

## 致读者信

尊敬的各位读者：

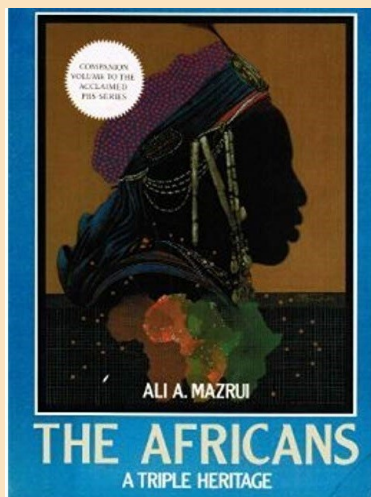
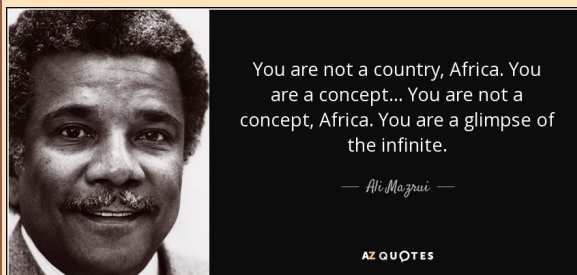
4月11日这一天，中国媒体大多数的国际重要新闻还在继续被是英国“脱欧”还是“拖欧”霸屏；非洲研究的学者最关心的大新闻却是观察者网（搜狐号）在下午2点抛出的“苏丹政变总统辞职、军队占领国家电视台”（详见链接 [https://m.sohu.com/a/307239287\\_115479?spm=smwp.srpage.SERP-list.2.1554963629374aLaceVK&from=groupmessage](https://m.sohu.com/a/307239287_115479?spm=smwp.srpage.SERP-list.2.1554963629374aLaceVK&from=groupmessage)）。有意思的是，直至是夜凌晨国际媒体和苏丹国内的各种消息证实巨变发生，在中国各种社交媒体的群里面，不断有人站出来“辟谣”，很多人明显“宁信其无”，毕竟这是一个中国介入很多的利益攸关合作伙伴——这当然也折射我们的不经意——对已经长达4个多月的苏丹民众从抗议面包涨价开始到要求巴希尔下台的越来越声势浩大的游行，中国媒体鲜有相关报道。

（右图为：苏丹议会讨论政府镇压民众示威活动）



热门评论大多使用“阿拉伯之春”的延续或者2.0版之类的字样，认为是与2011年埃及穆巴拉克倒台以及不久前阿尔及利亚民众游行直接导致年迈的布特弗利卡总统宣布退位一样的政治变化。如果马兹鲁伊（A. Mazrui）教授健在，他一定摇头苦笑，“History repeats again and again”. 在教授1986年制作的纪录片《非洲人：三重命运》里面，记录了1985年苏丹民众长期游行反对尼迈里政府、最终由军队出面结束了这个延续17年的统治。马兹鲁伊教授感慨，军政府声称要“纪律（discipline）”，而民众需要“对话（dialogue）”，有效的议会能够满足两种愿望扮演安全阀的作用

疏导民众的愤怒；因为不给民众这个安全阀，那么1964年同样的历史就重演了。对于苏丹民族英雄马赫迪的孙子萨迪克·马赫迪（Sadiq el Mahdi）为总理、领导的1986年多党议会组成的联合政府，马兹鲁伊教授充满的希望，认为这位受教于牛津大学的政治家本身正是苏丹的伊斯兰传统与西方现代性之间的桥梁——非洲漫长的劝说、讨论达成共识的政治传统与独立时候继承的“胜者通吃”的西式选举“捷径”之间的不相容，正是马兹鲁伊教授认为独立以来诸多非洲国家政治的矛盾所在。



确实，长期观察苏丹的学者称此次政治变动为“第三次平民起义和第四次军事政变”。有评论甚至嘲笑，巴希尔1989年军事政变上台，用了30年时间打造多重复杂的安全力量和情报系统以防止上两次那样的政变发生——这显然不是吸取历史教训的姿势。如上所言，民众的再度上街，确实由“面包涨价”开始，显现着这个国家自从南苏丹独立带走了75%的石油收益（即95%的出口受益、财政收入的一半）、经济的日益困顿乃至陷入危机的窘境。2017年美国放松制裁以来，经济好转并没有如期而至，货币贬值，让民众生活日益拮据，这也是2月份巴希尔政府宣布国家进入紧急状态以来民众的反对示威声浪反



## 致读者信

而壮大。巴希尔政权下长大的青年一代和长久以来受到更多压抑的女性是这场示威的骨干力量；同时面对巴希尔政府的强行压制，各种通过诗歌、音乐、美术等社会文化形式的反抗表达日益活跃。包括“全国共识力量”“苏丹呼吁”等反对党，与重要的社会组织“专业协会”签署了《自由与改变宣言》，号召成立过渡政府；《宣言》提供了一个组织中心和一个政治平台，提供转型计划、阐发替代政策。参照非洲其他国家经历的混乱，苏丹的所有反对派力量和武装组织都强调必须坚持和平示威。显然，这也是苏丹民众的良好传统，与1964年和1985年一脉相承。

多年来忽视生产部门、军事安全情报部门花费巨资等被认为是经济危机的直接原因，之前在达尔富尔、南科多凡州和蓝尼罗河州发生的人道主义灾难，已经激起了一轮又一轮人们对于治理不善的不满；2020年可能进行的允许巴希尔连任的宪法修正活动的前景也被认为是激怒民众的另一个原因。12月份的示威爆发以来，政府一方面开动印钞机增加货币来应对经济危机，另一方面巴希尔频频出访海湾国家来寻求财政援助。



抗议人群中的苏丹音乐家在弹琴演唱《变革之风》

截至目前，苏丹军事过渡委员会已经到亚的斯亚贝巴向非盟领导层报告国内局势的发展和积极寻找合适的总理人选向文官政府过渡做准备的决心；中国、英国等大国都已经会见了军事过渡委员会领导人，4月11日就立即对于巴希尔被解职发表声明的俄罗斯则走得更远，已经宣布承认现任军事过渡委员会为合法政府。

近年来巴希尔政权除了与很多海湾国家关系密切外，在东非以及非洲之角的外交作为值得关注。在南苏丹交战各方最近达成的新和平协定中，苏丹政府明显发挥了重要的调停和担保的作用。非洲之角最近一直沿着和解的主题发展，很多长期外交死结得已打开（特别是埃塞俄比亚与厄立特里亚为主），其中也有苏丹的贡献。苏丹还积极参与了也门和中非冲突的解决，按照政变发生以前苏丹政府的原计划，下一步应该是继续发挥双边调停的角色，或者与美国、英国和俄国以及更多国际社会行为体、共同促进两国进入下一步对话进程。苏丹积极介入促进和平和解的外交活动，因为这与本国政治经济需求也是休戚相关的。

中心主任：刘海方

2019年4月17日



## 中心活动

1、4月9日，李安山教授、许亮博士和程莹博士代表中心出席中国非洲研究院成立大会。李安山教授在当天的研讨环节发表题为《中国非洲学术交流概览——以北京大学为例》的发言。



2、4月10日中午，密歇根州立大学非洲史博士、北京师范大学历史学院讲师刘少楠博士做客中心，并做题为《侨民、工厂与“中国制造”：尼日利亚华人华侨史》的讲座。讲座由中心秘书长许亮主持，参加讲座的有外国语学院魏丽明教授和程莹博士、清华大学历史系的曹寅副教授、国际关系学院的刘天南副教授、新华社非洲总分社的曹凯副主编以及来自北大国关、外院、历史系、社会学系和新闻学院的十多位硕士生和博士生。



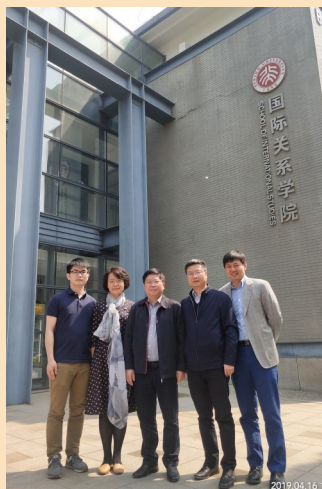
3、4月12-13日，北京大学区域与国别研究院建院一周年之际，由研究院主办的“面向21世纪的区域与国别研究：世界经验与中国范式”国际研讨会在北京大学举行。在为期两天的会议中，来自20多个国家和地区的近50位区域与国别研究领域的国际学者，以及国内高校、科研单位的专家共百余位代表齐聚一堂，共同探讨区域与国别研究的理论、方法与经验。北大非洲研究中心刘海方、师曾志等老师以及来自非洲大陆的非洲研究学者Sanusha Naidu(SA), Mine Yoichi (JAPAN), Hany Basada (Egypt), Barney Walsh (UK) 与会研讨。具体见链接 <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/x88McPo1PSrTN4ukJIjn3g>

[mp.weixin.qq.com/s/x88McPo1PSrTN4ukJIjn3g](https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/x88McPo1PSrTN4ukJIjn3g)



## 中心活动

4、4月15日，中心与北大生命传播研究中心共同邀请坦桑尼亚教授Professor Ladislaus Semali 做客北大，主讲《互联网时代跨文化传播和交流：中国和非洲在地知识的重要性》。王进杰博士主持了讲座，师曾志老师和刘海方老师点评。来自北大校内几十位同学聆听演讲并热烈研讨。详见链接<https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/PZemYk2t5PT3TPfbzKHNJg>



5、4月16日，广东省政府外办非洲处蒋处一行访问北大，与国关学院副院长张海滨教授，刘海方和许亮讨论合作事宜。



## 本期内容 (Contents)

1. Arab Spring comes later in troubled Sudan and Algeria (In English)

问题重重的苏丹和阿尔及利亚，阿拉伯之春姗姗来迟（英文）

The armed forces of Algeria and Sudan, which pushed out the long-serving rulers of those countries after mass protests, are following a script that has failed millions of Arabs since the 2011 uprisings. Those "Arab Spring" upheavals raised hopes of political and economic reforms in countries such as Egypt, where the army watched patiently from the sidelines and then capitalised on the turmoil to widen its influence in politics. Standard Media

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001321002/arab-spring-comes-later-in-sudan-and-algeria>

2. Russia in Africa: Inside a military training centre in CAR(In English)

俄罗斯后备军人在班珠尔培训中非士兵（英文）

In a military training base located on former palace grounds southwest of the capital Bangui, hundreds of Russian fighters, described as army reservists, are training CAR government soldiers in preparation for deployment along the country's border. The CAR government hopes to regain control of the country, which is torn by sectarian violence and the operations of 14 rebel groups. CAR, formerly colonised by France, is rich in strategically important minerals, diamonds and gold.

<https://www.viportal.co/russia-in-africa-inside-a-military-training-centre-in-car/>

3. Sudan, Libya in focus at Sahel Saharan meeting in Chad (In English)

萨赫勒国家首脑举行非常规会议讨论苏丹和利比亚局势与和平可能（英文）

The fighting between Khalifa Haftar forces and the government of national accord for control of Tripoli, Libya was on the agenda of the Sahel meeting on Saturday. The extraordinary summit of heads of state and government of the Sahel-Saharan community was held in Ndjamena, Chad. Stakeholders have made calls for an end to the clashes in Libya and give a new chance for dialogue.

Africa News

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/14/sudan-libya-in-focus-at-sahel-saharan-meeting-in-chad/>



## 本期内容 (Contents)

4. Ivanka Trump in Ethiopia, hails Addis Ababa as 'Africa's highest city' (In English)  
特朗普伊万卡来到埃塞，称亚的斯亚贝巴是“非洲至尊之城”。(英文)

Ivanka Trump, daughter of the United States president and advisor at the White House on Sunday morning arrived in Ethiopia - the first leg of her two-nation African tour. On arrival at the Bole International Airport, she tweet: “Just landed in Addis Ababa - the diplomatic capital of Africa and the continent’ s highest city!”

### Africa News

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/14/ivanka-trump-in-ethiopia-hails-addis-ababa-as-africa-s-highest-city/>

5. Algerian magistrates to boycott presidential polls (In English)  
阿尔及利亚地方法官抵制总统选举，以示对抗议民众的支持。(英文)

Algerians continue to pile pressure on authorities to relinquish power. On Saturday, members of the Algerian judiciary announced a boycott of the country’ s presidential elections scheduled for Thursday, July 4. “ We are with the people and for the people. The independence of justice is not only words but acts, and not only slogans and statements in international fora. Law enforcement is essential, because the law applies to the strong and weak, the rich and poor, it applies to the minister, the businessman and all the others “, said Ramzi Maamar, Deputy Prosecutor in Chelghoum El Aid, a city in Algeria.

### Africa News

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/14/algerian-magistrates-to-boycott-presidential-polls/>

6. South Sudan's mediators: Will a papal kiss truly reconcile Kiir, Machar? (In English)

教皇之吻可否真正弥合南苏丹交战双方领导人之间的裂隙？(英文)

South Sudan’ s political leaders including the leaders of the two main warring factions, president Salva Kiir and rebel leader Riek Machar on Thursday concluded a two-day retreat in the Vatican, that sought to heal bitter divisions that have fuelled conflict since 2013.

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/11/south-sudan-s-mediators-will-a-papal-kiss-truly-reconcile-kiir-machar/>



## 本期内容 (Contents)

7. Seychelles president delivers speech underwater (In English)  
塞舌尔总统发表水下讲话，号召对抗气候变化、保护世界上的海洋。（英文）

The Seychelles president has gone below the surface of the Indian Ocean to call for better protection for the world's seas. Danny Faure said that a healthy ocean was "crucial for the survival of humanity" in a broadcast made 124m (406ft) below sea level. He had joined a British-led expedition exploring the ocean's depths. Last year, the Seychelles created protected areas of the ocean that were "the size of Great Britain".

Daily Nation

<https://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Seychelles-president-delivers-speech-underwater/1066-5072460-s14yxf/index.html>

8. South Sudan says its airspace opened despite Sudan situation (In English)  
南苏丹不受苏丹局势影响，继续开放领空。（英文）

South Sudanese authorities have clarified that the country's airspace remained opened and functional contrary to reports that it was affected by the situation in neighbouring Sudan. Sudan closed its airspace and all borders last week after long-serving President Omar al-Bashir was forced to resign under pressure from anti-government protests. The United Nations-run Radio Miraya and some social media users claimed South Sudan was inadvertently affected by the closure because Sudan controlled its airspace.

Africa News

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/14/south-sudan-says-its-airspace-opened-despite-sudan-situation/>

9. Sudan's Bashir is welcome in Uganda if he applies for asylum: minister -  
Uganda would host the ousted Sudanese President al-Bashir in appreciation for his efforts to achieve peace in South Sudan, said Kampala on Tuesday. (In English)  
乌干达外交部长欢迎巴希尔来寻求避难，以致敬他在南苏丹地区和平进程中的贡献。（英文）  
"If Omer al-Bashir applies for asylum in Uganda that is a matter that can be considered by the President of Uganda," Uganda's Minister for foreign affairs Henry Okello Oryem, told reporters according to the Ugandan Daily Monitor newspaper.

Sudan Tribune: Plural news and views on Sudan <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article67385>



## 本期内容 (Contents)

10. Togolese protester killed during protest against presidential term limits (In English)

多哥公民因为反对总统延长任期而丧生。(英文)

One demonstrator was killed in the north of Togo on Saturday during an opposition protest against presidential term limits. AFP said local sources claim that the victim was beaten to death by security forces. According to an eyewitness, the victim was arrested while they were marching.

### Africa News

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/04/14/togo-protester-killed-during-protest-against-presidential-term-limits/>

11. Struggle over leadership deepens divisions in Tunisia president's party (In English)

领导位置之争加深突尼斯总统党派纷争(英文)

Struggle over leadership deepens divisions in Tunisia president's party (In English)  
Tunisia's ruling party Nidaa Tounes on Saturday elected two leaders, one of them the president's son, in two parallel congresses, deepening the division that has hit the party in recent years. The new crisis that hit Nidaa Tounes comes months ahead of parliamentary and presidential elections expected in October and November, which could complicate its competition against the rival Ennahda moderate Islamist party. Although the slogan of the first electoral congresses of Nidaa Tounes which started last week was "unity," it ended by dividing into two congresses.

### Arab News

<http://www.arabnews.com/node/1482271/middle-east>





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<http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/pages/documentlist.aspx?id=999bc355-51c3-4cf7-98da-dafcf046bd7>

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<http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/pages/documentlist.aspx?id=999bc355-51c3-4cf7-98da-dafcf046bd7>

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