

### 北大非洲电讯 PKU African Tele-Info No.405 2019-5-21

# 致读者信

#### 尊敬的各位读者:

当地时间5月19日,中国赴马里第六批和第七批维和部队在加奥举行轮换交接签字仪式,这标志着两批维和部队顺利完成指挥权转换,第七批维和部队正式上岗。中国赴马里维和部队分成工兵、警卫、医疗3支分队共395人,不仅顺利完成任务,还确保了自身人员零伤亡、装备无损失,赢得联马团、当地政府和友军部队的高度认可,全部被授予联合国"和平荣誉勋章"。第七批维和部队增加至413人。

虽然在国内媒体曝光率不高,马里近年来的危机可以说是世界上最为复杂的案例之一,其成因交织了族群冲突、军事政变、宗教矛盾、恐怖主义等多种面向,最紧迫的时候恐怖组织一度兵临城下(马里首都巴马科),国内安全形势急转直下,并迅速恶化导致民众流离失所,难民问题严重的同时,北部出现的权力真空随即为恐怖组织利用,伊斯兰马格里布基地组织的战略从以往的绑架人质、贩毒和贩卖人口转变为谋求领土控制,萨赫勒地区乃至整个非洲大陆的和平与安全对受到了外溢影响。持续不断的暴力冲突,往往又与跨国有组织犯罪、气候变化等因素叠加在一起,远非"传统安全"和"非传统安全"这些术语可以概括,有学者因而将这种新的安全威胁称为"混合威胁"(Hybrid threats)。

根据我的硕士研究生于舒婷同学的研究,马里危机爆发后,众多行为体先后参与到马里和平行动中,进行了密集而持续的努力,包括西非国家经济共同体(以下简称"西共体")及阿尔及利亚等相关方的政治调解、非盟和西共体主导的马里国际支助团("马里支助团")、法国开展的"薮猫行动"(Operation Serval)、联合国马里多层面综合稳定特派团(MINUSMA,简称"马里稳定团")、负责培训马里军队的欧盟培训团(EUTM Mali)、法国"新月沙丘行动"(Operation Barkhane)及萨赫勒五国集团(G5 Sahel)联合部队开展的反恐行动等,涉及的行为体包括联合国、区域组织非洲联盟(以下简称"非盟")和欧盟、次区域组织西共体,以及主权国家法国和阿尔及利亚等。多方参与的和平行动的形成,并非一蹴而就,而是随着冲突本身的复杂多变而不断渐进性生成一种跨国、跨区域、多层面的新全球安全治理的行动。参与解决的各方行为体不断获得的重要共



识在于,单一办法难以应对这种多头怪物一样的混合威胁,根据不断变化的威胁必须要创新手段,而且国家、次区域和区域组织之间必须发挥协同一致的作用,而且针对马里出现的激进组织及其建立在当地社区的基础上的复杂网络,还应该考虑让相关非国家行为体发挥补充作用。

#### (于舒婷同学根据谷歌地图自己制作的中文版地图)

安理会第2100号决议决定设立马里稳定团后,中国也于2013年7月应 联合国请求派出首批赴马里维和部队。此举立即引起国际学术界关 注,因为是中国首次派出安全部队参与维和行动。 爱尔兰中国问题 研究学者Niall Duggan在其最近出版的文章中解读说,中国之所以向

马里派出首支安全部队参与联合国维和行动,是因为联合国在马里是支持现政府而不是反对派的,符合中国对尊重主权和领土完整原则的一贯坚持;第二,马里北部叛军中有宗教极端分子和分裂势力,中国面临的新疆问题与此类似,中国可以树立一个国际先例,即现任政府应受到国际社会的保护;第三,就中马关系而言,马里不是中国在非洲的重要经济伙伴,在政治上也是一个小角色,向马里派兵不会招致中国作为非洲新殖民主义大国的质疑,还表明中国愿意向那些与中国没有重大经

# 李 非洲 明 表

#### 北京大学非洲研究中心 PKUCAS

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济或战略利益关系的国家派遣维和部队。荷兰国际关系研究所学者Frans Paul van der Putten则认为,中国在关于马里的决议中并没有像在针对利比亚问题时一样投出弃权票,更没有像叙利亚问题中一样多次与俄罗斯一起使用否决权,表明在马里问题上基本实现了"大国一致"。这表明,在撒哈拉以南非洲,中国可能更担心权力真空,即当非洲区域安全组织不能发挥作用时,中国不会反对欧洲在非洲发挥更大的安全作用,只要这不是针对中国的外交和经济影响,同时又能给这一地区带来稳定。

不管欧洲学者是否是"过度解读"了中国在马里和平行动上的参与,如舒婷同学评价,中国与积极参与马里危机解决的阿尔及利亚一致的是,始终坚持不干涉内政和尊重主权和领土完整的原则,但是担心"人道主义干涉"、"保护的责任"这些新规范被歪曲和滥用,并不意味着中国会与西方产生不可调和的冲突和摩擦——随着中国更多承担全球治理的责任,西方和中国能够彼此借鉴,推动和平行动向着良性方向发展;中国与西方的价值观念在共同参与国际社会的过程中也得以交流磨合,"中国也正在从'规范接受者'演变为更积极的'规范制定者'"。

多行为体参与的马里和平进程虽然像之前的其他案例一样有大量联合国和欧洲的指导参与,但非洲各行为体的努力也值得关注和尊重。阿尔及利亚从一开始就主张应当区分一般叛军和恐怖分子、推动政治对话的解决方式,但是法国时任奥朗德2012年就公开声明"不存在与恐怖分子谈判的问题",并且以大量的多边外交手段推动国际社会以军事手段来解决、并在未获得联合国授权的前提下已经开始进行军事打击,这将已经同意与过渡政府谈判的"信仰捍卫者组织"最终推向了恐怖主义组织一边,调解谈判的道路至此关闭。舒婷同学研究认为,非洲方面与一直在联合国内推动军事打击的法国显然在对于马里危机上的认知和解决思路大相径庭。2012年至此已经7年之久尚未显现曙光的马里和平进程,也许有理由让我们更多思考,如何实现更多本土生长起来(home-grown)的和平之路。

中心主任: 刘海方 2019年5月21日

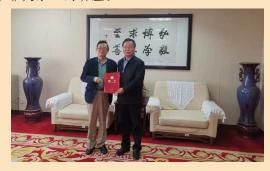
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# 中心活动

1、5月8日上午,李安山教授应邀访问济南大学非洲研究中心,张士强校长向李安山教授颁发"济南大学客座教授"聘书,李安山与非洲研究中心老师座谈并向外国语学院的教师和研究生作题为"世界历史进程中的非洲与中非关系"的讲座。



- 2、5月11日,李安山教授代表中国非洲史研究会在由中国亚非学会举办、湘潭大学法学院\湘潭大学非洲法律与社会研究中心承办的"中国非洲研究70年:回顾与展望"学术研讨会发表贺辞并发表题为"国际学术视域下的中国非洲研究"的主题发言。
- 3、5月12日,李安山教授应邀为湘潭大学法学院非洲法律与社会研究中心研究生作"学生和学问:我的非洲学习与研究"的讲座,讲座由中心主任洪永红教授主持。
- 4、5月17日,参加亚洲文明对话大会的联合国教科文组织社会与人文科学助理总干事诺达•阿尔纳什夫一行3人、在中国联合国教科文组织全国委员会科学文化处申玉彪 处长陪同下访问北大,郝平校长、王博副校长、夏红卫国际合作部部长和李昀部长助理、国关学院唐士其院长、考古文博学院副院长张剑葳、哲学系副系主任刘哲和刘海方参与接待,双方讨论了联合国教科文组织与北大广泛的合作,特别是在丝绸之路、人工智能和非洲研究等方面。
- 5、5月17日, 许亮博士受邀在德国参加由波鸿-鲁尔大学和杜伊斯堡-埃森大学联合举办的 "Transnational Institution Building and Transnational Identities in East Asia" 博士生工作坊。
- 6、5月17日, Joseph Olivier Mendo'o(门杜)北京大学国际关系学院博士生、在中央电视台 CGTN英语频道《Global Watch》讨论文明对话 、以及中非文化之间的互动,详情见链接: https://s-url.cgtn.com/m/DecbIA?from=singlemessage&isappinstalled=0



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# 中心活动

7、北京英杰硬石艺术博物馆、肯带丝(北京)有限公司、北京奥加美术馆、北京奥加美术馆酒店承办的于2019年5月17日,北京大学非洲同学会参与了在北京英杰硬石艺术博物馆开幕的"师傅,这个地方在哪里?"非洲联合艺术展,相关报道请参见:"师傅,这个地方在哪里?"非洲联合艺术展(https://h5.btime.com/item/router?

- 8、5月18日,李安山教授和北大外国语学院研究生金茜同学参加在华东师范大学非洲研究所举办的"博物馆与非洲文化艺术传承"研讨会并分别作题为"历史与艺术中的非洲妇女"和"传统面具的'发明'与'再发明':试论非洲艺术的观看之道"的发言。
- 9、5月18日,中心成员北大哲学系副教授沙宗平参加由中央社会主义学院主办、山东青年政治学院和山东省社会主义学院承办的"会通儒学"传统与新时代宗教中国化学术研讨会,并以《"经权"、"樗樵"与"岱舆": "伊儒会通"浅议》为题做会议发言。与会专家学者围绕"习近平重要讲话精神与宗教中国化的新时代要求""宗教'会通儒学'传统的历史价值和现实意义""佛教、基督教、伊斯兰教的'会通儒学'传统与新时代宗教中国化""'一带一路'视野下的儒学与宗教对话"等专题进行了深入研讨和交流。



# PRUCAS\*

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# 本期内容(Contents)

1、Chinese firms commended for job creation in Zambia (In English) 赞比亚卢安夏市长赞扬中国公司在依赖矿业的城镇创造了多元工作机会。(英文)

Chinese enterprises in Zambia have been commended for their efforts in supplementing the Zambian government efforts in creating jobs, a civic leader said on Wednesday. Nathan Chanda, Mayor of Luanshya town in the Copperbelt Province, said Chinese nationals have created jobs for the locals in varied sectors in the town that is heavily reliant on mining. Chanda called on Zambians to be committed to work when employed by the Chinese-run enterprises in the town and the country as a whole

#### **XINHUA**

http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2019-05/15/c\_138061315.htm

2. President Kenyatta, First Lady host Ethiopian President Zewde at State House (In English)

肯雅塔总统夫妇隆重接待埃塞俄比亚总统泽瓦德访问。 (英文)

President Uhuru Kenyatta Tuesday held talks with Ethiopian President Sahle-Work Zewde who paid him a courtesy call at State House, Nairobi. Their discussion focused on bolstering the historical bilateral ties between Kenya and Ethiopia. President Zewde, who was in the country on a one-day official visit, was received by President Kenyatta and First Lady Margaret Kenyatta at State House Nairobi shortly after 1pm.

#### Capital News

https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2019/05/president-kenyatta-first-lady-host-ethiopian-president-zewde-at-state-house/

3、Army chief should take Algeria on path toward democracy (In English) 代行最高领导人职责的军方领袖应该带领阿尔及利亚走向民主。(英文)

Over the last three months, demands for wide-ranging political and economic reform have brought hundreds of thousands of Algerians on to the streets across the country. Algeria did not experience any of the public demonstrations that swept many parts of the Arab world in 2011 during the so-called "Arab Spring." This changed in mid-February, when popular agitations hit the streets following 82-year-old President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's announcement that he would seek a fifth term of office.

#### Arab News

http://www.arabnews.com/node/1497331



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4、Burkina Faso president vows to defeat extremist groups (In English) 布基纳法索总统誓言将彻底打败极端主义组织。(英文)

President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré 's remarks came after a spate of attacks targeting Christian worshippers. Burkina has suffered from increasingly frequent and deadly attacks attributed to a number of jihadist groups. The country's security situation has continued to deteriorate since 2015. Despite the presence of French toops on Burkina soil, extremist groups have continued to stage attacks targeting military and civilian installations.

Africa News

https://www.africanews.com/2019/05/15/video-burkina-faso-president-vows-to-defeat-extremist-groups/

5、Everything you need to know about Malawi's tripartite 2019 election (In English) 5月21日马拉维大选全知道: 现任总统将参选、并最后一次参选,副总统也将由选举产生。(英文) Malawians will head to the polls on Tuesday 21 May 2019, casting their votes to elect a president, members of parliament and local government councillors. 'Those that will be elected on that day will serve the country in various capacities in the next five years, Dr. Jane Ansah, chairperson of Malawi's Electoral Commission (MEC) said in February. Incumbent president Peter Mutharika will be seeking a second and final term, while his vice president, Saulos Chilima, quit the ruling party in 2018 and is running to defeat his boss. Under Malawi's electoral system, the president and vice president are elected on one ballot, making it impossible for the head of state to fire his deputy, even when they fall out during the course of a single term of office.

Africa News

https://www.africanews.com/2019/05/16/everything-you-need-to-know-about-malawi-s-tripartite-2019-election/

6、South Sudan's Kiir warns against planned protests (In English) 南苏丹总统基尔警告抗议者,声称有组织有预谋、从邻国的海外侨民中发起。(英文) South Sudan's President Salva Kiir on Wednesday warned against planned protestts, saying any forceful attempts to seize power in the country would be met with "violent resistance". In the past two weeks, a new group calling itself the Red Card Movement has been circulating calls online for a protest on Thursday with the hashtags #KiirMustGo and #SouthSudanUprising, with organisers appearing to be based mostly in the diaspora. The movement appears to be inspired by street protests in neighbouring Sudan which led to the toppling of veteran president Omar al-Bashir.

Africa News

https://www.africanews.com/2019/05/16/south-sudan-s-kiir-warns-against-planned-protests/

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7. Somalia-Turkey ties will triumph despite the murder of a Turkish citizen (In English)

索马里-土耳其关系不惧恐怖袭击继续深化。(英文)

Turkey's economic, humanitarian and nation-building efforts in Somalia have forged a bond that cannot be derailed by terror attacks. On Sunday, the Al Qaeda-affiliated Al Shabaab group killed a Turkish citizen in the Somali capital Mogadishu. The victim, a construction engineer, working for a Turkish company in Somalia, was mercilessly blown up when explosives planted in his car exploded. Al Shabaab later claimed responsibility for the targeted assassination. Beyond the personal tragedy, this incident illustrates bilateral relations between Somalia and Turkey.

#### TRT World

https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/somalia-turkey-ties-will-triumph-despite-the-murder-of-a-turkish-citizen-26642

8、Cameroon's Separatist Movement Is Going International (In English) 喀麦隆分离主义运动延伸到邻国、向国际化方向发展。(英文)

ANYU, Cameroon—In Nigeria's southeast, a convoy of motorcycles carrying fighters from the Ambazonian Military Force disappeared into the darkness. A shout went up from one of the men: "We are searching for a new nation." That nation is Ambazonia, and now up to 20 emerging separatist groups, including the Ambazonia Military Forces (AMF), are attempting to carve it out of Cameroon along the country's Nigerian border.

#### Foreign Policy

https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/13/cameroons-separatist-movement-is-going-international-ambazonia-military-forces-amf-anglophone-crisis/

9、Ethiopia PM raises over \$25m for project to beautify Addis Ababa (In English) 埃塞俄比亚总理拨款美化首都。 (英文)

A fundraising effort aimed at beautifying the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, has raked in over \$25 million dollars from a section of the project supporters. PM Abiy Ahmed's office disclosed on Monday that the latest amount of funds had been raised from local and international support including from the Italian government which contributed 5,000,000 Euros. Two United Nations outfits gave a million dollars each whiles the African Development Bank, AfDB, gave 600,000 dollars. The largest tranche of over 17 million dollars were deposits at the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia.

#### Africa News

 $https://www.\,africanews.\,com/2019/05/14/ethiopia-pm-raises-over-25m-for-project-to-beautify-addis-ababa/\\$ 



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10, Minister of Internal Affairs conducts County Dialogues for Coexistence and Peace (In English)

利比里亚内务部长和平建设办公室在三个城市完成"共生与和平"对话。(英文)

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, through the Liberia Peacebuilding Office, has completed the first round of series of leadership dialogues for county administrations in three cities namely; Sanniquellie in Nimba, Buchanan in Grand Bassa and Robertsport in Grand Cape Mount Counties, respectively. The use of continuous dialogue forms part of a list of recommendations identified by a nationwide survey called Social Cohesion & Reconciliation Index (SCORE) Liberia which was conducted in 2016 and 2018.

#### Front Page News

https://frontpageafricaonline.com/county-news/liberia-minister-of-internal-affairs-conducts-county-dialogues-for-coexistence-and-peace/

11、Anger in Tripoli as Trump praises Haftar (In English) 的黎波里爆发群众示威,反对特朗普赞扬发动战争的哈弗塔尔将军。(英文)

#### CGTN Africa

https://africa.cgtn.com/2019/04/20/anger-in-tripoli-as-trump-praises-haftar/



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http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/pages/documentlist.aspx?id=999bc355-51c3-4cf7-98da-dafcfc046bd7

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http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/pages/documentlist.aspx?id=999bc355-51c3-4cf7-98da-dafcfc046bd7

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北京大学非洲研究中心 北京市海淀区颐和园路5号 北京大学国际关系学院

邮编: 100871 联系电话:

86-10-62751999; 86-10-62752941

传真: 86-10-62751639

中心主页: http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/

电子邮箱: pkucas@vip. 163. com

Center for African Studies
School of International Studies
Peking University
Haidian District, Beijing, China 100871

Tel: 86-10-62751999; 86-10-62752941

Fax: 86-10-62751639

Homepage: http://caspu.pku.edu.cn/

E-mail: pkucas@vip. 163. com