



## 致读者信

尊敬的各位读者：

利比亚冲突双方的代表利比亚民族团结政府总理萨拉杰和“国民军”总司令哈利法·哈夫塔尔正在莫斯科参加俄罗斯和土耳其组织的会谈并计划签署停火协议，但目前会谈尚未取得进展。

本期电讯分享英国著名北非研究专家乔治·若费（George Joffé）对利比亚局势的最新观察

（George Joffé, 2020, “Where does Libya go now?” *The Journal of North African Studies* 25 (1): 1-7）。自2011年10月卡扎菲政权垮台以来，利比亚陷入长期动荡。为何利比亚危机迟迟难以解决？利比亚的未来将走向何方？若费从政治现状、武装组织和外部干涉三个方面对研判利比亚局势提供了一个思考框架。

政治现状方面，若费指出，卡扎菲以民众民主之形，行独裁统治之实，仰仗部族势力，疏于现代国家体制建设的统治模式，留下了三笔负面的政治遗产。一是没有可资延续的国家体制。二是民族、部落和派别等次国家认同更为有效地决定权力和资源分配。三是次国家势力合谋维持表面国家形态以获取国家的油气能源收入。如今的利比亚东、西两个政府、两个议会并存，政府缺乏有效的强制力，无力保证民众安全，多个武装组织以割据拼缀的形态实际控制国家。跨撒哈拉走私和人口贩运泛滥，部分武装组织与极端主义运动相互勾结。只有三个关乎国家核心油气资源运作的机构——国家石油公司、中央银行和通用电力公司以统一的形态运行，维持了国家的基本架构。

武装组织方面，若费认为，各组织割据拼缀的安全局面与东部省份的分离主义运动构成主要特征。哈夫塔尔统领利比亚军队余部与昔兰尼加地区本地武装组织组成民兵联盟“国民军”，实际控制了东部昔兰尼加全境以及中部锡尔提加和西南部费赞地区的大部。“国民军”虽然对外声称排除伊斯兰主义势力的影响并与“伊斯兰国”组织作战，但实际却与萨拉菲主义麦德赫拉运动结盟。“国民军”正在西进，试图最终控制西部的黎波里塔尼亚地区。“国民军”的主要对手是基于西部大城市米苏拉塔的“紧实基底”武装组织，该组织曾同美国合作打击“伊斯兰国”，也是联合国承认的民族团结政府的主要支持武装。此外，黎波里塔尼亚和锡尔提加还有多股基于部落和地方联盟的武装势力割据，它们相互敌对，但又共同反对哈夫塔尔的“国民军”。

外部干涉方面，若费提到，阿联酋和埃及公开支持“国民军”，提供武器和空中力量支持。他们对外宣称这是为了遏制极端主义势力，但最终目的是期待哈夫塔尔打下的黎波里、掌控利比亚全境之后成为新政权的外部支持方。土耳其和卡塔尔则通过扶持温和的伊斯兰主义运动来对抗“国民军”。法国和俄罗斯支持“国民军”，而意大利出于对非法移民潮的忧虑，同黎波里的民族团结政府密切合作。联合国试图促成民族和解却徒劳无获。迄今为止，国际社会在利比亚事务上唯一的业绩就是保证了黎波里的利比亚国家石油公司对利比亚油气资源销售的控制。

对于利比亚未来的前景，若费描绘了两种可能性，一是新强人政治控制利比亚，另一则是，在脆弱的国家外壳下，中央权力涣散、武装势力割据、社会政治动荡，持续威胁北非安全和稳定。。

中心副秘书长：廉超群

2020年1月14日



## 中心活动

1月6日，伯克利大学研究中非关系学生ERika(肖遥)来访，采访刘海方和托马关于非洲在华留学生问题。



## 本期内容 (Contents)

### 1、Heads of Libya's warring sides in Russia for talks (In English)

利比亚交战双方首脑在俄罗斯举行会谈 (英文)

Talks in Russia aimed at agreeing on an unconditional and open-ended ceasefire in Libya failed to achieve a breakthrough on Monday and have been adjourned for the night.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/01/libyan-rivals-sign-ceasefire-deal-moscow-monday-official-200113001441632.html>

### 2、Death of Iranian General Soleimani Provokes Muted Reaction in Africa's Giants (In English)

非洲大国对伊朗将军苏莱曼尼之死反应冷淡 (英文)

Nigeria and South Africa are the giants of Africa, with the two largest economies on the continent. Both have had long-term relationships with Iran, though South Africa's has been the closer. Thus far, the official reaction to Soleimani's death from Nigeria and South Africa has been muted or non-existent, reflecting caution. Though the Nigerian inspector general of police has put his forces on "red alert," likely fearing action by the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) or other alleged Iranian proxies, there has been no apparent word from the government. In South Africa, the fiercest reaction came from the African National Congress (ANC), while Naledi Pandor, the South African foreign minister, called for calm.

<https://www.cfr.org/blog/death-iranian-general-soleimani-provokes-muted-reaction-africas-giants>

### 3、Egypt: China Gezhouba Group to build 500 MW of solar power plants (In English)

埃及：中国葛洲坝集团将建设500兆瓦太阳能发电厂 (英文)

The Egyptian government plans to install new solar power plants across the country with a cumulative capacity of 500 MW. They will be built by the China Gezhouba Group. With this, Egypt is moving closer to its overall goal of increasing the percentage of renewable energy in the country's energy mix to 42% by 2035.

<https://www.afrik21.africa/en/egypt-china-gezhouba-group-to-build-500-mw-of-solar-power-plants/>



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### 4、Morocco and France's far right: Dangerous liaisons? (In English)

摩洛哥和法国极右翼：危险的联系？（英文）

Since the colonial era, France and Morocco have been considered as friends, tied together by a “community of interests”, as colonial-era administrator General Lyautey liked to declare. History has corroborated that perception. Today, France is Morocco's top economic partner and country of emigration, and several politicians of Moroccan origin have become ministers in the French government. The number of French expatriates in Morocco is also on the rise. Yet, historical relations between the two countries have not always been easy, as illustrated by the clandestine connections between the kingdom and the French far-right.

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/morocco-and-frances-far-right-dangerous-liaison>

### 5、Trump gaffe as Ethiopia turns to South Africa as Nile mediator (In English)

特朗普失言，埃塞俄比亚转而寻求南非调节尼罗河争端（英文）

US President Donald Trump's claims that he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize may have pushed Ethiopia to seek another international mediator in its Nile dispute with Egypt.

<https://www.theafricareport.com/22079/trump-gaffe-as-ethiopia-turns-to-south-africa-as-nile-mediator/>

### 6、Macron sends more troops to Sahel within new counterterrorism plan (In English)

马克龙执行新反恐计划内向萨赫勒地区增兵（英文）

France plans to send additional troops to the Sahel and appealed for more international support for counterterrorism efforts, following a summit in the French city of Pau attended by leaders of the G5 Sahel nations on Monday.

<https://africatimes.com/2020/01/14/macron-to-send-more-troops-to-sahel-within-new-counterterrorism-plans/>

### 7、Turkish trade minister to embark on Africa tour (In English)

土耳其贸易部长将开始非洲之行（英文）

Ruhsar Pekcan to visit Nigeria and Morocco to meet ministers and join business events.

<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-trade-minister-to-embark-on-africa-tour/170097>



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8、African economies will outperform global growth in 2020 despite a lag from its biggest countries (In English)

非洲各经济体在2020年的表现将超过全球增长，但非洲最大经济体落后了 (英文)

Last year, Africa had some of world's fastest-growing economies and 2020 won't be very different. A few of the countries on the top 10 list may have changed but the IMF, World Bank and other institutions all expect above global average GDP growth. The top performers will be South Sudan (8.2%), Rwanda (8.1%) Côte d'Ivoire (7.3%), Ethiopia (7.2%), Senegal (6.8%), Benin (6.7%) and Uganda (6.2%) along with Kenya, Mozambique, Niger and Burkina Faso all expecting 6% growth. While these countries help push up Africa's overall average economic growth rate forecast to 3.8% (or 3.6% for Sub Saharan Africa), these averages are weighed down closer to the global average (3.4%) by the two largest economies, Nigeria (2.5%) and South Africa (1.1%).

<https://qz.com/africa/1783714/african-economies-to-watch-in-2020-debt-and-climate-crisis/>

9、Despite US mediation: Ethiopia PM invites South Africa into Nile dam rift (In English)

埃塞俄比亚总理邀请南非进入尼罗河大坝项目 (英文)

Ethiopia's prime minister Abiy Ahmed took advantage of his visit to South Africa to ask for President Cyril Ramaphosa's help in his country's dispute with Egypt over a massive dam project on the Nile River.

Talks last week among Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan failed to reach a consensus on technical issues, including the filling of the \$4.6 billion Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. "Ethiopia always believes in a win-win approach with Egypt and the Sudan.

<https://www.africanews.com/2020/01/13/despite-us-mediation-ethiopia-pm-invites-south-africa-into-nile-dam-rift/>

10、Africa's richest man plans U.S office to diversify wealth (In English)

非洲首富丹格特(Aliko Dangote)计划将在纽约开设办事处，以实现投资多元化 (英文)

Africa's richest man, Aliko Dangote plans to take office space in New York to help diversify his investments.

He also wants to avoid the risk of currency fluctuations on the continent, bloomberg reports.



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The owner of the biggest cement company in sub-Saharan Africa will use the base and an existing one in London to become more global after the completion of a \$12 billion, 650,000 barrel-a-day refinery currently under construction in Nigeria.

<https://www.africanews.com/2020/01/11/africa-s-richest-man-plans-us-office-to-diversify-wealth/>

11、Ghana backs West Africa's Eco currency, opposes euro peg (In English)  
加纳支持西非的'ECO'货币，反对盯住欧元汇率制度（英文）

Ghana's president Nana Akufo-Addo has indicated his country's determination to join a West African currency that will replace the France-backed CFA franc as soon as next year in eight regional countries.

"We, in Ghana, are determined to do whatever we can to enable us (to) join the Member States of UEMOA, soon, in the use of the eco, as, we believe, it will help remove trade and monetary barriers," the president said in a statement.

However, the statement indicated that Ghana opposed plans to keep the eco pegged to the euro, urging regional authorities to work quickly toward "adopting a flexible exchange rate regime".

<https://www.africanews.com/2019/12/30/ghana-backs-west-africa-s-eco-currency-opposes-euro-peg/>

12、Kenya : Port of Mombasa records super growth (In English)  
肯尼亚蒙巴萨港迄今记录的集装箱运输量高速增长（英文）

Good figures for the port of Mombasa in Kenya, which recorded its best score in 2019, representing a 7.3% growth in container handling.

With more than 1.400 million twenty-foot containers handled in 2019, a growth of more than 7% more than in 2018, the port of Mombasa scored its best score in its history.

This is thanks to growth in transit and transshipment activities and numerous investments. A record which encourages it to go even further in its 2020 forecasts.

<https://www.africanews.com/2020/01/08/kenya-port-of-mombasa-records-super-growth-business-africa-business-africa/>



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13、Libya's shaky ceasefire fails to halt clashes (In English)

利比亚停火难执行，冲突难免 (英文)

Libya's warring factions have accused each other of violating a ceasefire proposed by Turkey and Russia, as fighting continued on the outskirts of capital Tripoli as at Sunday (January 12).

The halt in hostilities only held for a few hours on Sunday before violence resumed.

A statement by the Tripoli-based Government of National Accord said it had recorded gunfire coming from Haftar's forces in the southern outskirts of Tripoli. Haftar's forces also countered with their own accusations.

<https://www.africanews.com/2020/01/13/libya-s-shaky-ceasefire-fails-to-halt-clashes/>





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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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