at the local level. The real challenge for Africa is how best to engage and cope with globalization and other external influences in a way that is compatible with local conditions, values and priorities. Because of worsening global economic and environmental crises, and widening inequalities between and within nations, there is now renewed interest in an alternative approach to development which emphasizes the cultural dimension of development, and the overlooked potential of indigenous knowledge as “the single largest knowledge resource not yet mobilized in the development enterprise”. This paper considers how indigenous knowledge and practice can be put to good use in support of good governance and sustainable development in Africa. While the continent may already have moved too far with global modernity to contemplate an insular and entirely home grown approach to its development, indigenous knowledge does offer a model for rethinking and redirecting the development process, and a way to involve, enable and empower local actors to take part in their own development. Researchers and donor agencies who often assume a knowledge or capacity vacuum in Africa should instead try to learn from and tap into indigenous knowledge for locally appropriate ways to achieve genuine, endogenous development. The paper concludes with some general reflections on the indigenous knowledge movement as an appropriate local response to globalization and Western knowledge dominance, and as a way to promote cultural identity and inter-cultural dialogue in African development.

**Катагощина И.Т.**  
**ИАФр. Москва, РФ**  
Irina T. Katagoshchina  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Африканские университеты: проблема адекватности и  
идентичности**

**African Universities: The Problem of Adequacy and Identity**

Африканские университеты – предмет непрерывных дебатов, поскольку эти институты высшего образования находятся в крайне своеобразном положении в Тропической Африке, о которой пойдет речь. Эти институты (всего несколько) впервые появились в этом регионе еще в колониальный период и соответствовали моделям, существующим в метрополиях. После завоевания независимости правительства независимых государств и деловые круги приумножили число университетов и связывали их роль с развитием своих стран, не учитывая культурную специфику этих институтов, но одновременно они усматривали их значение для развития экономических знаний в глобальном контексте.

Однако с самого начала университеты, несущие современные научные знания, пришли в столкновение и противоречие с подлинными интересами молодых государств, с особенностями их общественного устройства и хозяйственной деятельности, которым университеты за малым исключением не удовлетворяли. Проводившаяся правительствами африканизация программ обучения и штата преподавателей на деле мало что изменила в ситуации, поскольку университеты, являющиеся порождением европейской культуры, по сути своей ориентированы на развитие мировой науки и на современную информацию, а в итоге и на современные центры просвещения и знаний, к которым выпускники университетов тяготеют в первую очередь. Спрос же на таких специалистов в Тропической Африке отсутствует или крайне ограничен. А их роль для развития местной экономики близка к нулю.

Несмотря на усилия некоторых университетов учитывать потребности африканских обществ с их традиционными ценностями и доминированием сельских общин, университеты в основном сохраняют свою ориентацию на мировые тенденции, а соответственно плохо финансируются и приходят в упадок. В итоге остро стоит вопрос, какую роль университеты современной Африки играют в деле развития африканской экономики и в сфере определения собственной культурной идентичности наряду с идентичностью африканцев в условиях, когда традиции Африки и ее поверья быстро разрушаются под стремитель-

ным и мощным напором западной цивилизации. В сущности речь идет о том, как сочетать современные тенденции (современную инфраструктуру, типы производства, виды занятости и т.д.) с культурными корнями африканских социумов, с явлением африканских цивилизаций, столь отличных от современного мира.

В поисках решения этого вопроса наряду с африканцами немалую роль играют западные державы, временами оказывающие финансовую помощь в развитии науки в Африке и организующие международные конференции на соответствующие темы.

**Харитонова Е.В.**  
**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**  
Elena V. Kharitonova  
Institute for African Studies  
Moscow, Russia

**Деловые культуры в российско-африканских деловых коммуникациях: опыт эмпирического исследования**  
**Business Cultures in the Russian-African Business Communications: An Empirical Study**

В международных деловых отношениях преимущество будет иметь тот, кто сможет понять деловую культуру партнеров по бизнесу, осознать не только лежащие на поверхности поведенческие и коммуникационные проявления деловой культуры, но и глубинные социокультурные причины, лежащие в ее основе. Расширение кросс-культурного информационного поля, повышение кросс-культурной компетентности современного бизнесмена – это требование эпохи.

Знание специфики деловой культуры партнера по коммуникации способствует преодолению коммуникативных барьеров, в то время как незнание или даже нежелание учитывать особенности деловой культуры может вызвать возникновение коммуникативных барьеров и привести к разрыву в коммуникациях.

В задачи предлагаемого исследования входило изучение специфики деловых культур в нескольких африканских странах – ЮАР, Намибии, Зимбабве, Уганде. Проводился сравнительный анализ представлений африканцев об их собственной деловой культуре и представлений работающих в Африке российских бизнесменов и сотрудников российских посольств. Использовалась процедура «перекрестного опроса», когда одни и те же вопросы, касающиеся деловых культур, задавались африканским и российским респондентам.

В результате был выявлен серьезный разрыв между восприятием африканцами собственной деловой культуры и представлениями рабо-

тающих в Африке российских бизнесменов и специалистов. Мнения африканской стороны дифференцированы и содержат тонкие различия, в то время как российские респонденты склонны приписывать африканским партнерам однонаправленные тенденции, не делая различий между представителями различных африканских стран. Их ответы стереотипны и связаны с существующим в сознании российских бизнесменов образом африканского партнера.

Уже данный факт рассогласования представлений может выступать барьером кросс-культурной коммуникации.

Отношения с Африкой требуют специального изучения особенностей деловой культуры партнера, причем не только на уровне констатации факта ее специфики и отнесения этой культуры к определенному типу, но и на уровне понимания глубинных исторических, социокультурных, ментальных, мировоззренческих корней, лежащих в ее основе.

**Лексютина Я.В.**

**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**

Yana V. Leksyutina

St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Публичная дипломатия Китая в Тропической Африке China's Public Diplomacy in Tropical Africa**

С началом 21 в. серьезным фактором экономического, политического и культурно-цивилизационного развития стран Тропической Африки становится Китай и китайское присутствие в этой части мира. Помимо развития экономических, политических и военно-политических контактов большое значение Пекин придает налаживанию с государствами этого региона культурных связей, реализации культурных и образовательных обменов, расширению своего радио- и телевидения и охвата китайских СМИ как комплекса мер, направленных на формирование положительного имиджа Китая в Тропической Африке. Реализация инициатив на этом направлении крайне важна. Так, вплоть до недавнего времени круг африканских экспертов по Китаю был крайне ограниченным, существует лишь один центр Исследований Китая на всем континенте (в Университете Стелленбош, ЮАР).

Достижения Китая на этом направлении включают активизацию сотрудничества с африканскими странами в области образования, в том числе, высшего, профессионального и дистанционного. В последнее десятилетие наблюдается устойчивая тенденция роста численности африканских студентов в Китае, достигаемая во многом за счет увеличения количества стипендий, предоставляемых китайским правительством африканцам. С 2000 г. эффективно действует учрежденный Кита-



ем Фонд развития человеческих ресурсов в Африке, специализирующийся на подготовке африканских кадров в различных сферах. Важной инициативой Пекина по расширению своего влияния выступает развитие сети Институтов Конфуция в Африке. В рамках созданного в 2000 г. Форума китайско-африканского сотрудничества формализовано культурное сотрудничество. Оно включает обмен визитами на высшем уровне представителей соответствующих агентств, проведение выступлений и выставок, сотрудничество в подготовке артистов и других деятелей культуры, создание китайских культурных центров (на Маврикии и в Бенине) и пр.

Особую роль в улучшении национального имиджа Китая в Тропической Африке играет деятельность крупнейшего в мире китайского информагентства Xinhua, представленного региональным бюро в Найроби. Своими стратегией, тактикой и подходами в реализации деятельности в Тропической Африке Xinhua выгодно отличается от западных информагентств. Помимо Xinhua, выступающего центральным звеном в деле распространения информации из Китая и китайской «пропаганды» в Африке, эту функцию выполняют China Radio International с офисами в Найроби, Лагосе, Хараре и Каире, а также CCTV.

**Аксешин А.С.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Alexey S. Akseyoshin  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Введение шариата в Северной Нигерии** **Introduction of Sharia in Northern Nigeria**

Уже более десяти лет на территории северной Нигерии введены в действие нормы традиционного мусульманского права – sharia.

Первоначально, рассматриваясь в качестве факультативных, апелляционные суды шариата, согласно новой конституции 1999 года, стали рассматривать дела, подпадающее под юрисдикцию уголовного права. С момента своего вступления в силу в 2000 году в штате Замфара, за последующее десятилетие расширив территорию своего применения до девяти штатов, шариат, заменив собой светское судопроизводство, заставил север страны испытать множество социальных потрясений: терактов, убийств, выселения людей с обжитых территорий и угроз. Конфликты на религиозной почве между мусульманским населением и христианами из-за своей жестокости заставили обратить на себя внимание всего мира. Интенсификация конфликта стала результатом деятельности организованных преступных групп. И хотя участники известнейшей среди них,

«Voko Haram», неоднократно выступали с публичными видеозаявлениями, существование группы как таковой может быть поставлено под сомнение. Призывы и попытки духовных лидеров религиозных общин Нигерии, мусульман и христиан, как-то повлиять на колоссальное растущее число смертоубийств, в целом, не достигли цели.

Эти тенденции, которые отражают различие юга страны и севера, являясь рычагом политической борьбы, выявляют полную неспособность властей пресечь конфликт, равно как и нежелание мировой общности повлиять на урегулирование ситуации, недооценка которой может привести к ещё более серьёзным последствиям.

**Falolu John Olubunmi**  
**University of Lagos**  
**Nigeria**

Ф.Дж. Олубунми  
Университет Лагоса, Нигерия

### **Name as a Designate of Culture in Traditional and Contemporary Yoruba Society of Nigeria**

#### **Имя как знак культурной принадлежности в традиционном и современном обществе йоруба Нигерии**

By culture one refers to the total way of life a particular group of people living in a particular society over a period of time. The advent of globalization has introduced a new dimension to the study of culture and the process of globalization has become more visible and more effective in the last decades. This paper assesses names and their cultural implications since names are markers which are used to identify or designate a person or an object in Nigeria especially among the Yorubas, thus, names reflect the culture and the culture reflects names.

This paper relies on theoretical, analytical and comparative research methodologies. The research paper utilizes books, journals and the internet. The paper argues that names are perceived as an entity and many interesting facts are interwoven and hidden in Nigerian culture of name markers. In the light of this, each culture and language background depicts its peculiarity which is often unnoticeable to non-native users of the language. The paper emphasizes the fact that cross cultural communication as well as international communication can be strengthened through conscious effort to understand names markers in many Nigerian cultures.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL VIII-6

### Понимание социальных и политических перемен сквозь призму изменений в популярной музыке **Understanding Social and Political Change through Mutations in Popular Music**

**Руководитель / Convener: Dr. Denis-Constant Martin  
(University of Bordeaux, France)**

At the time when the independence of the Belgian Congo was negotiated in Brussels, Grand Kallé et l'African Jazz were busy recording "Indépendance Cha Cha". This song appears today as a landmark in the history of African popular music and provides an example of the bonds that tie popular music and politics. But it is far from being an isolated phenomenon: for almost two centuries, at least, musical innovation has accompanied social and political change in Africa. This has been demonstrated by numerous studies on various parts of the continent. The questions that remain debated, and debatable, are related to the nature of the "accompaniment" music offers, to the role it played, and continues to play, in contemporary societies. This panel will therefore focus not only on the emergence of new genres and styles of African music during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, but also on the methods which have been, or should be, used in the analysis of the relationship between mutations in music and social and political change. If, as is widely acknowledged, music is not a language but a symbolic form, how is it possible to conduct symbolical analysis? Must musical analysis be used, and how, in the study of music's social significations, and what lessons should be drawn from ethnomusicology? How can we understand the relationship established within a song between the music and the lyrics? Which lessons should be learned from performance studies? These questions, and many others, even if they are not specific to African music studies, are particularly important because they invite to go beyond the mere admission that there is a relationship between music and politics to find ways to assess the real impact music has on ordinary citizens: how it may influence their political conceptions and possibly bear upon their political behaviour. In this perspective, the study of popular music in contemporary Africa could shed additional, and original, light on social and political phenomena, and in particular bring new insights into the social representations that citizens entertain about the society and the political system they live in. The panel will be multidisciplinary: ethnomusicologists, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists are invited to participate.

**PART 1**  
**Music and the invention of indigenous modernities**

**Richard M. Shain**  
**Philadelphia University**  
**USA**

Р.М. Шейн  
Филадельфийский университет, США

**La Noche Chez Cabane Cubaine:**  
**Afro-Cuban Music and Négritude In Senegal**  
***La Noche chez Cabane Cubaine:***

**афро-кубинская музыка и негритюд в Сенегале**

This paper explores the shifting significance of Afro-Cuban music in Senegalese cultural politics between the 1930s and the 1960s. In the 1930s, the exposure of Senegalese intellectuals in Paris to Afro-Cuban music helped spark the formation of the philosophical and later political movement of *négritude*. In its initial phase, *négritude* cleared a space for African writers and thinkers to become full-fledged citizens in a global France-based “Republic of Letters”. Senegalese listeners found Cuban music with its African derived rhythms and European influenced melodies elegant and modern. This music united Africa and the Caribbean in a sophisticated cultural *mélange* that simultaneously struck a resonant chord with Africans and garnered respect from European elites. Moreover, in France, Afro-Cuban music was played in nightclubs that were among the few places where Africans, African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans could interact socially with “white” Europeans during the colonial period. Léopold Senghor, one of the architects of *négritude* and the first president of an independent Senegal, was greatly influenced by Afro-Cuban music when he was a student in Paris in the 1930s. This paper analyses his poem “Comme je passais” and demonstrates that Senghor’s exposure to Afro-Cuban music is a key element in the text, a fact that Senghor later sought to conceal. In the 1950s when Senghor was accumulating cultural capital with an eye towards his leadership of a postcolonial Senegal, he publicly distanced himself from Afro-Cuban music in favour of jazz from the U.S. Jazz had greater cultural prestige during the cold war than Afro-Cuban music and had no troublesome entanglements with a newly communist state. Senghor’s embrace of jazz, however, was not well received by the Senegalese public which retained its enthusiasm for Afro-Cuban music. This rift especially became obvious during the first World Festival of Negro Arts in Senegal in 1966 where Senghor largely prohibited the performance of Afro-Cuban music. His policy prompted street demonstrations and remains controversial up to the present day.

**Emmanuelle Olivier**  
**National Centre for Scientific Research**  
**France**

Э. Оливье  
Национальный центр  
научных исследований  
Париж, Франция

### **Islamic Pop Music in Mali: Constructing a “Local Modernity”**

#### **Исламская поп-музыка в Мали:**

#### **конструирование «местной современности»**

Since West African colonies gained their independences, culture has been a State domain *par excellence*, and has carried a heavy political weight. In the 1960s, cultural policies were implemented to set up, and then promote, the national identity of the new States by creating a culture common to all citizens. Today's cultural policies are mainly conceived in partnership with international organisations (UN, UNESCO, ISESCO, EU), as part of a global economy of cultural goods, while aiming at the level of the recently decentralized States at the development of local resources. In this context, cultural policies are underpinned by several dialectics: between the local, the national and the global, but also between the political, the territorial and the social. This paper is based on fieldwork carried out in Mali for ten years, in the course of which I have studied panegyrics to the Prophet Mohammad, Saints, *Ulamas*, and other influential individuals. In Mali, as in all West African Muslim countries, and beyond in the Sufi Muslim area, these panegyrics have provided for several centuries effective forms of religious proselytism, informing, educating and impregnating the collective image. Approximately ten years ago, these panegyrics underwent a notable change. They transformed from songs associated with a religious elite of well-read men, to a genre that constitutes a real *Islamic Pop Music*. This new musical genre, called *zikiri* (from the Arabic *dhikr*), is very popular among young people and women. It takes its sources of inspiration in griot music as well as in the *coupé-décalé* of the Ivory Coast, reggae, rap... and even in Christian songs, and are sung with lyrics in Bambara, the Malian national language. In this paper, I shall show how *zikiri* songs have entered a mediatized entertainment industry (through cassettes, VCDs, video clips, phone ringtones, but also radio and TV programmes, and the internet); how changes also occur in the status of the musicians who become professionalized, and in the manufacturing process of the music, carried out in recording studios before they are performed for an audience. Finally I shall question the concept of “multiple modernities” (Eisenstadt), which will lead me to define a “local modernity”, integrating this popular religious sphere as one of its new bases.

**Daouda Gary-Toukara**  
**National Centre for Scientific Research**  
**University of Bordeaux**  
**France**

Д. Гари-Тункара  
Университет Бордо, Франция

### **Migration, Youth and Music in Socialist Mali**

#### **Миграция, молодежь и музыка в социалистическом Мали**

In the early 1960s, in a context of increased external migration in Mali, the new singer Kar Kar created a sense of patriotism among the youth whom he invited to stay in the country. The hypothesis advanced to explain this paradox is linked both to Kar Kar's musical performances and to the central place he gave the youth, in particular at the time of independence. Three points will be discussed in this paper: Kar Kar's individual trajectory, his musical production in connection with the issue of migration or *exode*, his legacy in the Bamana language of migration. Somehow, the chaotic trajectory of Kar Kar illustrates the uncertainties and disruptions in the career of artists in the socialist Mali. Kar Kar nevertheless influenced generations of musicians who emerged on the local music scene in the 1970s and 1980s.

**Nikolay Sosnovskiy**  
**Imedy TV Channel,**  
**Republic of Georgia**  
Н.А. Сосновский  
телеканал «Имеди»  
Тбилиси, Грузия

### **Youth Politics and Street Style Imitation in Afropop: Can We Trace Memetics Zones?**

#### **Молодежная политика и имитация уличного стиля в афропопе:**

##### **можно ли выделить зоны меметики?**

"Who cares about African headbangers?" asked long ago a university professor, reading my yearly essay on Rastafari in Africa. It was three decades before Mark LeVine published his *Heavy Metal Islam*, though until now most colleagues see no difference between the two styles and still don't care. There is no popular music without youth as its generator and consumer; there is also no politics in Africa without youth as the protagonist of the future. And there is no youth without popular culture expressing and transmitting its values, behavior patterns, role models, etc. When we say: "Raï generation, Bongo Flava generation, Ghiwane, Kwaito, Zouglou/Coupé-Décalé, Mchiriku, Afrobeat, Soukous, Hiplife generations",

and so on, do we mean music, fashion, attitudes, lifestyle or politics? Or the inseparable coherence of all components? Actually in most cases, it is the music style that defines a “generation”. Rap-inspired forms alone (usually mixed with local traditions of ekmelic recitation) will suffice for the future scholars to reconstruct the political history of the continent. It is the flux and interchange of cultural codes and symbols that provides cultural unity from regional up to civilizational level. As some styles became continental (and even include the African Diaspora) we can consider it an argument for the – often contested – civilizational unity. I propose to specify some *memes* with political connotations spread by popular music and thus to outline the zones with the same “style language”. For example, reggae created the language for verbalizing the political activity for an entire continent and beyond; raï, not only for Algerians, but for the entire Maghreb and the Maghrebian diaspora in France, turning into an articulated subculture; another Maghrebian style was dubbed after the Nass el Ghiwane followers – for Morocco, but also for djacent countries; numerous subtypes of Congolese Rumba covered most of the Central and Eastern Africa; akin styles are circulating in all mande-speaking area; and afrobeat is the political rostrum in Anglophone West Africa far outside Nigeria. I don’t use the *memetics* as another fad or all-explaining theory, but just as an auxiliary instrument offering useful terminology to define and describe the “units” of notions, rhetoric figures, images, cliché, behavior models, style, ideas, catchphrases etc., such as “Babylon”, “zombies”, “brainwashing”, “slave traders”, “sufferers”, “baye fall wisdom”, “reasoning”, “African unity”, “African revolution”, “people rule” and so forth. If in the 1950’s the *memes* were copied from metropolitan countries, in the 1960-80’s from the African Diaspora, nowadays they are generated, circulated and imitated within Africa. We can outline style areas with *memes*-generating centers, and style-copying periphery, and homogeneous cultural space with common symbolic language (based on shared *memes*), political rhetoric included.

**PART 2**  
**Music and Politics in Contemporary Africa**

**Simon A. Akindes**  
**Addis Ababa University**  
**Ethiopia**

С.А. Акиндес  
Аддис-абесский университет  
Эфиопия

**“Letter to Mr. President:” Billy Billy, an Ivorian Musician Rapping at  
the Perilous Borders of Politics, Ethnicity and Social Critique  
in Côte d’Ivoire**

**«Письмо господину президенту». Билли-Билли: ивуарийский музыкант-рэппер на опасной грани политики, этничности и социальной критики в Кот-д’Ивуаре**

Since his emergence on the landscape of Ivorian popular music during President Gbagbo’s presidency, Billy Billy has forged for himself a singular image of an innovator in a style which borders on a localized adaptation of rap while providing the society with an uncompromising, crude and direct mirror of itself. He has resolutely positioned himself as the voice of the marginalized in the most irreverent and sometimes emotionally charged manner, sending an uncompromising message from the lower ranks of society, the “Wassakara” people, to the Ivorian political elite. His use of “serious” humor and his musical creativity that finds its source in traditional sounds, popular parlance and metaphors, and his unconventional use of language, have made him a unique icon of Ivorian popular music. Using content analysis of his work, primary and secondary sources based on interviews, as well as studies about his musical style, this paper explores the aesthetics and the contents of Billy Billy’s art in risky, polarized and fractured times. It also attempts to determine the ways in which he has survived the armed conflict and transitioned himself into an “independent” and critical observer of the Ivorian political scene, pushing further the boundaries of democracy and transparency in a society that is in a dire need of them.



**Prince Karakire Guma**  
**Social Economic Advancement for Development**  
**Kampala, Uganda**

П.К. Гума  
Центр экономического прогресса  
во имя развития, Кампала, Уганда

**Jiving to Political Beats: Narratives of Political Struggle in Ugandan  
Popular Music**

**Стебаясь в политических ритмах: нарративы политической  
борьбы в угандийской популярной музыке**

Music is a common language that binds culture together across national, social and ethnic boundaries. It promotes identity and allows societies to express themselves socially, culturally, and politically. In Uganda, the last decade has witnessed substantial improvement in the music industry despite the limited protection from both government and non-government institutions. Recent trends such as compartmentalization of the industry, authentication of local artists, homogenization of local music, revolutionalization through fusion creation, and hybridization by means of transplantation, have all led to the reinvention of the pop industry that is largely manifested through the state of the present day pop-genres. Unsurprisingly, Ugandan popular artists are becoming more and more equipped to respond to emergent political forces that emerge with a commitment to disempower, exclude and marginalize sections of society. Through their music, popular artists have become a force to reckon with. The aim of this paper is to uncover the Ugandan popular music scene as a 'site' of political struggle in Uganda within the shifting context of geo-political parameters. I seek to explore narratives of political and revolutionary dimensions of popular music, and how these narratives are reflected during the late 20th and early 21st centuries of post-independence Uganda. I seek to attest to significant changes in the way music has been used by political activists and revolutionaries, and how it is used by the musicians themselves as activists, revolutionaries or educationists. This study is motivated by the fact that while popular music scholars have devoted considerable attention to the relationship between music and social change, little has been written on its relationship with political change. It is hoped that this study will contribute to cultural, geo-political, social movement, and postcolonial studies on music and politics in Africa.

**Ousmane Traore**  
**Wagner College**  
**New York, USA**  
У. Траоре  
Колледж Вагнера  
Нью-Йорк, США

**Youth, Civil Society, and New Political Strategies in Senegal**  
**Молодежь, гражданское общество и новые политические**  
**стратегии в Сенегале**

Political struggles and uprisings led by youth movements and hip-hop groups are not new in Senegal. They can, even, be considered as epiphenomena if we consider Senegal's political history and its long and solid tradition of elections from 1840 to 2012. From its historical origins, the Senegalese political landscape was cast in a colonial mold and yet took on local idioms based on interactions, negotiations, and accommodation between local populations and the French colonial administration. However, what is relatively new in this political landscape is how hip-hop voices succeed in imposing their societal views and claims on political leaders. In this paper, I first argue that we can read and better understand the trinity of "Hip-Hop, Politics, and Civil Society" as commentary on an inextricably interwoven back-and-forth between colonial legacy and postcolonial nation and state building in Senegal. Second, I argue that hip-hop groups and their political strategies benefit from the colonial legacy, insofar as it granted Senegal its political stability. And finally, the philosophy of struggles incarnated by hip-hop groups (led by *Y'en a marre*) could be better understood by tacking back-and-forth between the past and present and, very specifically, between Senghor's vision of nation-and-state building by drawing upon the colonial legacy and the calls for democracy and strong civil society made by young hip-hop leaders.

**Olusegun Stephen Titus**  
**IFRA, Nigeria**  
О.С. Титус

Федеральный педагогический колледж  
Окене, Нигерия

**Traditional, Intermediate and Modern Music Performance for**  
**Election Campaign in Kwara State, Nigeria** Традиционное,  
**промежуточное и современное музыкальное представление в**  
**избирательной кампании в штате Квара, Нигерия**

Music plays different roles in African societies which could include call to electorate to perform their franchise. Music is a powerful force for

political mobilization due to the textual ability of the songs. This study is pinned on entertainment-education. The paper employed content and context analysis of the songs selected as they were used and composed for campaign of Senator Gbemisola Saraki gubernatorial election in Kwara State 2011. We also conducted interview with people on the effect of these songs among the different group and social classes in Kwara state. This paper examines the songs which were used for gubernatorial campaign for one of the Kwara state contestants in 2011 elections, Senator Gbemisola Saraki. The analysis of the songs shows that different music styles and forms were used. Also the traditional, transitional and modern performing styles were used to reach out to voters in the state. Findings revealed that music performances during the 2011 general election for Gbemisola Saraki really went down as one of the different music styles that motivate the electorate to come and vote. Music as a powerful weapon can be used for development of the life of Nigerian populace as been used during campaign rally for Gbemisola Saraki.

## **БЛОК / BLOCK IX**

### **СВОБОДНЫЕ СЕКЦИИ FREE COMMUNICATION PANELS**

#### **IX-1. Экономика, политика и общество Economics, Politics, and Society**

**Convener: Prof. Akintunde E. Akinade, School of Foreign Service in  
Qatar, Georgetown University, Doha**

**John Keough Alsup  
Black Hills State University  
USA**

Дж.К. Алсуп  
Университет штата черных холмов  
Спирфиш, США

#### **The Gini Index as a Measure of Inequality Among Various African Nations**

##### **Индекс Джини как показатель неравенства между африканскими странами**

The Gini Index measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Lorenz curve plots the cumulative percentages of total income received against the cumulative number of recipients, starting with the poorest individual or household. The Gini index measures the area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality, expressed as a percentage of the maximum area under the line. Thus a Gini Index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality. (The World Bank) This paper will examine the mathematical concepts underlying the Gini Index and will investigate the Gini Index of various African nations in an attempt to find the commonalities of economic and social policies shared by those nations with the lowest (i.e. best) ratings on the index.

**Hazel Cameron**  
**University of St Andrews**  
**Fife, UK**  
Х. Кэмерон  
Университет св. Андрея  
Файф, Великобритания

**State Violence and Cycles of Impunity: Zimbabwe**

**Государственное насилие и циклы безнаказанности: Зимбабве**

Why, when faced with knowledge of others' suffering and pain as a result of human rights violations, the reaction of global elite bystanders so often takes the form of denial, avoidance, passivity, indifference, rationalization or collusion? By an analysis of interviews, newspaper articles, and official documentation obtained from the British Ministry of Defence, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the British Cabinet Office and the United States Department of State as a result of 'Freedom of Information' requests, this paper explores (i) what knowledge was available to the British government, including the British Military Assistance Training Team (BMATT) in post-independent Zimbabwe, in relation to the ongoing State sponsored massacres in Matabeleland between the period of 1982–1984 by the fifth brigade, (ii) what was Britain's response to these State sponsored crimes, and (iii) what was the British government's rationale for such a response? The paper concludes that the British government's response to the Matabeleland massacres between 1982–1984 has exacerbated the cycle of Zimbabwean government impunity for their gross violations of human rights throughout the past three decades, resulting in contemporary ethnic tensions in Matabeleland. This paper highlights how impunity results in the past intruding into the present to generate confrontation and conflict.

**David-Ngendo Tshimba**  
**Uganda Martyrs University**  
Д.-Н. Цимба  
Университет угандийских мучеников  
Нкози

**In Quest for (Re)building Broken Political Structures:  
Lessons from Electioneering in Post-Cold War Africa**

**В поисках путей (вос)становления разрушенных политических  
структур: уроки предвыборных кампаний в Африке  
в период после окончания Холодной войны**

This paper, by means of secondary data investigation, delves into the predicaments of elections after violent conflict as a means to (re)build broken

political structures and so restore functioning state institutions in today's Africa. The paper acknowledges that resorting to the ballots and not to the gun is actually not a guarantee for peace in the aftermath of war, more so in post-Cold War Africa. It thus follows that many a democratic experiment through elections in post-Cold War Africa have been flawed-fraudulent, violent, manipulated, or a combination thereof and hence fallen short of meaningful political reconstruction in the aftermath of war (almost always internal). The paper concludes with a political stocktaking of "electocracy" in post-Cold War Africa and ultimately suggests the ideal roles of both national and international actors in ensuring possible political reconstruction of previously broken state structures after violent conflict in post-Cold War Africa.

**Edward O. Kaunya,  
Nicolas Hayoz  
University of Fribourg  
Switzerland**

Э.О. Каунья, Н. Хайоз  
Университет Фрибурга, Швейцария

### **Ethnicity and Constitution Making in Kenya's Long Walk to Democratic Transition**

#### **Этничность и конституционность на долгом пути Кении к демократическому переходу**

Constitution-making is a central aspect of democratization experiences globally. Constitution is seen as a pillar and foundation for democracy and sustainable political stability. The making of a constitution is variedly shaped by contextual conditions and factors that also shape democratization, emanating from within and without the states. This paper traces the path of constitution-making in Kenya as the country pursued its democratization effort. The paper shows that the new democratic constitution which was promulgated in 2010 is a culmination of a long walk that started soon after independence in 1963. Whereas this walk was shaped by diverse factors and actors such as social cleavages like ethnicity, political elite configurations, civil society and media pressures, as well as international socio-economic and political factors, this paper highlights the significant role played by ethnicity in realizing the new constitution and hence advancing democratization. The paper posits that ethnic competition and political mobilization by the power elite have had profound influence in Kenya's constitution making process and in the overall political transition since independence. The paper observes that the push for constitutional changes represented a conglomeration of political interests of Kenya's 42 ethnic groups, spearheaded by ethnic elite, and this explains the forward and

backward steps experienced during the long walk. The paper uses an analysis of three key constitution milestones, namely, the making of the independence constitution of 1963 and its subsequent amendments, the process and outcomes of the constitutional referendum of 2005, and the referendum of 2010 that resulted in the new democratic constitution to illustrate how this ethnic role and concomitant dynamics played out in the process. The paper concludes that while the passage of Kenya's new democratic constitution marks a milestone in building the country's evolving democracy, ethnic dynamics will continue to be a major factor in shaping democratic political transition for a long time to come, and that the apparent ethnic consensus expressed in the outcome of the new constitution, reveals strong positive implications for future political stability.

**Emmanuel Ibuot**  
**University of Nigeria**

Э. Ибуот  
Университет Нигерии, Нсукка

**Sexual Deviance and the Search for New Grounds of Power:  
the Case of Homosexuality**

**Сексуальное отклонение и поиск новых оснований власти: пример  
гомосексуальности**

The existence of man is viewed as coterminous with the human passion for power. Across various nations and continents, and through various periods of human history, this phenomenon has appeared in various shades. Some of it includes barbarism, slavery, colonialism, dictatorship, and sexuality. Though appearing in various shades and forms, it leaves different effects and impacts. While some of the effects enhance human existence, whether viewed individually or corporately, others debilitate it. Of particular interest to the understanding of 21st century struggle for power, both at national and transnational levels, is the sponsorship and attempt at internationalizing sexual deviancy such as homosexuality. A correlate of this struggle is the resistance of such movement by some nations like Nigeria and Russia. Is the sponsorship of sexual deviancy and its resistance a search for new ground for world domination and leadership by the West (the USA and nations in alliance with her)? This line of thought appears interesting having in mind the fact that the economic prosperity of the West is being rivalled by that of the BRICS nations – Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (especially China) – which suggests that economic security and buoyancy is no longer an expression of world power possessed and expressed by the West alone. This paper queries: is homosexuality truly about the rights of human beings or about power? It argues that among other things the

sponsorship of homosexuality is an ideological, rather than a human rights, issue. It is an attempt by its sponsors to re-define the socio-cultural and moral fabric of other nations with a view to tactically crippling them organically so as to forestall the possibility of their developing into a cohesive whole.

**Chimakonam Okeke Jonathan**  
**University of Calabar, Nigeria**

Ч.О. Джонатан  
Университет Калабара, Нигерия

**Ohakarasi: toward a Compatible Democratic System for Africa**  
**Охакараси:**

**на пути к адекватной Африке демократической системе**

The logic of Western liberal democracy asserts fervently the rights of the individual, if he is a citizen, then he has inalienable rights (law of identity, if A, then, A). When these individuals form a majority, the same logic upholds their right of choice because between majority and minority, democracy asserts majority (excluded middle, either A or B). And so, the system for example, is not expected to produce electoral decision by the combination of both the majority and minority votes (unanimity) or the adoption of the minority over the majority vote but strictly through majority vote (non-contradiction, A cannot be A and not A at the same time). So at least, a typical Westerner knows about his political rights and the responsibilities they impose on him. This also encourages him to be well informed on the consequences of his capacity to make political choices. Partly because of this sort of orientation the democratic actors in the West tread with caution. This is contrary to the democratic experience in much of Africa. The African society traditionally is communitarian. Rights and choices primarily belong to the community (unanimity). Despite over 500 years contact with Western civilization, this psychological orientation dies hard. The logic beneath this is complementary, integrative and inclusive – a communitarian reasoning. What we therefore need in Africa is a brand of democracy that flows with this logic because the Western-styled democracy is incompatible and makes very little sense to the logical orientation of the African thereby granting the elite class room to take undue advantage of the people through the constitution of democratic majority and the maneuvers of party politics. The aim of this paper is to showcase some problems of liberal democracy in Africa (i.e. majority principle and party system) and project Ohakarasi-a brand of democracy (operating with consensus principle and non-party system) whose logic is compatible to Africans and which would correct the menace of Western-styled democracy in Africa.



**Astrid Evrensel**  
**United Nations Office to the African Union**  
**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**  
А. Эвреснел  
Представительство ООН  
при Африканском Союзе  
Аддис-Абеба, Эфиопия

**The Role of the African Union in Promoting Peaceful Elections**  
**Роль Африканского Союза в содействии мирным выборам**

The post-2007 election in Kenya resulted in violence which left 1,500 dead. More than 3,000 women were raped, while 300,000 Kenyans became internally displaced refugees. Analysts argue that as long as power is concentrated in one position, the stakes in elections get extremely high. All means are used to grab and remain in power, including resort to violence, or changing – interpreting- constitutions to extend terms in office as has been done by various African presidents. This concentration of power and the rigging of elections constitute some of the main causes of electoral or post-electoral violence. Following the tragic post-election in Kenya, the African Union (AU), which was absent during the election, decided to send observers to all the continental presidential and parliamentary elections.

Since 2013 the Political Affairs Department, which has coordinated the AU election observation missions, reports regularly to the AU Peace and Security Council to allow the latter to react swiftly and take timely action. The Panel of the Wise, managed by the Peace and Security department, conducts fact finding missions regularly to Member states well before elections. To create sounder technical reports, the AU introduced in 2013 a long-term election observation methodology.

This paper will analyze the work of the AU in issues pertaining to elections and decipher the soundness of its methodology. It will assess whether the AU has the necessary mechanisms to follow up on the recommendations of its observer reports to be able to meaningfully support the strengthening of electoral and democratic processes in its Member States. It will also review the major AU instruments and highlight the challenges and the hurdles that the AU faces in seeking to make the member states accountable for their electoral practices.

The research paper is based on long-term theoretical and empirical investigations based on the direct observation elections in Africa.

**T. Gumbo**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**  
Т. Гумбо  
Институт Африки ЮАР  
Претория

**Innovations in Municipal Solid Waste Management in Africa:  
Lessons from Nairobi and Ethewkini**

**Иновации в решении проблемы твердых бытовых отходов  
в Африке: уроки Найроби и Этевкини**

The generation of waste, particularly municipal solid waste is a reality that is universal in urban centres of the World. What only differs across cities in both developed and developing countries are the types, composition and amounts of waste materials. They largely depend on levels of population concentrations, production and consumption styles. It has become common knowledge that municipal solid waste management in almost all cities of the developing world is a great challenge not only to central government and local governments but also citizens and residents. Lately, one of the efforts aimed towards containing problems arising from inefficient management of waste has been the adoption of integrated approaches that emphasise, reduction, recovery, reuse and recycle. Linked to the integrated approach to municipal solid waste management are efforts to convert garbage to gas and electrical energy sources. Although, this practice has been in place for several decades in more developed countries, it has only been embraced in less developed countries recently, specifically at the beginning of the new millennium. This work discusses the initiatives in improving the management of municipal solid waste in African countries, with special references to South Africa and Kenya. The work demonstrates that there exist great opportunities to adopt the waste to energy technologies through partnering with developed countries to meet the high cost involved in setting up the plants. It also highlights that city authorities in the continent need to improve their waste management, particularly, separation at source, collection, transportation and disposal mechanisms and sites. Also important is the adoption of collaborative and participatory frameworks in planning and implementation of initiatives and innovations in municipal solid waste management in the African continent, where every stakeholder is accorded room to contribute towards the common vision and objectives of achieving healthy environments and stable economies.

**Olu-Olu Olufayo,  
Lucy Gegede**  
**Ekiti State University, Nigeria**  
О.-О. Олуфайо, Л. Гегеде  
Университет штата Экити  
Адо-Экити, Нигерия

### **Hazardous Occupations among Nigerian Youths and the Dilemma of Development in Nigeria**

#### **Опасные роды занятий среди нигерийской молодежи и дилемма развития в Нигерии**

The paper examines the behavioural consequences of menial and hazardous economic activities on Nigerian youth. A total of 364 respondents were randomly selected from four major occupational groups involving the unemployed and underemployed youth in the country. These are waste scavenging (24%). Road mending (23%), Wheel Barrow Load Trading (25%) and petty telecommunication services (28%). The major research instrument employed was the questionnaire technique. This was however complimented with the interview method. Findings reveal a predominance of under-age youth especially male in the most hazardous activities. It was also discovered that that our polygynous practices also contribute in no small measure to youth truancy and the low level of education warranting their involvement in risky jobs. The study however offers some useful suggestions for improvement.

**Anna Deutschmann**  
**University of Vienna, Austria**  
А. Дёйчманн  
Университет Вены, Австрия

### **Student Organizations as Political Actors in Africa. Examples from Mali and Kenya**

#### **Студенческие организации как политические акторы в Африке: примеры из Мали и Кении**

Youth and student protests are not a new phenomenon; students in various African countries provoked political transformations since the beginning of the struggle for independence. Young people are an important part of African populations and are affected by and involved in politics in various ways. Strikes and protests are often started by young and mobilized people. Students, in particular, are easily mobilized and initiate political activism.

The paper aims to analyze the impact of student organizations on the political development and socio-political change in Africa: In which

situations and in which scope can they develop a significant relevance for political and social change? How do they – as social and political actors – change themselves in this process or trajectory?

The paper presents the findings of a comparative analysis on function, meaning and development of student organizations as actors and their socio-political impact in Mali and Kenya. A theoretical framework is developed by integrating social movement theories and findings of the sociology of elites. Investigating the influence of student and youth organizations as important African civil society groups, this paper presents findings of empirical data of two complementary case studies: through the analysis of interviews with former and current members of different youth and student organizations of both countries I intend to present internal and external developments of organizations as well as personal and professional opportunities for their members.

**Нефляшева Н.А.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Naima A. Neflyasheva

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

**Российские студенты в исламском университете Аль-Азхар:  
общие подходы к изучению  
Russian Students in the Islamic Al-Azhar University:  
Basic Approaches to the Study**

Проблематику российских студентов в исламских вузах Ближнего и Среднего Востока, а также Северной Африки можно рассматривать как в широком контексте интеллектуальной миграции из России, так и в сфере изучения национальных интересов. В современных исследованиях интеллектуальная миграция рассматривается как глобальный феномен, подчеркивается связь интеллектуальной миграции с безопасностью. Интеллектуальная миграция осмысливается как вызов, а связь миграции с безопасностью рассматривается как двусторонняя.

С одной стороны, в контексте темы исследования, речь идет о безопасности государств и обществ в связи с возвращением специалистов, получивших исламские образование за границей – вопрос ставится о рисках привнесения ими в родную культурную среду неорганичных традиций интеллектуальных и обрядовых практик, заимствованных в стране (регионе) пребывания. С другой стороны – возникает проблема адаптации молодых специалистов на родине, требуются последовательные и взаимные усилия государства и общества для восприятия выпускников исламских вузов в качестве интеллектуального ресурса для восстановления утраченных направлений исламской мысли.

В отечественной историографии не осмыслен характер миграционных образовательных потоков из России в исламские вузы Египта, Марокко, Турции, ОАЭ, Саудовской Аравии, Катара, Туниса, Малайзии и других стран. Что представляет из себя контингент абитуриентов, отправляющихся на учебу в исламские вузы за рубеж? Какими способами они попадают в страну обучения – по направлениям Совета муфтиев России, духовных управлений, путем неконтролируемого отъезда? Каковы их мотивации при выборе того или иного вуза? Как организована их учеба и повседневная жизнь в стране пребывания? В какие сетевые сообщества и системы они оказываются вписаны в той стране, где получают образование? Каковы их стратегии после окончания вуза – возвращение на родину или стремление остаться за границей? Все эти и другие вопросы нуждаются в глубоком осмыслении.

Основные поставщики студентов в Аль-Азхар из России – Поволжье и Северный Кавказ, активно включившиеся в процессы международной интеллектуальной миграции в 1990-е годы. Одна из проблем исследования – именно отсутствие статистических данных по количеству студентов из России, обучающихся в Аль-Азхаре. Ни такой известный статистический ежегодник как UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, в котором фиксируются иностранные студенты в стране обучения; ни МИД, в структуре которого работает Консультативный Совет по взаимодействию с российскими мусульманскими организациями, ни международный департамент Министерства образования РФ не отслеживают число студентов из РФ, уехавших на учебу в Египет. Длительное время Совет муфтиев России и его международный департамент были единственными структурами, контролирующими отъезд молодых людей из России. Вторая проблема – нелегальное или полунелегальное положение (отсутствие регистрации) российских студентов, низкий уровень их базового образования, отсутствие какой бы то ни было, даже самой элементарной самоорганизации среди российских студентов. Представляется, что для исследования этого вопроса и формирования выборки респондентов большие возможности предоставляет Интернет. В случае с выбранной проблематикой исследования Интернет – единственный способ набрать статистически значимое количество респондентов из целевой генеральной совокупности. В Сети проще и быстрее, чем в обычных условиях, найти группу респондентов – российских абитуриентов, студентов или выпускников Аль-Азхара. Интернет-технологии предоставляют возможность индивидуальной обратной связи непосредственно во время бесед по Skype, что стимулирует респондентов к постоянному участию в общении с исследователем, служит фактором привлечения других участников. Второе направление – организация экспертных интервью со студентами и выпускниками Аль-

Азхара, а также с представителями соответствующих структур на местах, духовных управлений и региональных государственных структур, курирующих проблемы религии.

Исследование мотиваций будущих служителей культа и исламских ученых при принятии решения получить образование в прославленном вузе, изучение их повседневной жизни и самоорганизации в стране пребывания, их мотиваций при возвращении на родину могут стать первыми исследовательскими вопросами при подходах к этой масштабной теме.

**Kabiri Ngeta**  
**United Nations University,**  
**Institute of Advanced Studies**  
**Pacifico, Yokohama**  
Н. Кабири  
Университет ООН  
Йокогама, Япония

### **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Fragile States in Africa** **«Цели тысячелетия» и нестабильные государства в Африке**

The global community is the process of formulating the Post-2015 Development Agenda within the context of sustainable development. A preliminary review of the process suggests that, as would be expected, the dominant assumption is that sustainable development is taking place under a formal state. Within this context, the question of what could affect the realization of the sustainable development goals is located among such factors as climate change and resource scarcities. This paper, however, focuses on the situation where the formal state face challenges to its statehood and thus risk failure to execute the sustainable development agenda in ways that the conventional approach in formulating the SDGs presupposes. The paper thus investigates the question of the governance of SDGs in fragile or failed states with a special emphasis on Africa and how the UN should approach the governance of/for SDGs in these areas. The paper will be based on a combination of fieldwork, primary documents mainly from the UN and development aid system, and secondary literature.

## СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IX-2

### Свободная секция. История, антропология, религия и культура *Free Communication Panel. History, Anthropology, Religion, and Culture*

**Руководитель / Convener: Гавристова Татьяна Михайловна  
(Ярославский государственный университет);**

**Hassan Ahmadian  
University of Tehran**

Х. Ахмадян  
Университет Тегерана, Иран

### **Egyptian Politics of Identity and Foreign Policy**

#### **Египетская политика идентичности и внешняя политика**

The purpose of this paper is to address the linkages relating Egyptian Identity and its Foreign Policy. As one of the oldest civilizations in the Middle East, Egypt has a unique identity compared to that of its neighboring countries. Egyptian identity is consisted of three main perceptions. The first is “Egyptian nationalism” rooted in its old civilization and the uniqueness of its history. The second is “Egyptian Islamism” which is also a part of its old and modern history that led to the flourishing Islamist thought and movements in modern Egypt with the Muslim Brotherhood on top of the Islamist politics. The third is “Pan Arabism”; the ideology that gave Egypt the personality of the big brother among Arab nations. All of those three identity perceptions exist in Egyptian daily life and have contributed in building the country’s identity. Egyptian Identity has always helped the country to play a leading role in the Middle East. That was the case in Abdul Naser (Pan Arabism), Mohammad Morsi (Islamism) and Sadat and Mubarak (a mixture of the three with Egyptian nationalism at the center) eras. The question this paper intends to answer is that considering the fact that Egyptian identity and its different perceptions have given the country a leading role in the Arab World, why has Egypt’s FP been witnessing dramatic changes that led to different dealings with regional and international issues in each of the three periods mentioned above. The answer / hypothesis is that the lack of much needed natural recourses drove Egypt to alter its FP to avoid economic and social crises in each of the aforementioned eras.

**Akachi Odoemene**  
**University College, Oxford, UK**

А. Одоемене  
Университетский колледж  
Оксфорд, Великобритания

**Women's Status in the *Aladimma* Socio-Juridical System in Igboland**  
**Статус женщин в социально-правовой системе аладимма**  
**в Игболенде**

A pertinent question that has arisen from my research on the *Aladimma* system is that which engages the place of women in it. Since the landscape of any system worth its name cannot be adequately analysed without investigating the central place of women and the female principle therein, this paper primarily examines the status of the womenfolk in the *Aladimma* system since the pre-colonial times. The paper's methodology essentially involved triangulation approach which combined field-based primary sources from qualitative methods of data collection – in-depth (key-informant) interviews (IDI) and focus group discussion (FGD) sessions – with extant secondary source materials (both published and un-published). Through critical evidence from these sources, the paper argues that though the malefolk were more in the limelight in *Aladimma*, their prominence, no matter how over-whelming it appeared, was not aimed at achieving the “invisibility” and/or subjugation of the womenfolk. This was buttressed with some notable achievements and influence of women in this system during the period under study. By implication, therefore, I argue in the paper that those essential qualities which recommended the system as a relevant indigenous grassroots model were such that also protected all in the society, including the womenfolk, from any forms of oppression, suppression and subjugation.

**Peter Oni**  
**University of Lagos**

П. Они  
Университет Лагоса, Нигерия

**Rethinking the Practice of Initiation for Leadership Roles in Africa:**  
**the Traditional and Contemporary African Modes of Education**  
**in Focus**

**Переосмысление практики подготовки к роли лидера в Африке:**  
**традиционные и современные африканские модели образования**

The focus of this paper is to make an ethical appraisal of the traditional African practice of initiation; and to investigate the paradigm-shift between the traditional African modes of leadership training (which involved in part,



initiation) and the contemporary methods of leadership training; above all, to fashion out means of evolving the form of training that is appropriate in sustaining African values and integrity. My efforts are necessitated by the stark reality of leadership problem of the contemporary Africa society. The quality of leadership in most African states, even in spite of their being trained in the Western modes of education, is fast becoming dwindling, and consequently endangering the fabrics and sovereignty of such states. It is for this reason that the paper argues the thesis that owing to the peculiarities and nature of existing realities in African society, the training of its leaders should involve, in part, initiation into the aspects of the peoples' cultural values that encourage, among other things, endurance, selflessness, truthfulness, accountability, maturity, responsibility, compassion and education. It is reasoned that only when African leaders are trained to imbibe and operate within these values that meaningful development can take place in the continent.

**Yasu'o Mizobe**  
**School of Global Japanese Studies**  
**Meiji University**  
**Tokyo, Japan**  
Й. Мизобе  
Университет Мейдзи  
Токио, Япония

**Analysis of the Bank's Role in the Japanese Penetration into African Market in the Interwar Period (1920s and 1930s):  
The Case of the Yokohama Shokin Ginko**  
**Анализ роли банков в проникновении Японии на африканский рынок в межвоенный период (1920-е – 1930-е гг.): пример «Йокогама шокин гинко»**

This paper examines the role of one Japanese bank played in the official intelligence strategy for cultivating “frontier” markets in Africa primarily by analysing of a research report written by a Japanese banker from the Yokohama Shokin Ginko (the Yokohama Specie Bank) in 1932. The Yokohama Shokin Ginko, the forerunner of the Bank of Tokyo (currently the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ) was a parastatal bank established in 1880, and as a largest foreign exchange bank in the most rapidly industrialising country of the Far East, it played an important role in the expansion of Japan's international trade.

By the end of the First World War the Japanese textile products and sundry articles had penetrated into major Asian markets such as China and India. However, during the interwar period, Asian markets, especially British

India, became more difficult to access as Britain introduced a strict tariff policy against “foreign” products. Therefore, the Japanese government turned its attention to Africa, as well as the Middle East and Latin America, as a new export frontier. Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs swiftly established consulates in East and Southern Africa, through which it collected market information. Simultaneously, some private and semi-private companies studied “unexplored” markets in Africa.

Among such companies, the Yokohama Shokin Ginko was a major player in the investigation of African markets and published an *Observation Report of Western Coast of Africa* in 1932. The report comprehensively describes West and Central Africa and concludes that it is “an only new market left for Japanese products”. Focusing on the background of the publication and the contents of the report, this paper elucidates the types of roles the Japanese bank played in Japan’s interwar economic advancement in Africa, a subject which has not been fully examined thus far.

**Андреева Л.А.**

**ИАФр, Москва, РФ**

Andreeva L.A.

Institute for African Studies

Moscow, Russia

**Христианство в начале XXI века в Африке южнее Сахары:  
количественные и качественные характеристики Christianity at the  
Beginning of the XXI Century in Africa to the South of Sahara:  
Quantitative and Qualitative Characteristics**

В докладе анализируются количественные и качественные характеристики современного христианства в Африке в регионе южнее Сахары. На основании анализа статистических данных делаются выводы о росте количества приверженцев христианства в странах региона. Современные успехи христианизации континента обусловлены, в первую очередь, постколониальной политикой «африканизации» христианства, которая привела к таким тенденциям в современном христианстве, как двоеверие и синкретизм. Анализируются изменения в методах работы ведущих христианских конфессий в постколониальную эпоху. Анализ качественной и количественной стороны христианский религиозности позволяет сделать вывод, что закончен процесс религиозного размежевания континента и рост адептов христианства, как и ислама, коррелирует с ростом численности населения, уже исповедующего ту или иную религию. Особенности религиозности населения региона южнее Сахары свидетельствуют о доминировании в сознании религиозной картины мировидения, следовательно, велика вероятность потенциальных христианско-

исламских конфликтов в будущем, поскольку религиозная толерантность является неотъемлемой частью секулярного миропонимания.

**Rashidah Ismaili AbuBakr**  
**New York, USA**  
Р.И. АбуБакр  
Нью-Йорк, США

**The Problems with Problematizing Africa; Resilience and Victory**  
**Проблемы с проблематизацией Африки: устойчивость и победа**

For the past 1,000 years Africa has emerged as an enigmatic presence that the increasingly racialized world has sought to explain, deny, patronize, exoticize and brutalize. Yet, the Earthly Mother rises, withstands and survives the attacks and attempts at annihilation. With some attention paid to the history of the continent, the birth place of human kind and civilization, I will use the oral literature and some graphics to speak to the durability of Africa and Africans. It will also look critically at impediments to 'progress' and who benefits from the lack of "progress" and what it actually means to the lives of the people and the continent.

**Завьялова О.Ю.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
O.Yu. Zavyalova  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

**Роль устной традиции в социализации у народов манден**  
**The Role of Oral Tradition in Socialization among the Manden Peoples**

Народы манден представляет собой коллективистские общества, как и остальные африканские этносы. Однако необходимо учитывать, что наряду с земледелием у бамана всегда была развита охота, а также ремесла, что обеспечивает и некоторую индивидуалистическую направленность, что очень четко обозначено в некоторых фольклорных жанрах (сказки, эпос, пословицы)

Если обратить внимание на термины родства, сразу будет видно насколько каждый человек в социуме завязан на родню и коллектив, обилие матерей и отцов не является только терминологической особенностью, но обеспечивает связь ребенка с большим коллективом взрослых, напрямую заботящихся о нем. Что касается воспитания – нельзя не отметить очень тесную связь матери с ребенком, когда ребенок постоянно находится с матерью и участвует в ее жизни, что обеспечивает более быстрое развитие у африканских детей по сравнению с европейскими в возрасте до 3 лет. Большую роль в социализации играет общение. Однако большие семьи и сложная система родства порождает и

некоторое соперничество, которое часто является темой конфликта в эпосе (эпос о Сундьяте, Буакарджане, Да Монсоне, некоторые сказки).

С самого детства человека постепенно вводят в социум, обозначая его обязанности. Даже маленькие дети до 5 лет имеют свои обязанности. Далее каждый член общества постепенно вводится в определенные группы (это и возрастные классы, и тайные союзы). Непрерывная связь между поколениями обеспечивается в течение всей жизни. Старики помогают детям исполнять их обязанности, а вечерами рассказываются сказки. Старшие возрастные группы обучают младших в ходе обряда инициации, они ведут в качестве арбитров «фольклорные вечера», когда молодежь соревнуется в знании загадок или решении дилеммных сказок. Все возрастные категории слушают эпические рассказы, повествоваемые гриотами.

Необходимо отметить одну из ведущих ролей устной традиции в социализации общества манден. Различные жанры по-разному участвуют в инкультурации и социализации и делают это в течение всей человеческой жизни. Сами этапы социализации часто описываются в классическом эпосе, где часть повествования посвящена детству и юношеству героя. Таким образом, устная традиция не только участвует в социализации, но и передает знания о ее механизмах из поколения в поколение.

Грамотное построение механизмов взросления, социализации, обеспечивает психологическую устойчивость социума. В частности возрастные кризисы проходят в таких обществах незаметно. Таким образом, культура в целом выполняет полностью одну из основных своих функций – адаптацию человека к природе и социуму, обеспечивая не только биологическую выживаемость вида, но и психологический комфорт и устойчивость.

**Marina L. Butovskaya**  
**Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology**  
**Moscow, Russia**  
Бутовская М.Л.  
Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН  
Москва, РФ

**Datoga Traditional Wealth Distribution and  
Customary Law in Modern Tanzania** Традиционное  
распределение материальных ценностей и обычное  
право у датога в современной Танзании

In this paper I am going to present the analysis of current situation with private and clan property and customary law problems in Datoga pastoralists

of Mang'ola region of Tanzania nowadays. The data were collected during annual expeditions of 2007–2013 and are based on personal observations of the author and interviews with representatives of Datoga community belonging to different age classes and gender. It will be demonstrated that public assembly, clan and neighborhood councils remained to be efficient today and resolved the main conflicts and disputes both between Datoga, as well as between Datoga and their non-Datoga neighbors. Special attention will be given to women's council as a specific powerful institution in polygynous Datoga society. It is concluded that Datoga jural institutions remained effective to control the crime level within their community. Up-till now Datoga refrained to approach with their jural problems to local police and local officials. On the other hand, in case of emergency the Datoga community insists on it's responsibility for each tribesman and provide him/her with financial support in case of guilt accusation by official Tanzania court and risk of imprisonment. While being effective in control of the crime level within their own community, the Datoga are currently unable to develop the effective dialogue with Tanzanian government concerning claims over communal land property. This study was supported by RFH, grant 12-01-00032.

**Gabriel Bamgbose**  
**Tai Solarin University of Education**  
**Nigeria**

Г. Бамгбосе  
Педагогический университет  
Тай Салорин  
Иджагун, Нигерия

### **Narrating the Postcolony in Recent Nigerian Novels**

#### **Постколониальный нарратив в современных нигерийских романах**

The postcolony, as theorized by Achille Mbembe, has always been a nation in crisis; it has witnessed the crisis of slave trade, colonialism and at present, it is in the crisis of neo-colonialism. Critical attention has often been paid to these postcolonial crises in postcolonial literature, but not much attention is paid to the narrative vehicle through which these crises are given artistic representation(s). Hence this paper critically examines the nexus between the narrative mode and the postcolonial crisis as represented in recent Nigerian novels. The study engages the post-colonial theoretical tool in order to properly explore how Nigerian writers maintain a creative connection between their texts and the history, politics, experiences, and realities of the Nigerian postcolony. The two narratives purposively chosen for this study are Teju Cole's *Every Day is for the Thief* and Helon Habila's

*Waiting for an Angel*. The texts are critically examined to justify how well the writers have been able to narrate the foibles of the Nigerian postcolony. The study reveals that the texts adopt different narrative strategies in their preoccupation of narrating the postcolony. While Cole's *Every Day is for the Thief* is written from the naturalistic perspective, Habila's *Waiting of an Angel* uses the realistic narrative mode. Irrespective the writers' adoption of different narrative strategies, they both achieve the same purpose; they commit their art to satiric functions. They satirize every oppressive institution to voice the `silence(s) and violence of history in order to recreate the memory of the past. This is done in a bid to connect the past trauma with the present stifling realities of the postcolony. The connection between the past and the present shows that violence and oppression that characterize the nature of the postcolony from the time past still reign supreme; nothing has really changed in the postcolony. The condition of the postcolony is a nervous condition. The awareness and consciousness of the nervous state of the postcolony informs the chronicles of Nigerian narratives and feeds the creative imagination of Nigerian writers. Thus the Nigerian novel is functional and committed.

**Valerie Hänisch**  
**Bayreuth International Graduate**  
**School of African Studies (BIGSAS)**  
**Germany**

В. Хэниш  
Байротская международная  
высшая школа африканских исследований  
Германия

### **Allurement. The Art of Tuareg Craftspeople**

#### **Обольщение. Искусство туарегских ремесленников**

Craftspeople are absolutely dependent on exchange and therefore exchange partners. That is why they are employing several strategies in order to find and maintain clients and in the end to make a good deal. An important part of my research deals with Tuareg craftspeople efforts in Niger to earn money by applying allurements, promises and even lies. Sometimes they are successful, sometimes it leads to misunderstandings, disappointments and quarrels.

In Tuareg society both the life of craftspeople (called Inadan) and their work is traditionally assured by special rights. As an endogamous professional group no one else than Inadan is allowed to do craft in leather, metal (iron, bronze, silver) and wood as well as special ritual work on social occasions like weddings and name-givings. They have the right to ask at any

time for food or money, and they receive a part (the Inadan's part) of the harvest and from the caravans. In these relation there is low risk for craftspeople's living, but income is limited – Inadan always try to improve nevertheless. With the advent of the Tourism in the 1980s a new clientele emerged. Inadan invented new ways of promoting their products and selling with success. After the “golden years of tourism” the insecurity of the second Rebellion at the beginning of the 21th century chased away the well-paying Inadan's clients. Again, the Inadan have to look for a new market. Lot of the good old relation to Tuareg noble families are broken during the search for tourist clients. Some older artisans gone backwards to their traditional work as blacksmith and woodcarvers although most Tuareg seem to became immune for Inadan's allurements and often false promises. The younger ones however do not want to loose their status as international demanded silversmiths. In the search for a small place in the global market, they are inventing and applying different strategies in communicating with westerners.

In my presentation, I will show and discuss different craftspeople's strategies old and new one's in order to sell their products in interaction with prospective clients like promises, lies, begging and the of course: allurements. I collected ethnographic data with the method of participant observation in towns, villages and in the countryside in Niger during 12 month of field research.

**Mathias Alubafi Fubah**  
**Forum Transregionale Studien**

M.A. Фубах  
Форум трансрегиональных исследований  
Берлин, Германия

**Modern Museums in the Palaces of the Western Grassfields**  
**Современные музеи во дворцах Западного Грассфилда (Камерун)**

This paper suggest that the recent interest in modern museums in the palaces of the western Grassfields is obscurely associated with the need to re-traditionalize the palaces and, more particularly, to address the multiple problems plaguing the traditional palace museums or royal treasuries. The paper demonstrates that the modern museum unlike the royal treasuries are significant, partly because they constitute a democratic space within the palace, and partly because they are associated with, and, they articulate the irony of change and continuity. The paper is based on findings from a survey conducted in some palaces and the newly created museums, as well as the relevant literature on museums in Cameroon.

**Новикова А.А.**  
**Кубанский государственный университет**  
**Краснодар, РФ**  
Anastasia A. Novikova  
Kuban State University  
Krasnodar, Russia

**Рождение идеологии ненасилия: деятельность  
Мохандаса Карамчанда Ганди в Южной Африке**  
**The Birth of the Ideology of Non-Violence:**

**The Activities of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in South Africa**

Одним из самых важных периодов жизни Ганди является его пребывание в Южной Африке (1893–1914 гг.). Здесь он сформировался как адвокат, общественный и политический деятель. Именно на Юге Африки зародилась сатьяграха («твёрдость в истине»), которая выразила суть ненасильственного сопротивления как пути сильного человека, способного обратить врага в друга. Сатьяграх последователен и прям: он уверен в своей правоте.

Расовая непримиримость, с которой столкнулся Ганди в Южной Африке, и которая затронула и его непосредственно, привела к борьбе, затянувшейся на много лет и приведшей к деколонизации Индии. Но именно южноафриканская сатьяграха стала первой масштабной ненасильственной кампанией, направленной против расизма. Это выразилось в кампаниях Ганди против «Чёрного закона», который предусматривал обязательную регистрацию для всех индийцев в полиции, что приравнивало их к лицам, совершившим преступления. Эта борьба завершилась подписанием соглашения об отмене наиболее оскорбительных для индийцев законов (30 июня 1914 г).

Свои поиски новой идеологии Ганди описывает в «Истории сатьяграхи в Южной Африке». Также об африканском периоде его жизни можно узнать из автобиографии «Моя жизнь», в которой он подробно описывал не только проводимые им мероприятия, но и свои духовные искания и опыты.

В Южной Африке Ганди организовал Индийский конгресс Наталя, поставивший перед собой цель добиться равноправия индийцев и европейцев. Также Конгресс занимался обучением грамоте детей и проведением мероприятий, направленных на улучшение санитарных условий жизни индийцев. С целью распространения своих идей среди населения колонии Ганди создал печатный орган «Indian Opinion». Он организовал «Ферму Толстого» – колонию поселенцев, живущих согласно принципу ненасилия. На протяжении всей жизни он уделял особое внимание образованию своих последователей и их чистоте, как физической, так и нравственной.



Южная Африка с ее расовыми противоречиями стала подходящей почвой для становления Ганди как политика и гуманиста. Ненасильственные кампании, проведенные им, послужили бесценным опытом для дальнейшей деятельности. И сегодня к этому опыту обращаются многие политики и общественные деятели, стремящиеся к устранению насилия из мировой практики.

**Гавристова Т.М.**

**ЯрГУ, Ярославль, РФ**

Tatiana M. Gavristova

P. G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University

Russia

**«...Под моей одеждой нет ничего, кроме Бога!»**

**(Ибрагим эль Салахи и его хараз)**

**“...There Is Nothing under My Clothes Except God!”**

**(Ibrahim El Salahi and His Haraz)**

И. эль Салахи – первый африканец, чья персональная выставка с успехом проходила в Лондонской галерее Tate Modern 3 июля – 22 сентября 2013 года. Для многих она стала открытием африканского модернизма, который по праву считается продолжением французского импрессионизма и сюрреализма, русского авангардизма и супрематизма.

И. эль Салахи пробовал себя как художник, поэт, педагог; в 1975 году из-за конфликта с властями оказался в тюрьме; после освобождения эмигрировал; руководил министерством культуры в Катаре и даже думать боялся о том, что когда-то был художником. Известность ему принесла картина «Неизбежность», посвященная полувековой гражданской войне в Судане, блестящий комментарий к политическим событиям в Африке и мире в целом.

Ключевую роль в становлении художника сыграл суфизм – мистико-философское направление в исламе, культивирующее стремление к единению с Богом, к слиянию с ним. Как суфий (инструмент в руках Создателя), И. эль Салахи рассматривал творчество не просто как способ самовыражения, а как мерило любви к Богу. «Под моей одеждой нет ничего, кроме Бога!» – любит повторять художник.

Мусульманин, совершающий молитву пять раз в день и прежде, чем приступить к работе, дошел до полной идентификации себя с Творцом. Ощущая себя посредником, исполняющим волю Аллаха (его «врачами», «окном», «ухом», «оком»), он искал пути слияния материального и духовного, тела и духа. Его «деревья» (он рисовал только хараз - *Faidherbia Albida*) стали особой формой посланий человечеству. Текстура рисунка рождает подобие реальности: лабиринты любви (и со-

знания), лабиринты времени (и судьбы), лабиринты души (и иллюзий). Через созерцание и концентрацию зритель словно погружается в плавный ритм суфийских кружений – подобие медитации. Преодоление и обретение себя становится целью существования.

«Деревья» воспринимаются как абстракция, как знак, понятный мусульманам и не мусульманам, африканцам и не африканцам, как ключ на пути познания себя и мира. Сакральность заложенного в них смысла легко угадывается: путь в светлое будущее лежит через любовь, веру, надежду, взаимоуважение, гуманизм и, как ни пафосно это звучит, дружбу между народами

**СЕКЦИЯ / PANEL IX-3**  
**Свободная секция. Международные отношения,**  
**национальные и региональные проблемы**  
**Free Communication Panel. International Relations,**  
**National and Regional Problems**

**Руководитель / Convener: Ватаняр Саидович Ягья**  
**(Санкт-Петербургский Государственный университет)**

**Ensa Touray**  
**University of the Gambia**

Э. Турай  
Университет Гамбии, Сере-Кунда

**Gambian Independence: an Attainment of Deracialization**

**Гамбийская независимость: достижение дерасиализации**

It is generally noted that 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the beginning of African reaction to end colonialism in Africa. The group of Africans that participated in anti-colonial struggle succeeded in sending white people out of the governance system. However, they failed transform the institutions that underpinned the minority white dominance over the majority of Africans. Therefore the colonial institutional structures were maintained. Most of the emerging post independent governments centralized the political system with despotism. My paper seeks to examine the nature of Gambia independence from colonial rule as an attainment of deracialization.

It is important to note that the system of administration instituted by the British was an indirect rule system in which the major administrative decisions were exclusively made by the colonial governor based in the Banjul. The administrative decisions were imposed upon the protectorate people through travelling and the warrant chiefs in the protectorate regions. In the later part of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the educated Gambian elites with ambition to hold power for prestige, perceived the attainment of independence and self-determination through indigenization of governance system. However, the need to enhance effective democratic system through popular mandate was not implemented. Therefore they succeeded in replacing the white officials in all the administrative positions, yet failed to exterminate the administrative structures that facilitated minority white dominance over our people. The system of colony and protectorate has been maintained in the Gambia, in the form of urban Kombo and rural Gambia. In this situation the system of administration was not decentralized, and any form of decision on the

development for rural communities are still made in the urban Kombo. In the case of local government administration, the traditional chieftaincy institution has not been democratized or detribalized. Therefore, if the independence is a holistic transformation of a system, I am convinced that Gambian independence was a deracialised independence.

**Peter Wilson Té**  
**UNESP, UNICAMP**  
**PUC - SP, Brazil**

П.У. Тэ

Программа изучения международных отношений  
Сан-Паулу, Бразилия

**Guinea-Bissau, 40 years of independence –  
what progress for the country?  
40 лет независимости Гвинеи Бисау:  
какой прогресс для какой страны?**

The 1950s and 1960s were particularly important for the African continent, since most countries gained independence. In 1960, for example, 17 countries of the French and English colonies gained independence by peaceful agreements. Waves of African liberation, this year became known as the year of liberation of Africa. While the two major colonial powers (France and England) gave up its colonies in Africa, Portugal is positioned to remain firm with its colonial policy in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome.

Following several negotiations ineffective, these countries decided to seek independence by arms. Worthwhile to discuss some bloody history that led to the wars of liberation in the territories of the Portuguese colony in Africa.

According to Andrade (1973), in the late 1950s, in those Africans under Portuguese domination, increased up insurrections and bloody massacres took place against rebels: In 1953, the people of São Tomé revolted, and resulted in the massacre more than 1,000 STP, a population of 60,000 people, the August 3, 1959 in Bissau was given the insurrection of Pindjiguiti Pier, where the Portuguese colonialists massacred 50 workers strike in Guinea. This crackdown called “massacre Pindjiguiti” happened when the port workers demanded better working conditions and salary increases. This was followed by another, in January 1961, the massacre of Lower Cassange in Angola, on February 4, 1961, the invasion of the military prison of Luanda led by nationalist canon Mendes Manuel das Neves, Portuguese reaction caused a climate of great tension; lastly, March 15, 1961, the massacre of settlers in northern Angola, victims of the attack of the Union of populations of Angola, led by A. Holden Roberto.

All of these events led to the beginning of the liberation wars in the Portuguese territories in Africa, starting with the Guinea-Bissau on January 23, 1963.

After violent war, on 24 September 1973, Guinea-Bissau unilaterally proclaimed its independence. A year later, on September 10, 1974, after the fall of the regime salazista, Portugal recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau in 1975 and recognized the independence of Angola, Cape Word, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe .

However, Guinea-Bissau was the first independent country in Lusophone Africa, the last to be democratized. This year is celebrating 40 years of independence. The objective of this work is to rescue the historical background of 40 years of independence of Guinea-Bissau. Is there any progress for the country?

**Paul Boroh**  
**Nigerian Army Peacekeeping Centre**  
**Kaduna, Nigeria**

П. Борох  
Миротворческий центр нигерийской армии  
Кадуна, Нигерия

**Governance and Violent Conflict in Nigeria:  
a Threat to Nationa Development**

**Управление и конфликты с применением насилия в Нигерии:  
угроза национальному развитию**

The survival of a democratic government requires a stable political, economic and socio-cultural environment in addition to an amiable peaceful co-existence among the component units within the polity. The return to a civilian government in Nigeria in May 1999 was followed by a series of heightened conflicts that pose a great threat to corporate existence of a nation. Among the avalanche of conflicts in the country are the Warri-Delta conflict between Ijaw and Itsekiri; the Niger Delta; Bayelsa conflicts in Odi; Anambra (Aguleri-Umuleri) and the recent Boko haram saga, which have been considered the greatest challenge of our time, especially when the palliatives measures taken by the government have not yielded positive results. Thus, conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in every society. Since the closing decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the phenomenon of governance has become a dominant subject in the analysis of a spectrum of issues such as development crisis, policy failure and recurrent conflicts in African states such as Nigeria. This paper, based on a study of secondary data, seeks to interrogate the implications of bad governance for violent conflicts in Nigeria. It intends to argue that bad governance, which manifests in chronic

poverty, massive unemployment, pervasive corruption, policy failure, gross abuse of human rights and infrastructural decay, fuels violent conflicts and general insecurity in the country. Thus, it seeks to contend that good governance based on the promotion of the welfare of the majority of the citizenry, accountability and popular participation is required to frontally address the recurring challenges of violent conflicts and general insecurity in Nigeria, which automatically leads to national development.

**Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf**  
**Georgetown University**  
**USA**

Р.М. Абушараф  
Университет Джорджтаун  
Вашингтон, США

**Mediating Darfur's Violence in the State of Qatar Посредничество  
государства Катар в вооруженном конфликте в Дарфуре**

Qatar's meteoric rise to world's prominence in the fields of foreign policy vis-à-vis conflict resolution around the world has received substantial attention in the fields of comparative politics and political theory. Since the eruption of war in Darfur in 2003, Qatar had offered considerable material and diplomatic support to mitigate the prevailing atrocities in the region while supplying a steady flow of humanitarian aid to internally-displaced and refugee communities. Qatar's formal adoption of Darfur as one of its foremost foreign policy portfolios took place in 2009 in a process that came to be known as Salam Darfur, which spanned a four-year intensive diplomacy and third party mediation. The process culminated in peace agreements between the government of Sudan and several factions of Darfur's rebellion movements. Qatar's crowning glory was epitomized in its recent hosting of the largest donors' conference in April 2012 dedicated to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the region. In this paper, I will locate the trajectory of Darfur's mediation within comparative anthropological approaches of mediation as a cultural process that involves particular idioms and concepts of time, neutrality, hospitality and fairness as reflected in several agreements to incorporation of indigenous frameworks of community reconciliation and reparation. The culture and politics of location will be discussed in depth to illuminate the context of Salam Darfur process in Doha, and its rootedness in Qatar's nuanced grasp of the cultural milieu of the disputants in question. As a third party mediator, Qatar had helped engender inclusive approaches to peace-making that accommodate the multiple stakeholders' perspectives be they government officials, militias, internally-

displaced communities and refugees and civil society organizations. Topics tackled in Doha Salam Darfur such as the mitigation of violence, the politics of a Gulf State towards an “African” predicament as well as the debate on the feasibility of the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Darfur will be addressed in depth. This paper will expand the theoretical debates on the momentous role of culture in diplomacy as well as on the anthropology of conflict’s mitigation and peacebuilding.

This paper, tackles the two interlinked subjects of mitigation of violence and mediation from a cultural anthropological perspective, which sees mediation as a cultural processes shaped by how disputants and mediators’ local concepts of resolution of conflict figure centrally in the debate about

**Nicasius Achu Check**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**  
**Pretoria**  
Н. Ачу Чек  
Институт Африки ЮАР  
Претория

**Managing Conflict in Africa:  
South Africa’s Conflict Resolution Initiatives in Burundi**  
**Урегулирование конфликта в Африке:**

**инициативы Южной Африки по разрешению конфликта в Бурунди**

This paper seeks to analyse and appraise South Africa’s attempts at resolving the Burundi crisis that started after the 1993 coup d’etat. Suffice to the note that the end of the bipolar World interestingly ushered a new paradigm shift at which African conflicts could be resolved. There was hope that this paradigm shift will open a new era of tolerant regimes paving the way for democracy and human rights to flourish on the continent. As these pluralistic political spheres were introduced, so to were its attendant draw backs. Prominent amongst them were ethnic cleavages emerging with devastating consequences in Rwanda, Burundi and in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The paper contends that the AU/South African intervention in the Burundi crisis should be seen within the realm of an attempt by Africa at seeking African solutions to African developmental challenges. Despite this African attempt at conflict resolution, the Burundi intervention is yet to yield peace dividends. The question therefore is, are African solutions viable options in resolving internecine conflict on the continent? The paper holds that an integrated mixed method approach should form any conflict resolution initiative on the continent, taking into account the peculiarities and specificities of every intervention.

**Suman Singh**  
**Banaras Hindu University**  
**Varanasi, India**

С. Сингх  
Банарасский индуистский университет  
Варанаси, Индия

### **Water Scarcity: The Source of Conflict in Nile River Basin**

#### **Нехватка воды – источник конфликтов в бассейне Нила**

One of the glaring problems facing the world today is the problem of resource scarcity. This is due to their unequal distribution and their ruthless exploitation. It is one of the root causes for the growing conflict among various social groups, ethnic groups, regions and nations. Water is one such basic natural resource. Though our planet earth is a watery planet but only one percent water is available for our use. This one percent water is also very unevenly distributed with large parts of the world having very meager water resources. Also of the one percent water available about sixty percent has been severely polluted which has become unfit for consumption. This has resulted in the escalation of conflict for water so much so that it now feared that the next World War could be for water. Water scarcity is a more *relative concept* describing the relationship between demand for water and its availability. The demands may vary considerably between different countries and different regions and within a country depending on the usage of water by different sectors. In the Nile River basin center stage is the continued existence of the people in their basins where water scarcity serves as a source of conflict between the region's riparian nations, within national borders, and as an underlying condition that contributes to the unrest that breeds and incubates the development of violent behavior. Decreases in water quality, population growth, unequal water access etc. cause an increase in water scarcity. This scarcity has resulted in adverse economic effects and is a source of human migration, Ethnic conflicts, power struggles and potentially trans-border conflicts. This problem of water distribution can only be resolved through mutual discussion, political dialogue, inception of mutual trust and comprehensive mechanism for judicious distribution of available water acceptable to the warring groups in the Riparian States.



**Muraree Lal Meena**  
**Banaras Hindu University**  
**Varanasi, India**

М.Л. Меена  
Банарасский индуистский университет  
Варанаси, Индия

**Strategic Players of the Nile River Basin Geopolitics:  
Sudan and South Sudan**  
**Стратегические игроки геополитики бассейна Нила:  
Судан и Южный Судан**

Central to the entire issue of water sharing conflict among the Nile basin riparian countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan. This study focused on the mid-stream states of the Nile basin, Sudan and South Sudan, the newly formed state on the globe. Study begins with a geographical opportunity of the both Sudan and South Sudan, followed by a discussion on its schemes of water resource, water sharing, agricultural and irrigation development. Paper interprets here the relations of water sharing among the Upstream and Downstream states and in-between the strategical importance of the Midstream states (Sudan and South Sudan) and there potential role on the issue. Through the case study method, here paper analyse the Water sharing developments, national interest and water security concerns of these states. Here, paper more emphasis on the water distributions relationship of Ethiopia and Egypt and role of these mid-stream stats by which we can analyse the major issue of water geopolitics among the states. Study also discusses the importance of geopolitics of the Nile River basin on South Sudan as a newly state and hitherto the geopolitical significance of the Jonglei canal on the Nile river basin system.

**Adams Bodomo**  
**University of Vienna**  
**Austria**

А. Бодомо  
Университет Вены, Австрия

**Africa – China Cooperation:  
The role of Diaspora Africans and Diaspora Chinese**  
**Афро-китайское сотрудничество:  
роль африканской и китайской диаспор**

I argue in this plenary paper that despite some negative media coverage and some critical academic discourse about the activities of Africans in China and Chinese in Africa, Diaspora Africans and Diaspora Chinese are play-

ing important roles towards a positive development of Africa – China cooperation. Drawing from research results on Africans in China and Chinese in Africa, I outline a number of recommendations for various decision-makers towards ensuring a more positive contribution from Diaspora communities on both sides of the partnership.

**Funeka Yazini April**  
**Africa Institute of South Africa**

Ф.Й. Април  
Институт Африки ЮАР, Претория

### **Assessing the South Africa – China Mineral Industrialization Case in South Africa**

#### **Оценка южноафриканско-китайского примера минеральной индустриализации в Южной Африке**

South Africa's engagement with China is located within the country's key foreign policy priorities that are shaped by its domestic priorities which include factors such as poverty alleviation, and equitable distribution of wealth. China's engagement with South Africa has been subject to a lot of scrutiny due to the trade imbalances between the two countries that have developed immensely over the years. These imbalances have raised concerns as to whether African colonial trading patterns are manifesting, or whether South Africa is just failing to effectively take advantage of its bilateral relations with China. Most of bi-lateral trade agreements have been established to promote economic growth and industrial development in South Africa. For example, about 15 years ago, a trade agreement was made between China and South Africa regarding ASA metals in Limpopo, where China agreed to implement the MPRDA in order to promote the local industry. Then in 2012, an MoU was signed by representatives of the China Coal Technology and Engineering Group, Limpopo's Corridor Mining Resources and the Universities of Limpopo and Venda to transform South Africa's coal industry thereby increasing economic opportunities for local people. Recently, China signed acquired a 45% stake in Wesizwe Platinum mine and provided a \$650 million loan which also includes an agreement to take promote local content in the mining industry.

This objective of this study assesses mineral industrialization by analyzing the results of mineral trade agreements between China and South Africa. The industrial assessment will be done against the backdrop of the South African Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) which was designed to transform the mining community post 1994. The study consists of desk top research, and field research that was undertaken at the at the Chinese-South African owned mines

**Dong Le**  
**Kyoto University, Japan**  
Л. Донг  
Университет Киото, Япония

**How to address environmental and social risks by foreign aid and investment in Africa, with case study on Chinese investment on Lamu Port in Kenya**

**Как использовать иностранные помощь и инвестиции для борьбы с экологическими и социальными рисками в Африка (на примере китайских инвестиций в порт Ламу в Кении)**

As foreign aid and investments rushing in, African countries should pay more attention to the potential environmental and social impacts induced by these. Take Chinese aid and investments in Kenya for example, Chinese companies, backed by Chinese government under the umbrella of Forum of China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), a high-level political platform on negotiating Chinese aid and investment in 50 African countries every five years, are obtaining more contracts from Kenya. Statistics show that before Chinese investments focused mainly on road constructions. Now, they are expanding to larger ecosystem regions. If Kenya Government doesn't well manage potential risks, these could result to many problems. Kenya Investment Authority (KIA) is now developing *Green Investment Guidelines* with some international organizations, including WWF. However, whether this can play a vital role will depend on whether it provides effective countermeasures for foreign investors in Kenya. My paper will try to explore the gaps (if there is) between this policy and operation reality of foreign investors in Kenya, and give possible measures to encounter these gaps. I am now doing field study in Lamu, costal of Kenya. Through participatory observation and interviews with local indigenous communities, understand potential risks might be caused by Lamu Port construction, first step of Lamu Port Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor project. Kenyan government is now trying to attract more foreign aid and investment on LAPSSET. China is positively participating, with latest deal worthy of 5 billion USD signed in August 2013. My paper will also be based on the interviews with Kenyan governments, Chinese Embassy in Kenya, Chinese companies, banks and media in Kenya.

**Ramesh Kumar**  
**University of Delhi, India**  
Р. Кумар  
Университет Дели, Индия

**India Factor in Africa's Development**  
**Индийский фактор развития Африки**

India's relations with Africa are underpinned by historical and civilisational ties as well as unstinted support India extended to many countries of Africa in their fight against colonialism and institutionalised racialism during the Cold War. In the post-Cold War era, with the emergence of an independent Namibia and a democratic South Africa, India's Africa policy indicates a slight change as also some consistency. Apparently, there are five components of India's Africa policy in the post-Cold War era: promoting economic cooperation, engaging the people of Indian origin, preventing and combating terrorism, preserving peace and assisting the African defence forces.

Apart from mutual exchange of high-level visits, the friendly nature of India-Africa relations is also supplemented with close development cooperation, including economic assistance, soft loans and private sector investment. At the India-Africa Forum Summit, organized in Addis Ababa in May 2011, India offered Lines of Credit worth US\$ 5 billion, and an additional US\$ 700 million grant assistance for human resource development, transfer of technology and building new institutions. The Addis Ababa Declaration and the Africa India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation, adopted at the Summit provide a road map for India's comprehensive and enhanced engagement with Africa in the coming years. India's trade with the region is now in excess of US\$ 25 billion.

India-Africa partnership is further consolidated through implementation of India-Africa Forum Summits decisions in the areas of cooperation programmes, capacity building, human resource development initiatives, extension of concessional lines of credit, and promotion of India-Africa trade and investment. India's association with the African region is marked by consultation, undertaking and mutual appreciation of each others' capabilities. While examining these aspects, the paper also deals with prospects of increased African involvement in BRICS, UN, and other international forums.

**Akiko Nanami**  
**Hiroshima Shudo University**  
**Japan**  
А. Нанами  
Хиросимский университет Шудо  
Япония

**Japan's Aid to Africa at Macro and Micro Levels: Heading to where?**  
**Японская помощь Африке на макро- и микроуровнях:**  
**движение куда?**

“Africa” has always been historically, culturally and geographically very far from Japan, an “old” power in Asia-Pacific region, which has used its massive financial power to manoeuvre its international relations. This is widely known as Japan’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) diplomacy but it has long been focused on South-East Asia, not Africa.

Having mentions its distant, since the early 1990s the Japanese government seemed to have taken much notice of and paid attention to Africa especially on its long-standing poverty and conflict issues. These issues have been dealt with Japan through a various means such as its huge-budget ODA programmes such as infrastructure and energy projects and the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) process since 1993 in cooperation with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), which has named as ‘partners’ to the government.

Before the government’s active involvement, Japanese CSOs working in the field of international development has operated a lot of humanitarian assistance activities in Africa, especially Sub-Sahara region. Their works varies from water sanitation to HIV/AIDS prohibition. With the government’s engagement, these projects by CSOs seem to work in harmony with the Japan’s ODA as they share a common goal to create more commitment to Africa through different approaches. However, the two actors have often been adversarial from their very different “visions” to Africa.

Based on this background, this paper will examine aid projects undertaken both at the macro (governmental) level and micro (CSOs) levels in order to discuss their disparities when it comes to Africa, though superficially sharing the common goal. On top of the examination, this presentation aims to clarify how Japan’s commitment to “Africa” has been changing and foresee where it will be heading to.

**Ягья В.С.**  
**Колесникова М.А.**  
**СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, РФ**  
Vatanyar S. Yagya, M. A. Kolesnikova  
St. Petersburg State University, Russia

### **Турция и Африка в XXI веке** **Turkey and Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Интерес к Африке в Турции начал проявляться еще с 1998 г. Однако масштабные планы турецкого проникновения в этот регион стали реализовываться лишь на рубеже первого и второго десятилетия XXI в. Это было связано не только с углублением внутривластных процессов, обусловленных продолжающимся пребыванием у власти Партии справедливости и развития, но и целым рядом международных шагов турецкого правительства.

Деятельность Анкары на африканском направлении осуществляется по разным направлениям. Турция позиционирует себя в отличие от уже давно активных на континенте Китая и Индии в качестве друга с благими намерениями, осуждающего колониальную политику Запада и заявляющего, что будущее планеты за Африкой. В 2005 г. Турция получила статус наблюдателя в Африканском Союзе, а три года спустя Анкара стала стратегическим партнером этой организации. В том же 2008 году почти все африканские страны, кроме двух, проголосовали за избрание Турции временным членом ООН. В свою очередь Анкара открывала одно посольство за другим в африканских странах, доводя их чуть ли не до 40.

В экономической области Турция развивает сотрудничество в энергетическом секторе, машиностроении, в строительстве, сельском хозяйстве и здравоохранении. Турецко-африканская торговая кампания выполняет координирующую роль. Основными игроками являются т.н. «анатолийские тигры». Две крупные бизнес-ассоциации МЮСИАД и ТУСКОН, куда «тигры» входят, контролируют в настоящее время всю деятельность турецких бизнесменов в Африке. До 60% внешнеторгового оборота Турции приходится ныне на Африку.

Гуманитарное и культурное присутствие Турции в Африке обеспечивается добровольными пожертвованиями, культурным обменом, помощью в здравоохранении и образовании, а также использованием мусульманской составляющей. Анкара пользуется поддержкой влиятельной элиты. Особенно еще и потому что не вмешивается во внутриафриканские разборки.

Словом, Турция стала крупным актором в Африке, тесня постепенно традиционных для этого континента игроков.

**Michelle Nel, Vukile Ezrom Sibiyi**  
**University of Stellenbosch**  
**South Africa**

М. Нел, В. Э. Сибийя  
Университет Стелленбоша, ЮАР

**Withdrawal from the International Criminal Court:  
Does Africa Have an Alternative?**  
**Отказ от Международного трибунала:  
есть ли у Африки альтернатива?**

The African Union (UN) extra ordinary summit on 12 October 2013 was held, to discuss the relationship between the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the African continent following the discontent about the perceived biasness of this court in handling situations involving Africans in the continent. The indictment of Sudan's President Omar Al Bashir as well as Kenya's both President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy President William Ruto, who is currently standing trial in the Hague resulted in the escalation in the voices opposing the ICC's perception of targeting Africans. As it stands, all eight situations before the ICC are from Africa and the only completed case was against an African. Although the AU member states did not agree on withdrawal, however a resolution was taken that no sitting African head of state should appear before the ICC. Although the AU is awaiting a response from the ICC not to try President Kenyatta, one should be wary of a politicization of the ICC. Allowing heads of state to influence prosecution is not conducive for judicial independence and the ICC's integrity. If the growing support for the AU's stance is successful in propagating a withdrawal, the question remains whether Africa have a viable alternative to seal the vacuum created by withdrawal from the only court with international criminal jurisdiction. This paper investigates whether the proposed African Court of Justice and Human Rights will be able to step into the shoes of the ICC. The AU intends to establish a Criminal Chamber within this court to prosecute Africans responsible for international crimes. Could this be an answer? With only three countries having ratified to the African Court of Justice and Human Rights versus 34 having ratified the Rome Statute this is a question that remains to be answered.

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