



致读者信

尊敬的各位读者：

8月末，因为要求与高级管理人员一样获得工资擢升18%的要求未果，在南非首都茨瓦尼（Tshwane）/比勒陀利亚市工人联盟（Samwu）4千多工人持续月余的罢工演变成暴力抗议示威，当局派遣了大量警察到现场控制局面激化了抗议者不满，抗议开始烧毁临街的外国人商店。针对外国人，特别是外籍企业主和移民的暴力打砸抢、掠夺和烧店行为持续不断，从比勒陀利亚，迅速蔓延到约翰内斯堡，在这场迅速升级的排外暴力行动中，尼日利亚人等非洲国家公民成为主要受打击对象。暴力行为造成外国公民人心惶惶，而且已经造成12人遇害，其中10人为南非人。乱象引发了非洲国家的反弹，在尼日利亚和赞比亚都发生了民众愤怒地在南非连锁商店Shoprite前表达愤慨的情况，在开普敦召开的世界经济论坛也遇到了非洲国家领导人未直接表明的抵制。



趁着参加9月15日津巴布韦为已故总统穆加贝的国家葬礼之际，南非总统拉马弗萨郑重向尼日利亚道歉，强调南非人“不是仇外的”，自己是作为非洲大陆的一员来强调前辈伟大领导人所主张的非洲大陆团结的原则。... 尽管拉马弗萨已经派出特使到尼日利亚和其他6个非洲国家去沟通弥合，排外行为引发的反感还在进一步发酵，曾经担任尼日利亚外交部长的Bolaji Akinyemi教授就主张，尼日利亚政府应该到国际法庭状告南非政府纵容排外行为，违背了联合国《消除一切形式种族歧视国际公约》，并且要求对南非政府发表不当言论和行为的一些官员提出诉讼。（参见‘Ramaphosa sends envoys to Nigeria, 6 other countries’ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/09/ramaphosa-sends-envoys-to-nigeria-6-other-countries/>）

南非第一次出现大规模排外行为是1994年，也即1993年南非分别加入联合国和非统组织成为难民公约成员国后，此时南非境内有80年代因为内战涌入的35万莫桑比克难民——内战结束后部分人口已经返回莫桑比克。随着其他非洲国家公民不断入境寻找工作机会，此后直到2008年，排外行为又爆发多次；2010年世界杯期间南非并没有如很多智库警告的那样发生新的排外现象；然而2015年至今，排外行为再次卷土重来。根据联合国难民署，目前，南非境内的难民寻求庇护者共有27.4万；根据官方最新数据，截止到2015年，在南非5170万总人口中，有近200万外来人，即3.3%，很难说南非成为了“移民国家”（相比之下，美国这个比例是14.3%，德国是11.9%，俄罗斯是7.7%）；就外来人口来源国而言，除了邻国60多万津巴布韦人和近38万莫桑比克人在南非较多，其他几个人数较多的国家分别是莱索托（14万）、马拉维（7.5万）、斯威士兰（近3万）、埃塞俄比亚（2.5万）、刚果（2.5万）、尼日利亚（2.4万）和刚果金（约2.3万）。

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在南非现代英语词典中，排外(xenophobia)被解释为“对外国人的仇恨或者恐惧(a 'hatred or fear of foreigners') (South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 1994). 如果只是一种态度，并不足惧，正如李安山教授早就讨论过世界各地的人们都倾向于以“我族中心主义”来判断其他人群的文化和行为；可怖的是发生相关的暴力行为，并且造成身体的伤害。排外行为并非南非独有，印尼90年代发生的排华行为对于很多人还记忆犹新；近几年在全球各地发生的许许多多类似的案例。通常的解释是“替罪羊”假说，认为本国民众憎恨外来人口夺走了工作机会，因而发生排外行为。一个人群如果有被剥夺感，所得不能达到预期，有可能会诉诸集体性暴力行为——南非经历1994年政治转型以来，社会资源分配不尽合理，在很多民众心理产生了宣泄的动因。

然而宣泄的对象为什么选择了外国人并不能够从这种“挫败感-替罪羊”假说中获得解释。第二种解释的假说就是“孤立主义”假说。这种假说认为，因为南非在长期种族隔离时期处在与大部分国际社会隔离的状态，其边界与当时支持非国大等组织的其他号称“前线国家”的非洲国家长期处在封锁和对峙的状态，这从双层意义上积累了南非人与边界以外的其他人群的隔膜、孤立甚至敌对态度。人们对异己者、陌生者的不宽容态度，类似于在霍布斯邦观察的50年代正在发生剧变时代的欧洲社会，保守倾向的人守无可守，因而会发生很多孤立主义、原教旨主义和排外行为。(1996: 264—5)

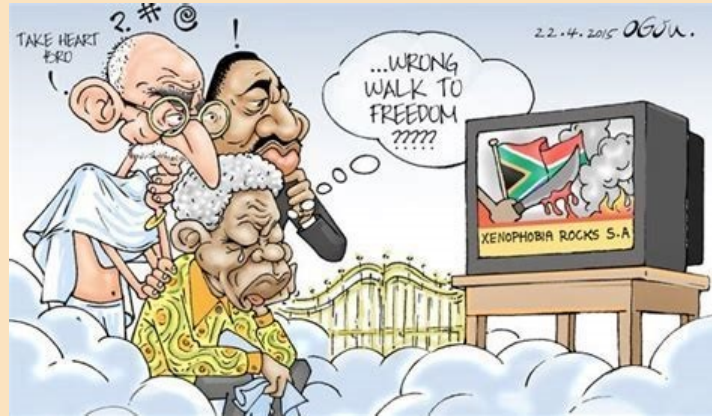
但这个假说并不能够说明为什么南非发生的排外只是针对其他非洲国家的公民，而不指向白人，华人也幸免于外。第三种生物文化假说(The biocultural hypothesis)认为，外在生物特征和文化行为上的明显不同，成为排外行为的基础。这个学说确实具体可以解释从语言、衣着服饰、甚至肤色深浅等外在形象上面解释南非黑人与其他非洲国家黑人的不同外在特征和行为表现。但是还是没有帮我们解释为什么非洲人、而不是其他外国公民在南非成为排外的对象。

已有的南非学者对于排外行为的研究，远远超越了三种假说提供的解释范式，更多指向了南非社会中对于非洲的认知、或者说非洲的形象问题。这些学者梳理南非媒体中塑造的非洲形象，认为，非南非非洲人主要被描述为“逃离饱受战争摧残和贫困折磨的非法移民(Illegal immigrants)”，“南非以北的国家被惯性地称作”混乱的北方(the troubled north)“；非洲外国人则是不断制造混乱和无序的、是潜在涌向南非、带来潜在疾病和犯罪因素的(African foreigners are linked to chaos and disorder. They are also presented as illegal and therefore, as criminal)”。总之，当南非在塑造自己“彩虹国度”的新南非形象，激发自己民族主义认同进行民族国家建设的同时，北方的非洲国家被同时讽喻为问题重重、落后不发展的地区，而且充斥着



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随时可能携带了大量疾病和问题涌入南非的人群。正如Wetherell and Potter所言，“爱国主义和骄傲自豪有其积极正面的面孔，同时排外主义和沙文主义正是这种极端的民族主义的另一副面孔（1992：141）。



还有学者指出，排外行为的一次次发生也与种族隔离制度的一个历史遗产——暴力文化相关，即80年代政治生活主导光谱就是暴力；今天，尽管暴力已经作为犯罪性质不能够成为政治生活的主要性质，但是历史的惯性使得每当社会积聚了问题有待解决时候，暴力解决方式仍然成为一种倾向。（Simpson et al ., 1992 ; Hamber, 1997; Hamber and Lewis, 1997）。

进入在南非境内的外国人生活社区中进行调研的学者还发现，生活在南非的外国人主要忧虑就是来自于南非民众的敌意，甚至超过了工作稳定性、财务状况等最基本的关切。为了自我保护，外国人互相之间往往依据自己本国的国民身份形成各种保护机制和网络，包括在营商过程中他们形成对于南非受雇者的负面认知和态度，反过来又加剧了来自于南非非洲人对他们的刻板印象和恶意见象。（参见：M. R. Sinclair, 'I know a place that is softer than this ...'— emerging migrant communities in South Africa. *International Migration*, 37 (2), 465—81, 1999; A. Morris, 'Our fellow Africans make our lives hell': The lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (6), 1116—36, 1998.)

尼日利亚是否会与南非在国际法庭对簿公堂就还未可知；可以确认的是，南非要付出很多代价才能够弥合因为排外暴力行为而产生的与其他非洲国家的嫌隙。更重要的，各方需要坦诚地对于排外行为进行“病理分析”，以杜绝此类暴力行为的再次发生。正如拉马弗萨对非洲兄弟们喊话中所言，“我都不好意思用排外行为这个词儿”，遮遮掩掩、羞羞答答肯定不是解决问题的态度；在竭尽全力解决国内最大的危机——“就业危机”的同时，这位总统在国内已经号召，要进行检讨排外行为何以年复一年发生的公众大讨论。

中心主任：刘海方

2019年9月18日



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- 1、中部非洲经济共同体主席邦戈总统（加蓬）欢迎喀麦隆领导人为克服分裂问题而展开国民对话
ECCAS welcomes national dialogue in Cameroon (In English)

President Ali Bongo of Gabon in his capacity as the current chair of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), on Thursday welcomed the peace initiative by the Cameroonian leader who convened a national dialogue in his country rocked by nearly two years of a separatist crisis in its English-speaking region. By Isaac Mackanga “The current presidency of ECCAS welcomes the decision of the President of the Republic of Cameroon to convene a major national dialogue in order to meet the deep aspirations of the various components of the Cameroonian nation,” the presidency said in a statement.

Journal du Cameroun : <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/eccas-welcomes-national-dialogue-in-cameroon/>

- 2、肯尼亚和乌干达领导人共同见证“跨境可持续和平与发展计划”签署。

Kenya, Uganda sign pact to end cross-border conflicts, promote development in Turkana, Pokot and Karamoja (In English)

President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Ugandan counterpart Yoweri Museveni on Thursday witnessed the signing of an agreement aimed at promoting sustainable peace and development among Turkana, Pokot and Karamojong communities. The programme dubbed Cross-Border Sustainable Peace and Development seeks to end hostilities among the three neighboring communities and enhance development in the region by promoting non-violent interactions and collaborations.

The Star :

<https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2019-09-10-kenya-elected-unwto-council-member-until-2023/>

- 3、肯尼亚在俄罗斯召开的世界旅游组织大会非洲区会议上当选为理事成员国。

Kenya elected UNWTO council member until 2023 (In English)

The main aim for the African nations meeting at the UNWTO 62nd CAF is to build on the Agenda 4 Africa. Kenyan delegation lobbied to host the 24th UNWTO 2021 General Assembly in Kenya on the road to make Kenya a leading Meetings, Incentives, Conferencing & Exhibitions (MICE) center.

<https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2019-09-10-kenya-elected-unwto-council-member-until-2023/>



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4、沙特阿拉伯和阿拉伯联合酋长国重申支持摩洛哥的领土完整。

Saudi Arabia, UAE Reiterate Support for Morocco's Territorial Integrity (In English)

A list of 23 states have expressed support for Morocco's territorial integrity and the Autonomy Plan submitted by the North African country to the UN in 2007 as a possible political solution to end the Western Sahara conflict. Permanent Ambassador and representative of Morocco to the UN in Geneva Omar Zinber said on Tuesday, September 10, that a group of 23 countries believe that the autonomy initiative "has been recognized by the Security Council as a serious and credible basis for definitely resolving the regional conflict."

Morocco World News: <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/09/282337/saudi-arabia-uae-morocco-territorial-integrity/>

5、加纳贸工部长说，加纳政府已经采取一系列措施促进营商环境、提升产品质量，目标指向中国市场。

Ghana needs improving products quality to enter China's large market: minister (In English)

Ghana's Minister for Trade and Industry Alan Kwadwo Kyerematen Tuesday tasked industries and business entities in the country to improve their product quality and take advantage of the large Chinese market. Kyerematen said this at the opening of a two-day Ghana Industrial Summit and Exhibition 2019 under the theme "Strengthening Ghana Industries for Global Competiveness in Accra". He said the current Ghanaian government had created the enabling environment for industries and other business organizations to do well competitively globally, if they improved product quality and packaging.

Xinhua http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-09/11/c_138382120.htm

6、科威特计划召开支持索马里教育的国际会议

Kuwait plans to host conf. on backing Somalia - Deputy FM (In English)

Kuwait is planning to host an international conference on supporting education in Somalia, Kuwaiti Deputy Foreign Minister Khaled Al-Jarallah said on Tuesday. This came in a statement made by Al-Jarallah to KUNA after he presided over Kuwait's delegation to the 152nd session of Foreign Ministers earlier in the day. Kuwait will continue its support to brothers in Somalia, he said, noting that this was shown during Kuwait's non-permanent membership at the UN Security Council. The Arab ministers held consultative meetings during which they discussed all issues pertaining to joint Arab action, he said.

MENAFN <https://menafn.com/1098988598/Kuwait-plans-to-host-conf-on-backing-SomaliaDeputy-FM>



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7、联合国人道主义组织数据显示，今年1-7月间，旱灾和冲突已经引起25万索马里人流离失所。
Over quarter million people displaced in Somalia: UN (In English)

Over a quarter-million Somalis have been displaced largely due to drought and conflict in Somalia in January-July period of this year, the UN humanitarian agencies said on Tuesday. Most of the conflict-related displacement occurred in Lower Shabelle region where armed operations by Somali security forces backed by international partners against the Al-Shabaab group resumed in April 2019, according to Protection Return and Monitoring Network, a project implemented led by the UN Refugee Agency in partnership with the Norwegian Refugee Council.

AA: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/over-quarter-million-people-displaced-in-somalia-un/1577630>

8、索马里参加“非洲油气周”向世界展示自己的潜力。

Somalia keen to showcase its untapped potential to the world (In English)

Abdirashid Mohamed Ahmed, Somali's minister of petroleum and mineral resources, will be attending Africa Oil Week (AOW) 2019 from 4-8 November in Cape Town, South Africa, to attract international oil and gas companies to the country. Ahmed will use the AOW to present the vision and objectives of the Somali national oil and gas sector in front of financiers and operators. "This year is a landmark in the development of Somalia's natural resources...the ministry has worked successfully with the federal member states to create an equitable and transparent framework to develop natural resources for the greater good of Somalia," he added.

Oil Review <http://www.oilreviewafrica.com/events/africa-oil-week/somalia-keen-to-showcase-its-untapped-potential-to-the-world>

9、摩洛哥与菲律宾签署直飞协议。

Morocco, Philippines Seal Direct Flights Deal (In English)

Morocco and the Philippines wrapped up a deal on an air pact that allows direct flights between the two countries. The Inquirer reported on September 12 that Morocco signed a deal with the Philippines' Department of Transportation (DOTr) during a meeting held last week in Rabat, Morocco. DOTr announced that the parties signed a memorandum of understanding, "granting full third and fourth freedom traffic rights for both passenger and cargo, and setting out other operational details for their respective designated carriers."

Morocco World News: <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/09/282418/philippines-morocco-direct-flights-deal/>



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10、美国海军通过《国防战略》强化与非洲合作计划，加剧大国竞争。

Great Power Competition, and the US Navy (In English)

Russia and China want to leverage Africa's people and resources. U.S. Naval Forces Africa aspires to work with African partners to bring about a secure and prosperous continent. No less than Europe and the Pacific, Africa is caught up in the great power competition described in the 2018 National Defense Strategy. As Russia and China intensify their efforts to leverage Africa's people and resources, the continent's future lies in the balance, with direct impact on both global and American security.

Defense One

<https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/09/africa-great-power-competition-and-us-navy/159828/>

11、布隆迪总统恩库伦齐扎迎接美国大湖地区特使。

Burundi Head of State, Pierre Nkurunziza, received the US Special Envoy in the Great Lakes (In English)

Today on Thursday, September 12, 2019, Burundi Head of State, Pierre Nkurunziza has received the United States of America Special Envoy in the Great Lakes, Ambassador, John Peter Pham. Their exchange focused on the reality of the situation in Burundi and the willingness of both parties to further strengthen the long-standing bilateral ties between the two countries. As the official in Burundi Head of State office said, 'Ambassador, John Peter Pham appreciated the efforts made by the Burundi government in peacekeeping and the fight against terrorism.

Region Week: <https://regionweek.com/burundi-head-of-state-pierre-nkurunziza-received-the-us-special-envo>

12、中国在卢旺达建立鲁班工坊，提供职业教育。

China to set up skills centre in Rwanda (In English)

Rwanda has been named as one of the nine countries in Africa where China will establish a Luban Workshop to provide quality vocational training to local people, especially the youth. Luban workshops are centres that offer certified skilled talents and are dedicated to cultivating students' professionalism, and comprehensive practical ability and creativity. The centres were named after an ancient Chinese, Luban, who successfully dedicated his life to carpentry and inventory and transformed the lives of many people in his country.

News Time: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/china-set-skills-centre-rwanda>



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13、中国工商业者随着货币危机结束而重返安哥拉经商投资。

Chinese Return to Angola After Currency Crisis Caused Exodus (In English)

Angola is attracting renewed interest from Chinese business owners since it lifted curbs on money transfers, following an exodus of tens of thousands of Chinese amid an economic crisis. Africa's second-largest oil producer introduced foreign-exchange policies that have made it easy to transfer money legally, Xu Ning, chairman of the Angola-China Industrial and Commerce Association, said in an interview in the capital, Luanda. That's drawing a "new group" of companies from China to Angola, mainly in the industrial sector, he said.

<https://www.msn.com/en-us/money/news/chinese-return-to-angola-after-currency-crisis-caused-exodus/ar-AAH8me7>

14、毛里塔尼亚与欧盟续签一年的渔业合作协议。

Mauritania, EU extend for one-year fisheries agreement pending renewal of 4-year deal (In English)

Mauritania and the European Union have extended for another year their Sustainable Fisheries Partnership Agreement (SFPA), signed in 2015 for 4 years. This extension allows the partners to negotiate another SFPA, avoiding some blockages that could lead to the cessation of fishing in Mauritanian waters. Mauritania and the EU have decided to extend the SFPA protocol for one year maximum, as of November 16, 2019, the European delegation in Nouakchott announced, Wednesday, in a statement. Both parties will use the period between November 2019 and November 2020 to negotiate and sign a new four-year agreement.

<http://northafricapost.com/33726-mauritania-eu-extend-for-one-year-fisheries-agreement-pending-renewal-of-4-year-deal.html>

15、巴基斯坦与毛里求斯讨论如何促进海上合作。

Emerging Pakistan-Mauritius Maritime Relations (In English)

A new dynamism is needed in maritime relations and trade exchanges between Pakistan and Mauritius, says the Mauritian High Commissioner in Pakistan, Soobadar Rashidally. Mauritius has had diplomatic relations with Pakistan since 1968, soon after its independence, but the two countries do not have much joint economic activity even though there is a Pakistani diaspora there. Rashidally met with Dr. Syed Mohammed Anwer, President of the Maritime Study Forum, in Islamabad on September 3 to discuss mutual interests between two countries. In addition to trade and economic ties, discussions focused on how the maritime expertise of Mauritius could be used by Pakistan as a bridge for investment in Africa.

Maritime Executive <https://www.maritime-executive.com/blog/emerging-pakistan-mauritius-maritime-relations-1>



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16、埃塞俄比亚：新年新的和平希望。

Ethiopia's new year offers a chance to unite the country & Ethiopia grants amnesty to 1087 prisoners for Ethiopian New Year (In English)

Meskerem is the first month in Ethiopia's unique 13-month calendar. Ethiopia celebrates its New Year on the first day of Meskerem, which falls on September 12 of the internationally recognised Gregorian calendar. But amid the celebrations, there are still concerns about the country's peace and stability. Since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power early in April 2018, his messages of togetherness and his push for Ethiopian unity have led to rising hope and optimism. Unfortunately, not everyone has bought into his vision.

<https://thisisafrica.me/politics-and-society/ethiopias-new-year-offers-a-chance-to-unite-the-country/>

Ethiopia is releasing 1087 prisoners across the Federal prisons in the country on the occasion of Ethiopian New Year which will be celebrated on Thursday this week across the country.

<https://borkena.com/2019/09/09/ethiopia-grants-amnesty-to-1087-prisoners-for-ethiopian-new-year/>

17、肯尼亚位列“非洲改变排行榜”季军，仅次于毛里求斯和纳米比亚。

Kenya ranked third in Africa change index (In English)

Kenya has been ranked third in Africa and 59 globally in a study on readiness for change in terms of ability to manage risks that come with shocks such as natural disasters, financial or social stability. The other risks contemplated under the ranking, carried out by audit and financial advisory firm KPMG, are economic and political opportunities as well as changes in demographics, technology and government. In Africa only Mauritius and Namibia are ahead of Kenya in the ranking. Other countries that are in the top 10 in Africa in the roll are Morocco, Tunisia, Rwanda, Ghana, Botswana, Egypt and Cote d'Ivoire. Globally the countries in the index that lead are mainly in Europe, indicating that they are the best in being ready for risks involved in change.

Business Daily Africa

<https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/markets/marketnews/Kenya-ranked-third-in-Africa-change-index/3815534-5269502-luhb9nz/index.html>



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18、马拉维政府报告，有113位公民在南非受到排外影响而流离失所。

Government has said about 113 Malawians- including pregnant women and children - have been displaced following xenophobic attacks in South Africa and they are being kept in temporary shelters. Displaced by xenophobia in South Africa "We have received reports that 113 Malawians have been displaced ," said spokesperson for Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Security, Rejoice Chaponda Shumba. She said the Malawians were displaced in the Gauteng Province and that the temporary shelters was identified by the South Africa's Department of Disaster in town of Katichong. "People should be assured that government is ensuring the safety of the people. The Malawi Mission in South Africa is visiting the facility as often as possible," she said.

<https://www.nyasatimes.com/113-malawian-displaces-in-xeno-attacks-kept-in-south-africa-temporary-shelters/>

19、尼日尔与马里建立政府间安全委员会，共同应对恐怖主义。

Niger, Mali to set up Inter-Governmental Security Committee (In English)

Niger and Mali, two terrorism-stricken nations, have agreed to set up an inter-governmental cross-border security committee to pool efforts to fight the terrorism scourge. The decision was made Tuesday at talks in Bamako between Malian president Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, and visiting President of Niger Issoufou Mahamadou. The purpose of setting up the committee is to better fight terrorism, the two heads of state said, vowing to end insecurity and terrorism in the region. North Africa Pos

<http://northafricapost.com/33858-niger-mali-to-set-up-inter-governmental-security-committee.html>

20、布隆迪-卢旺达双边贸易恢复，但是老问题并未解决。

Burundi-Rwanda Trade Resumes, But Old Problems Stay (In English)

Formal trade between Kigali and Bujumbura is slowly picking up after a political spat in Burundi that led to violence disrupted the movement of goods and people between the two countries four years ago. Exports from Rwanda to Burundi rose to \$5.2 million in the first quarter of this year from \$1.1 million over the same period in 2018, according to the Rwanda Institute of Statistics. However, the revenue generated is beefed up by re-exports, mainly fuel, as a number of Rwandan manufacturers including cement, beverages and packed foods are yet to resume exports over the fear of violence.

AllAfrica

<https://allafrica.com/stories/201909110449.html>



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21、卢旺达和乌干达官员会面讨论如何恢复正常外交关系。

Rwanda, Uganda officials to meet in Kigali to discuss restoring relations (In English)

Government officials from Rwanda and Uganda will meet in Rwandan capital city Kigali next Monday to discuss the implementation of the memorandum of understanding (MoU) of ceasing the hostilities between the two sides, a Rwandan official said Wednesday. Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and his Rwandan counterpart Paul Kagame signed the MoU in August during a quadripartite summit which was also attended by the host Angolan President Joao Lourenco and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) leader Felix Tshisekedi in Luanda.

Xinhua http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-09/11/c_138384785.htm

22、摩洛哥和科特迪瓦展开议会合作。

Morocco, Cote d'Ivoire to develop parliamentary cooperation (In English)

Morocco and Cote d'Ivoire signed on Wednesday a Memorandum of Understanding to broaden parliamentary cooperation. The memorandum was signed by Habib El Malki, speaker of the Moroccan House of Representatives, and Amadou Soumahoro, speaker of the National Assembly of Cote d'Ivoire. It seeks greater coordination between the two legislative institutions, and will give a new impetus to bilateral relations to raise cooperation in the parliamentary field to a higher level, said El Malki.

Xinhua http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-09/11/c_138384786.htm

23、约600尼日利亚人受南非排外影响返回祖国。

Nigerians repatriated from South Africa after attacks (In English)

Nigeria began repatriating more than 600 of its citizens from South Africa following a wave of deadly xenophobic attacks that frayed relations among neighboring nations.

<https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/xenophobia-latest-nigerian-citizens-repatriated-from-south-africa/>

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