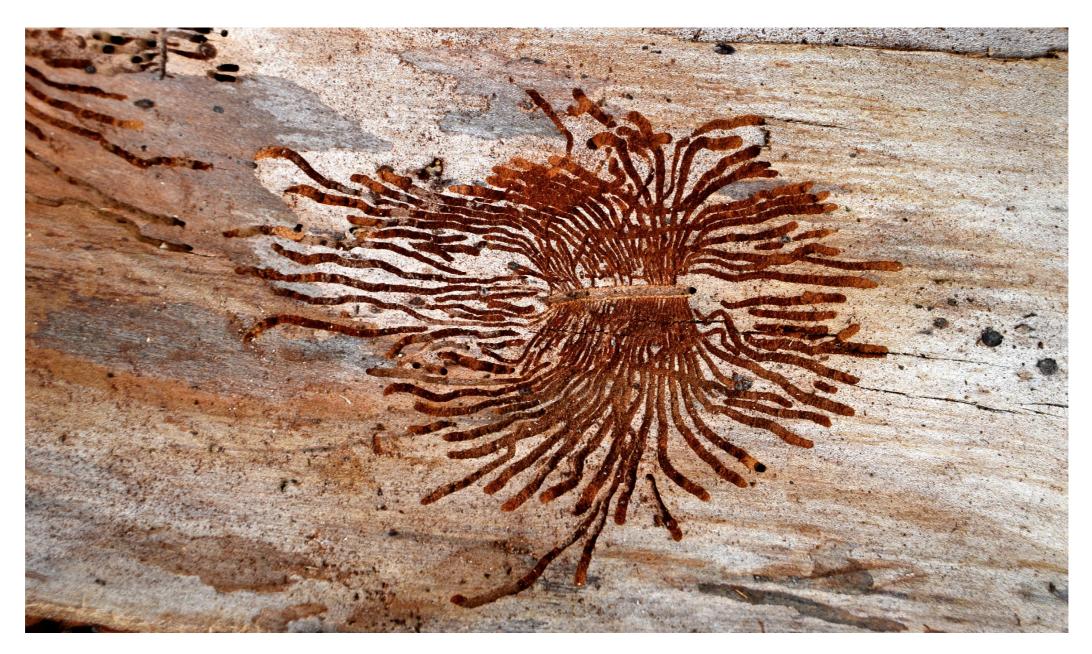


CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE GROWTH FOR AFRICA'S CITIES

Domenico Patassini¹

in collaboration with Federico Alcaro, Mathewos Asfaw, Flavia Vaccher and Linda Zardo

PLANNING CULTURES IN ADDIS ABABA: CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES



¹ School of Doctorate Studies, Iuav University of Venice domenico.patassini@iuav.it; http://www.iuav.it/Ateneo1/docenti/docenti201/Patassini-/index.htm

LOCAL PERSPECTIVES

_

End of the "era of princes" (XIX century) -> Multiple links with western and asian cultures

_

The foundation of Addis Abeba in 1886 sanctioned the end of the "mobile capital" era and created the conditions for a new experiment -> primate city, new infrastructures, urban system. The experiences of planning and urban design played an important role

_

Western cultures tried to impose its own principles of order, its imaginary ('colonialism of the imaginary') for a future that knows no other activities than those foreseen and prepared by its reason

-

Is it possible that these principles can be countered by something else?

Is there any evidence?

-

[Specific Question]

How do local cultures emerge from urban planning practices?

What different meanings are given to things, what "fluctuations of meaning" emerge?

An urban plan is part of the history of a city, its institutions and communities. Perhaps less important than other events

CERTAINLY, IT IS AN INTERESTING CULTURAL SOURCE, BECAUSE IT ALLOWS TO GRASP DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF REALITY AND DIFFERENT WAYS OF CONTACT BETWEEN LOCAL AND EXTERNAL SUBJECTS (AND WITHIN)

Addis Ababa offers this possibility with its 10 master plans in nearly 130 years of history (1886-2019)

'Plan readers' have often used discourse analysis and deconstruction for interpretation, leaving aside the 'contact issue' and its implications

Reader's perspective (planning literature: S T Mandelbaum, Japa 1990; G Ferraro '90s; B D Ryan Japa 2011; M R Stevens and W Lyles 2010 JPER, etc.)

READING THROUGH A PLAN

- Discourse analysis and deconstruction of each plan as textual/visual object and as a process
- Timing of discourse (change: innovation or regression)
- Three strata:
 - O FACTUAL (DESIGN, VISION, RULES, STRATEGIES...)
 - O CONVENTIONAL (REFERENCE CULTURE OR PARADIGM, PLANNING THEORIES AND METHODOLOGIES, CONSENSUS ON CORE PRINCIPLES, COMMUNITY FEEDBACK, CONTEXT AND LOCAL CONDITIONS)
 - O INTRINSIC (CONTENTS): MATCHING PLANS AND CITY

-

OUR PERSPECTIVE

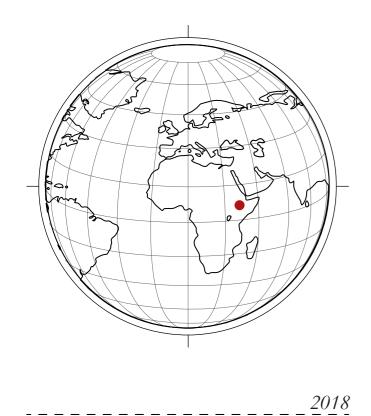
Identify types of contact and their profiles (3 dimensions) based on local geopolitical cycles (discontinuities) and city changes

Institutional and legal framework, management capacities

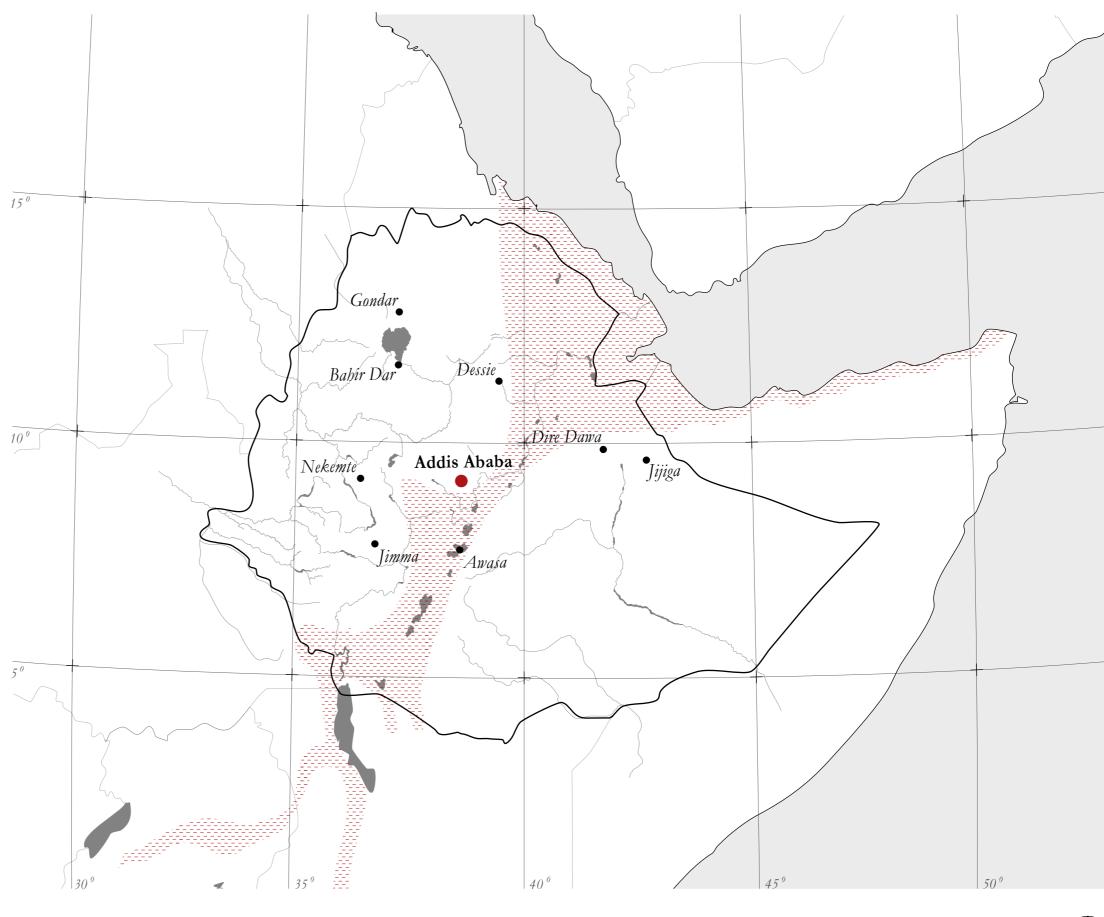
Design Implementation

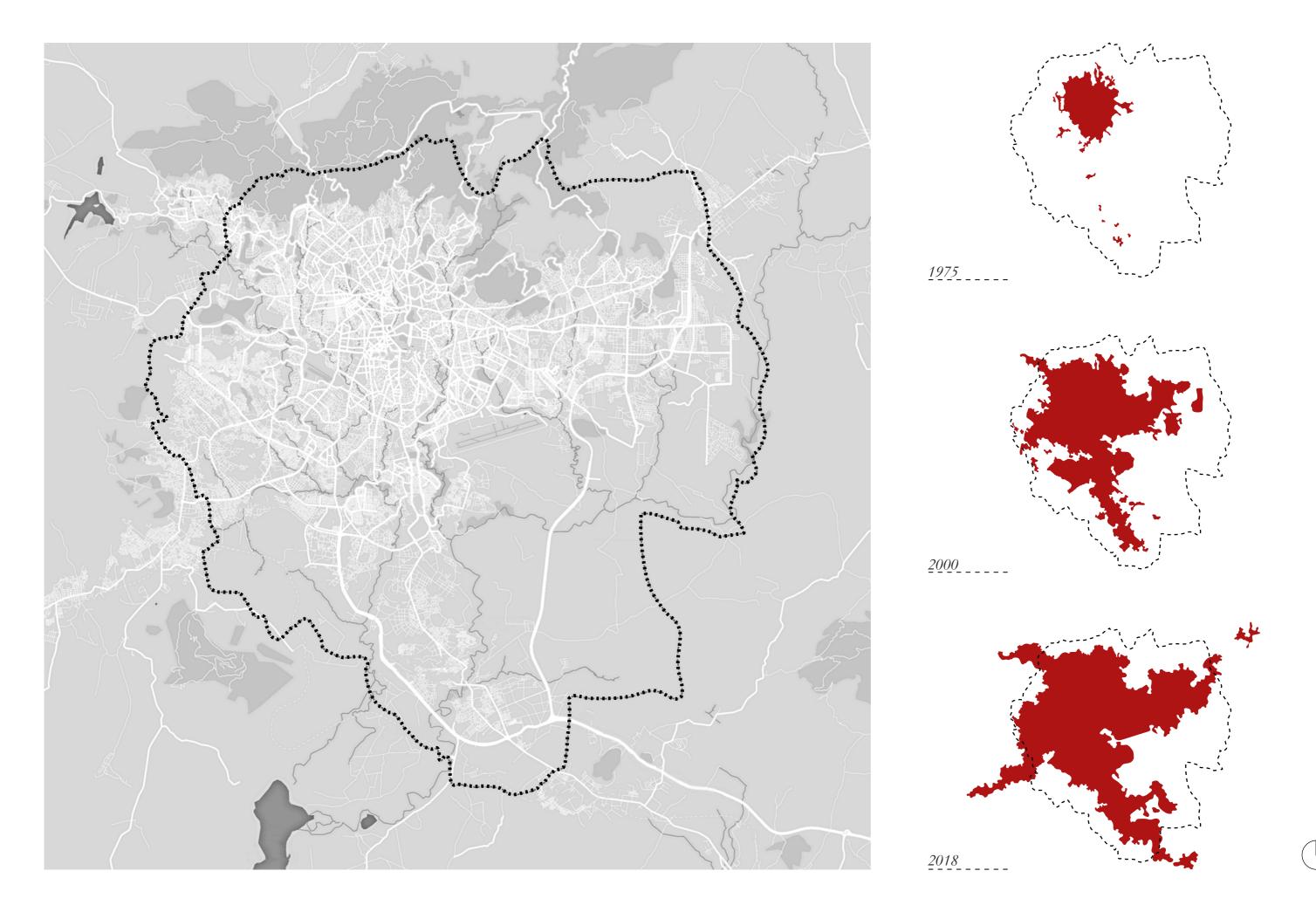
EFFECTIVE EXCERCISES: EXPLORATORY PATHS

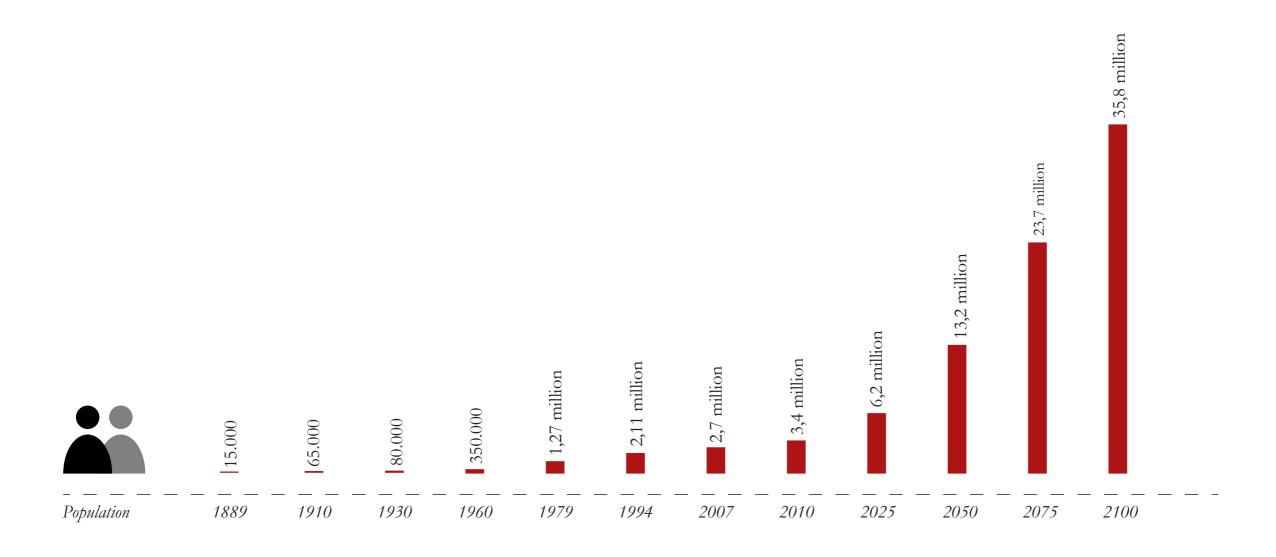
ETHIOPIA - A COUNTRY PROFILE

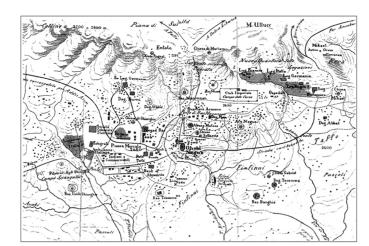


- --- Population: 109.22 million
- --- Urban population (annual %): 19.98%
- --- Rural population (annual %): 80.02%
- Population growth rate (average annual %): 2.6%
- ___ Urban population growth rate (average annual %): 4.8%
- --- Rural population growth rate (average annual %): 1.9%

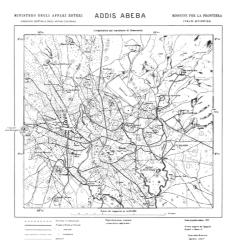




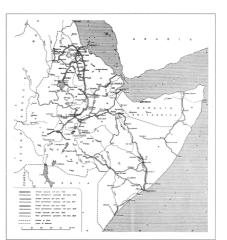


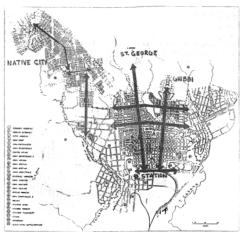


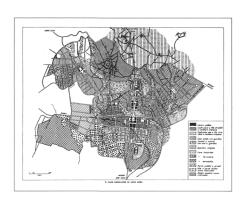


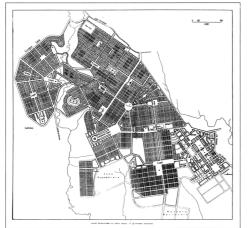




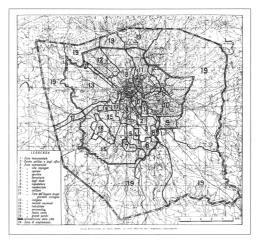


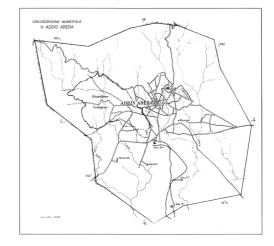




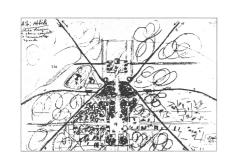


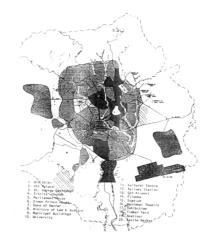


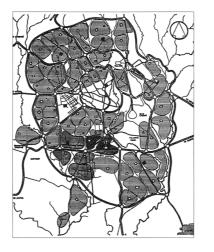




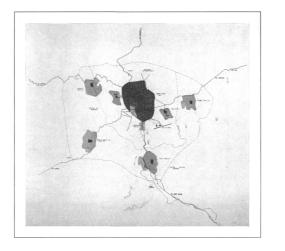






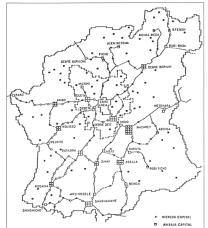


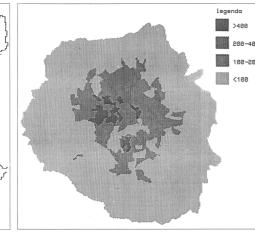


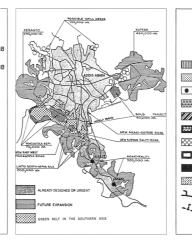


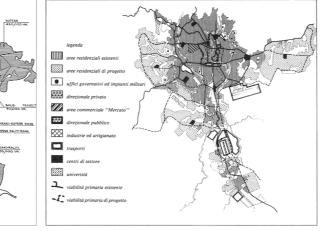


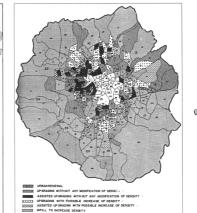


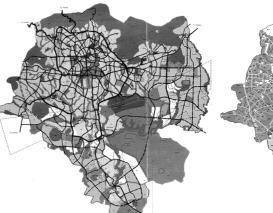












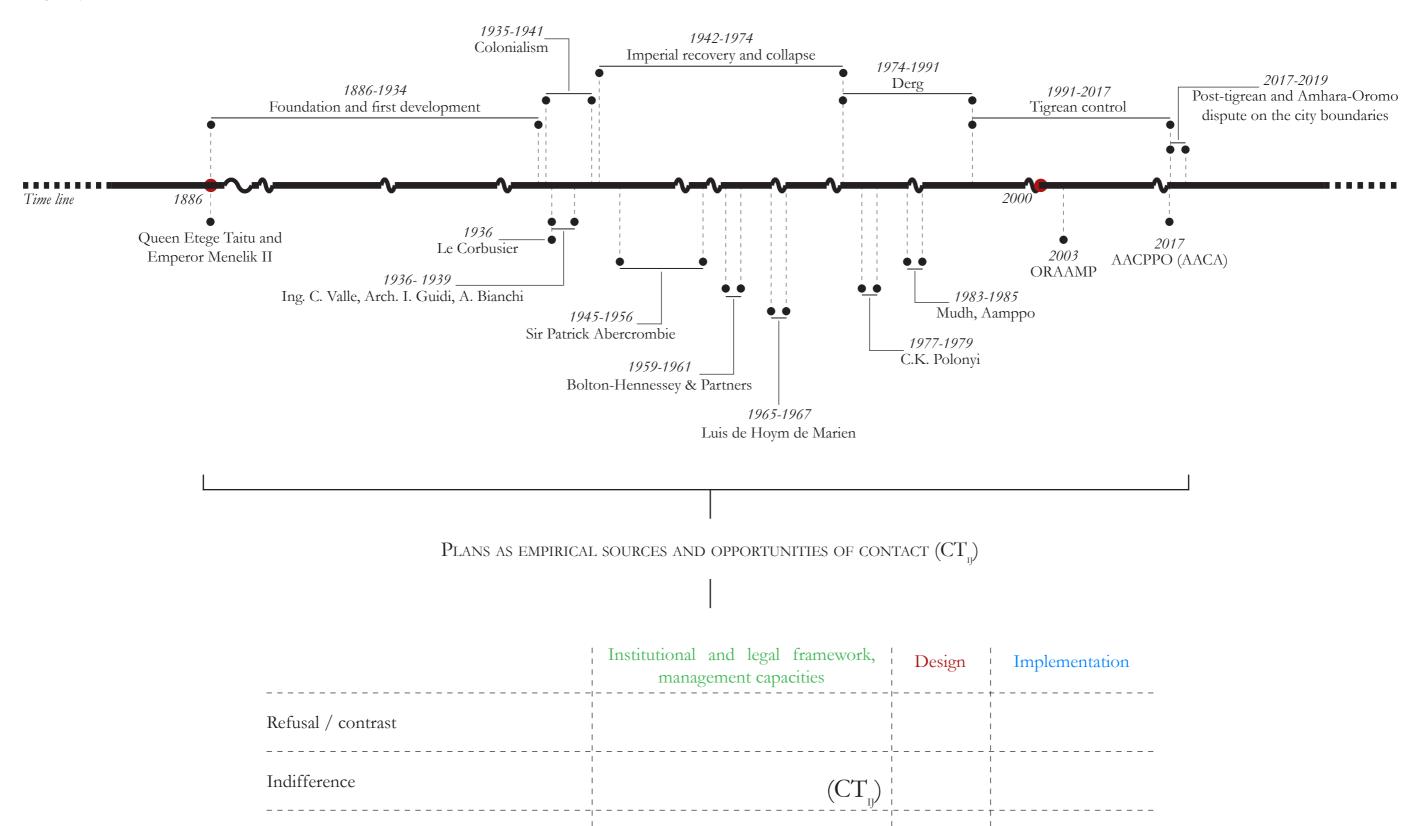


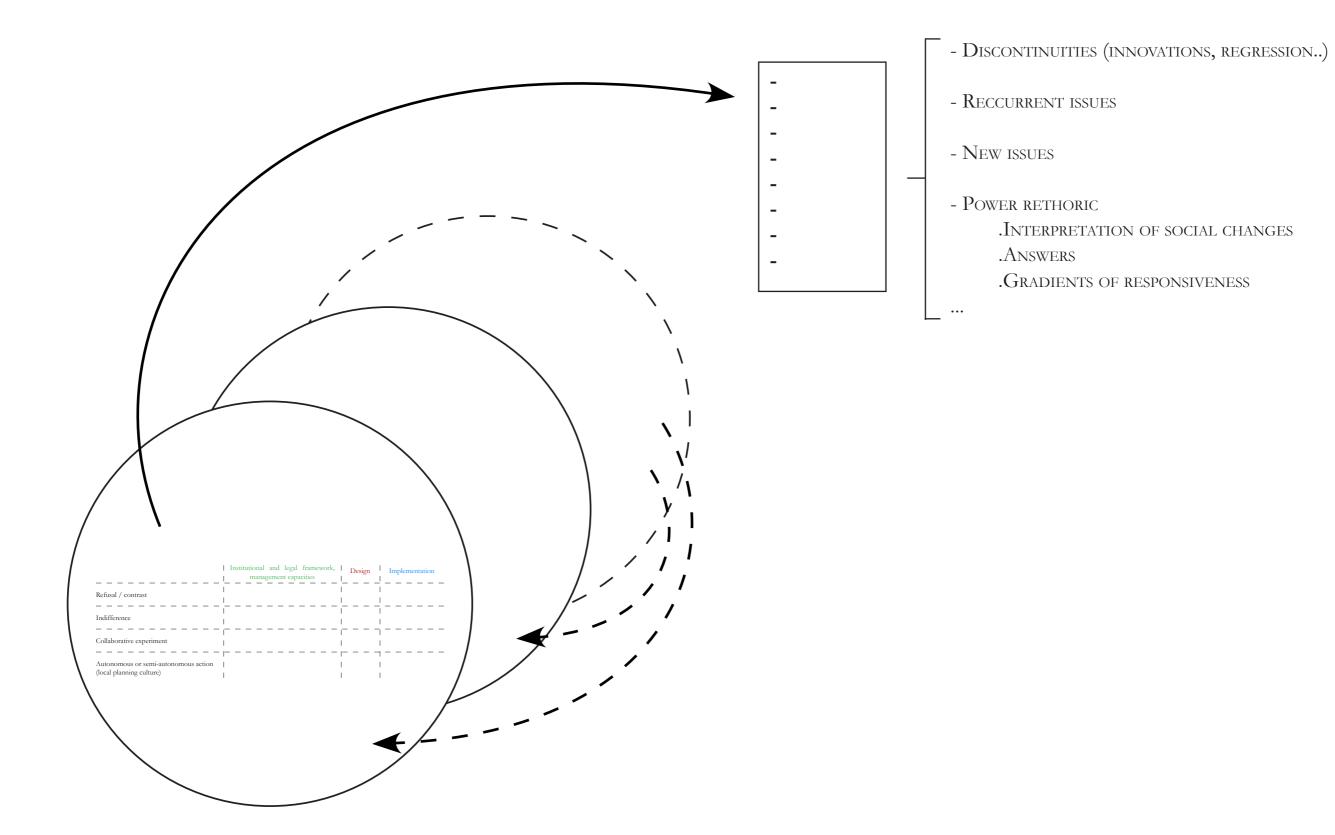
Collaborative experiment

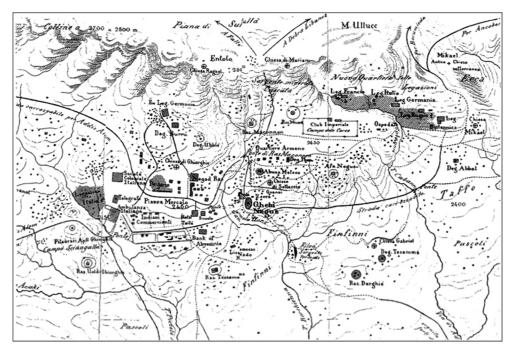
(local planning culture)

Autonomous or semi-autonomous action

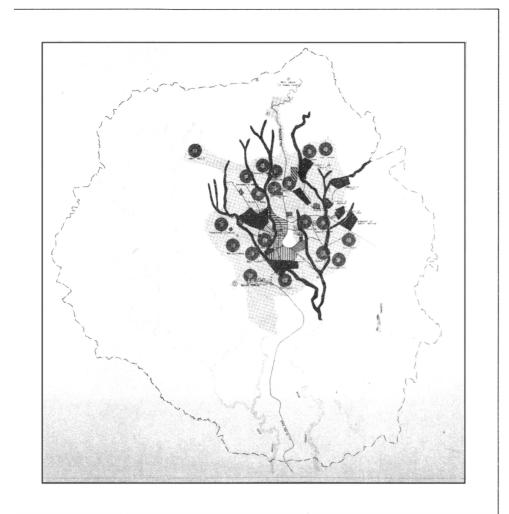
• Drought cycles



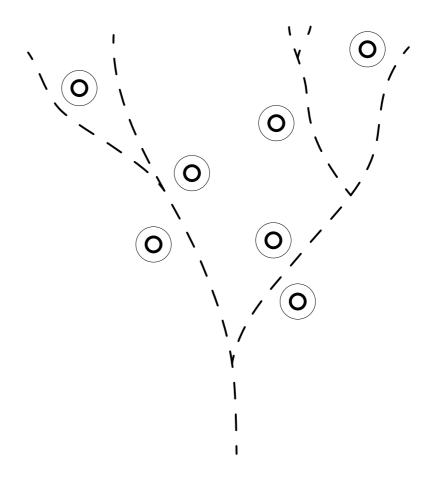




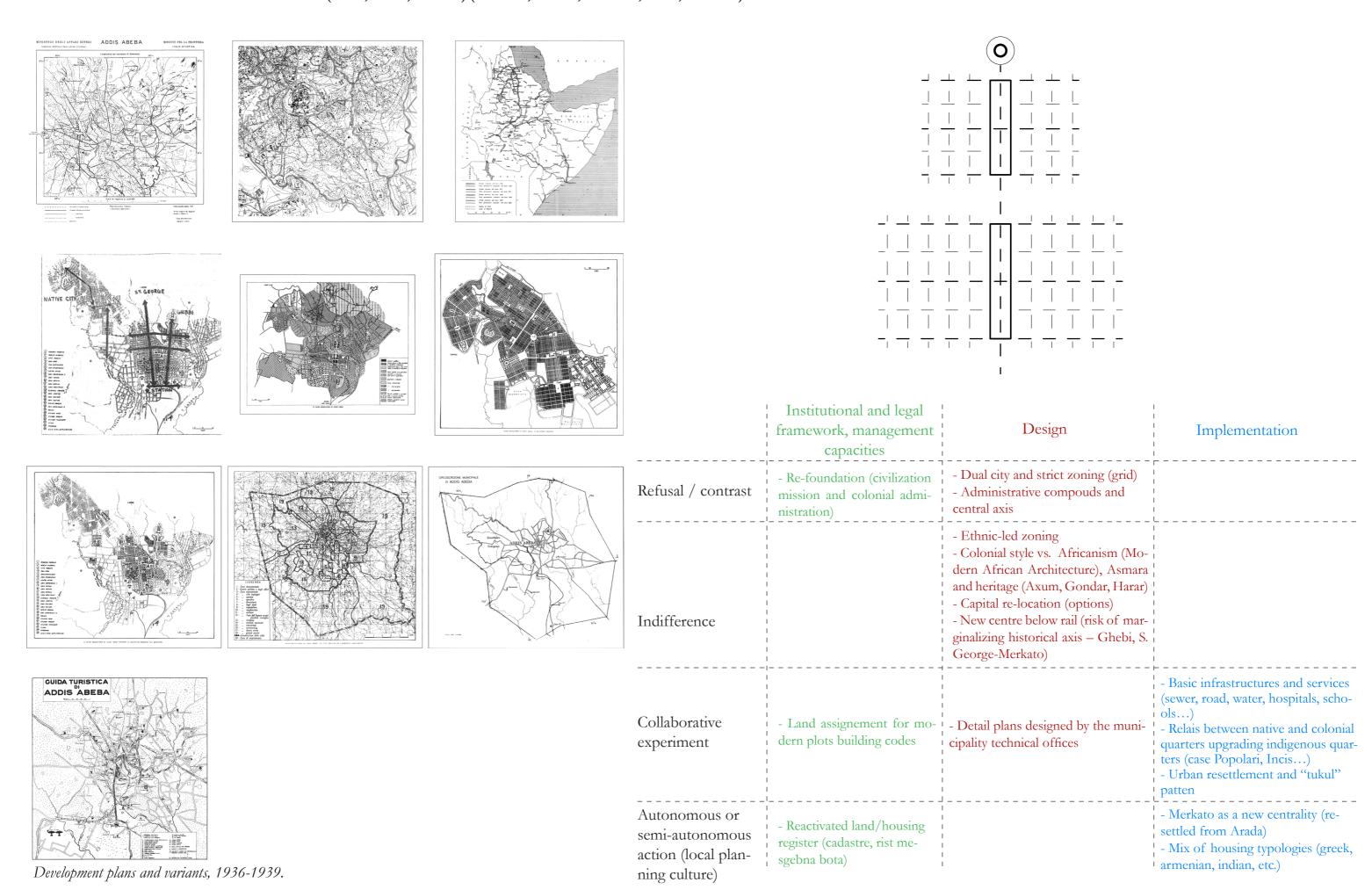
Addis Ababa during the reign of Menelik, 1886.

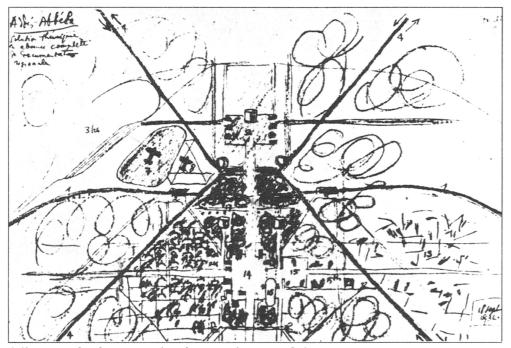


Growth of the city in the period 1890-1935.

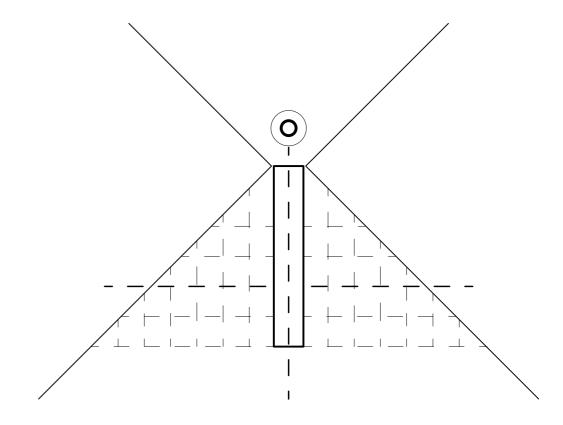


		Institutional and legal framework, manage- ment capacities	Design	Implementation
	Refusal / contrast		 	
	Indifference			
j Ipi	Collaborative experiment	- Technical Office Municipality - Land concession to diplomatic foreign missions (lo-cation strategies, spatial networking and accessibility) - Italy France, Germany ect		
	Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)	 Foundation National barycentre Freehold land titles to nobility according to hierarchy (feudal lords became sole distributers of urban land, tribute paid to the land lord) Legal framework (traditional and Fitha Negest - rule of kings) Menelik II edit (1907) on land assignement, sale and registration Cadastrial services (1914) First Municipality established in 1909 	 Location (environment and urban supply) Spatial map of power hierarchy (sefer assignement, tripolarity, representative axis) Operational design Housing typologies (aristrocratic) 	- Generative cluster

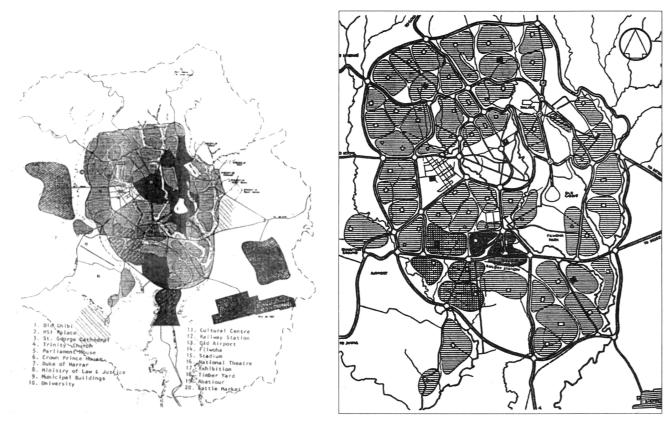




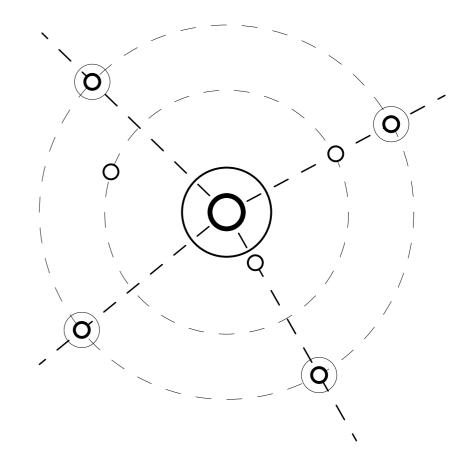
Theoretical solution in the absence of regional documentation, 1936.



	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast		Simbolic perspective and monumental axisDual citySeparate railway stations	
Indifference	1 		
Collaborative experiment	 		
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)			

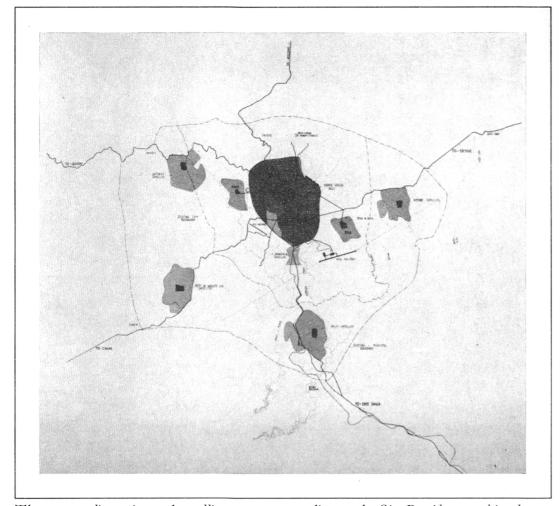


Addis Ababa Master Plan by P. Abercrombie, G. Dix, 1954-1956.

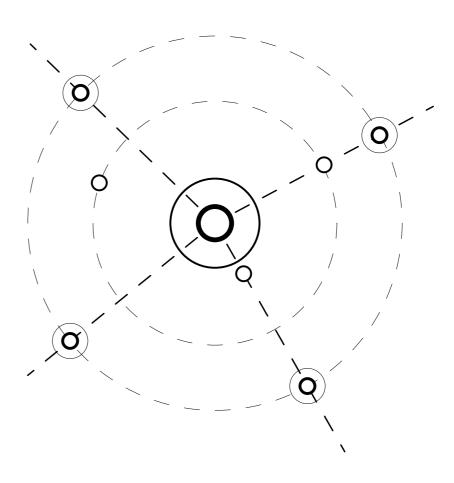


Neighbourhood Plan Omnibus Plan Preliminary- Plan Master Plan Legal Development Plan (Plan Regulateur) Regional Plan Memorandum

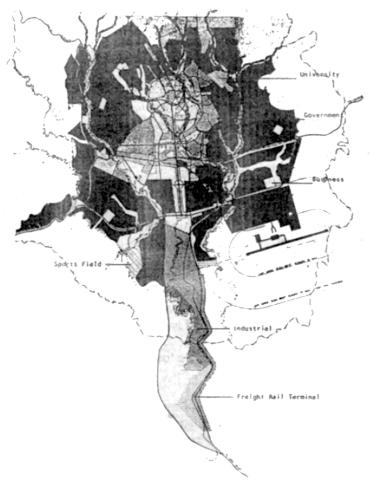
	Institutional and legal fra- mework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast	- Planning act (failed)	 	
Indifference	- Municipality Planning Office (failed)	 	1 1 1
Collaborative experiment	- Planning process and institutional design	 - From region to city - Limit and optimal size - Against periphery (inner-outer play) - Organic plant - Green belt, 3 ring roads on 5 radials (place of intersections) - Satellite towns (6) 	
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)	- Civic/land surveys - Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute (1954)	 Neighborhood units, self-sufficient communities (see: Uda from1974) Community spaces Against urban grid Urban greenery: parks and green axes (separation of modern from traditional traffic - Usds) 	- Guidelines for building and con- struction (modern and traditional)



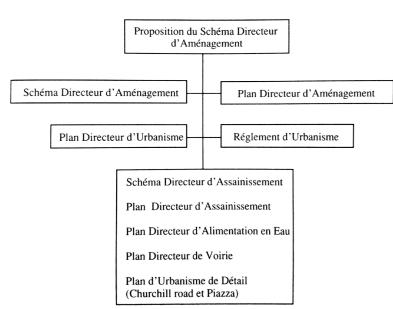
The metropolitan city and satellites centres according to the Sir. P. Abercrombie plan continued with Bolton-Hennessey & Partners development plan, 1956.

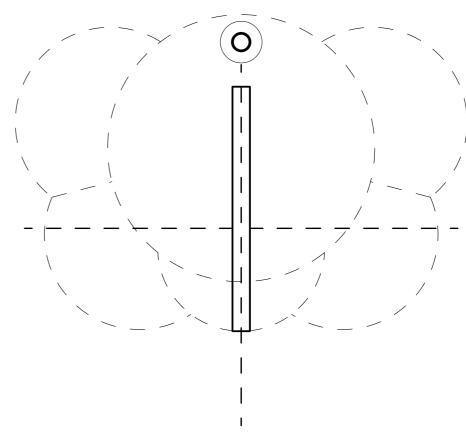


	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast			
Indifference	 	- Containement of public greenery and rural activities within city boundaries	
Collaborative experiment	- Dev't of Legal Development Plan (Abercrombie) and related control regulations - Planning phasing and implementation cost estimate - Planning standards - Compensations	 Sub-centers key-projects Open window to french planning culture (H Chomette, M Duhoux → next de Marien) 	- District planning groups (operational duties)
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)	- Planning office under Ministry of Inte- rior - Interim plan (bridge)	 Revised Abercrombie plan on new topographic maps Merkato as urban centrality Updated municipal boundaries (no satellite towns) Location of industrial areas 	- Implementation Board



Addis Ababa Master Plan by Luis de Marien, 1965.





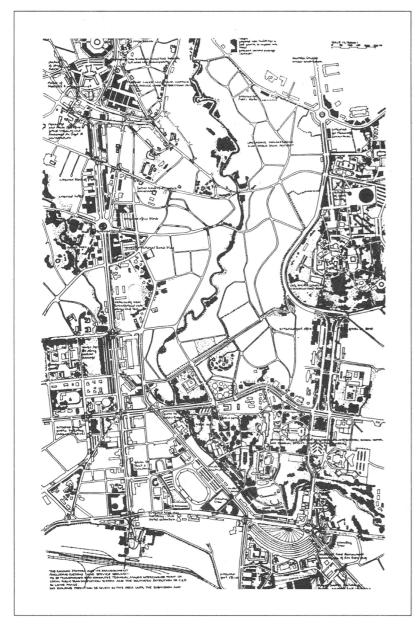
- N-S axis for integrating and connecting N to S

beyond railway station

- Modern CBD Public buildings (Mezzedimi,

french, scandinavian and easthern schools)

		1 	
 	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast			
Indifference	 - Urban management approaches (société foncière, etc.) - Extension of bureaux d'études for monitoring and management 	- Transport plan - Manageable green spaces (without a comprehensive view)	
Collaborative experiment	 Ministry of Interior, Municipal Dept Réglement d'urbanisme (updating legal framework) Safeguard norm on transition period (from plan adoption to approval) Building Centre and University College involved in social/spatial surveys 	 Upgrading upper city Densification in built-up areas Formal/informal settlements interactions	
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)	 International circuit ECA-UN, Oau from 1963 (Mezzedimi Project) Focus on peripheral urban systems Planning curricula and professional associations 	Abercrombie's plan and re-design of sectoral plans - Mixité (typo-morpho, against dual city and pure	 - Projects on water supply, waste collection and disposal, sanitation, road network - Sewage system project (eng. Fontaine) - Detail plans for Churchill, Piazza and other places - Linear industrial axis (along railway to the south)

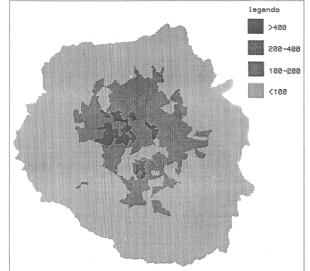


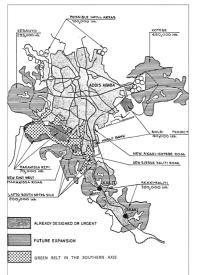
Commercial and administrative district proposal by C. K. Polony, 1978-79.

		1			
		- 1			
_	_	€ C)	_	_
	_	-1	_	_	
	_	${I}$	—	_	
	_	$-\frac{1}{1}$	—	_	
	-	_ '	_	_	
	_	'	—	_	
	-	- $ $	_	_	
-	_	+C)	_	-
	-	$-\tilde{ }$	_	-	
	-	${I}$	_	-	
	-	$-_{\rm i}$	_	-	
	-	- '	_	-	
	-	_ !	_	-	
	_	- $ $	_	_	
-	_	(C)	_	-
		Ĭ	-		
		1			

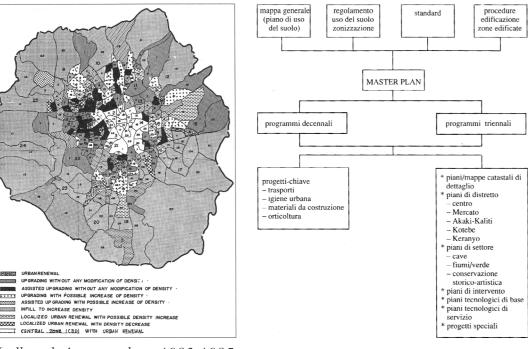
	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast			
Indifference	 	 	
Collaborative experiment		 Regional macro-vision Strenghtening 7 urban poles to contain AA primacy AA-Nazereth corridor (kombinat, u/r exchange) Road system (ring, inner city border) Reorganization of AA market system Urban greenery (faint revival) Urban hierarchy: 5 ketena linked to 25 keftegna 	
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local planning culture)	- Towards a Socialist State city - land and extra houses nationalization - Settling inter-institutional conflicts on land management/development - Spatial planning from Ministry of Interior to Ministry of Housing and Urban Dev't	- Upgrading commercial district, administrative areas and Churchill road (bearing axis) - Abiot square (stepped and curved, completed work initiated by Knut von Troil) - Models of self-help housing - Guidelines of housing/quarter design (size and cost constraints)	

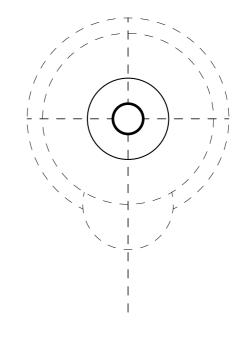






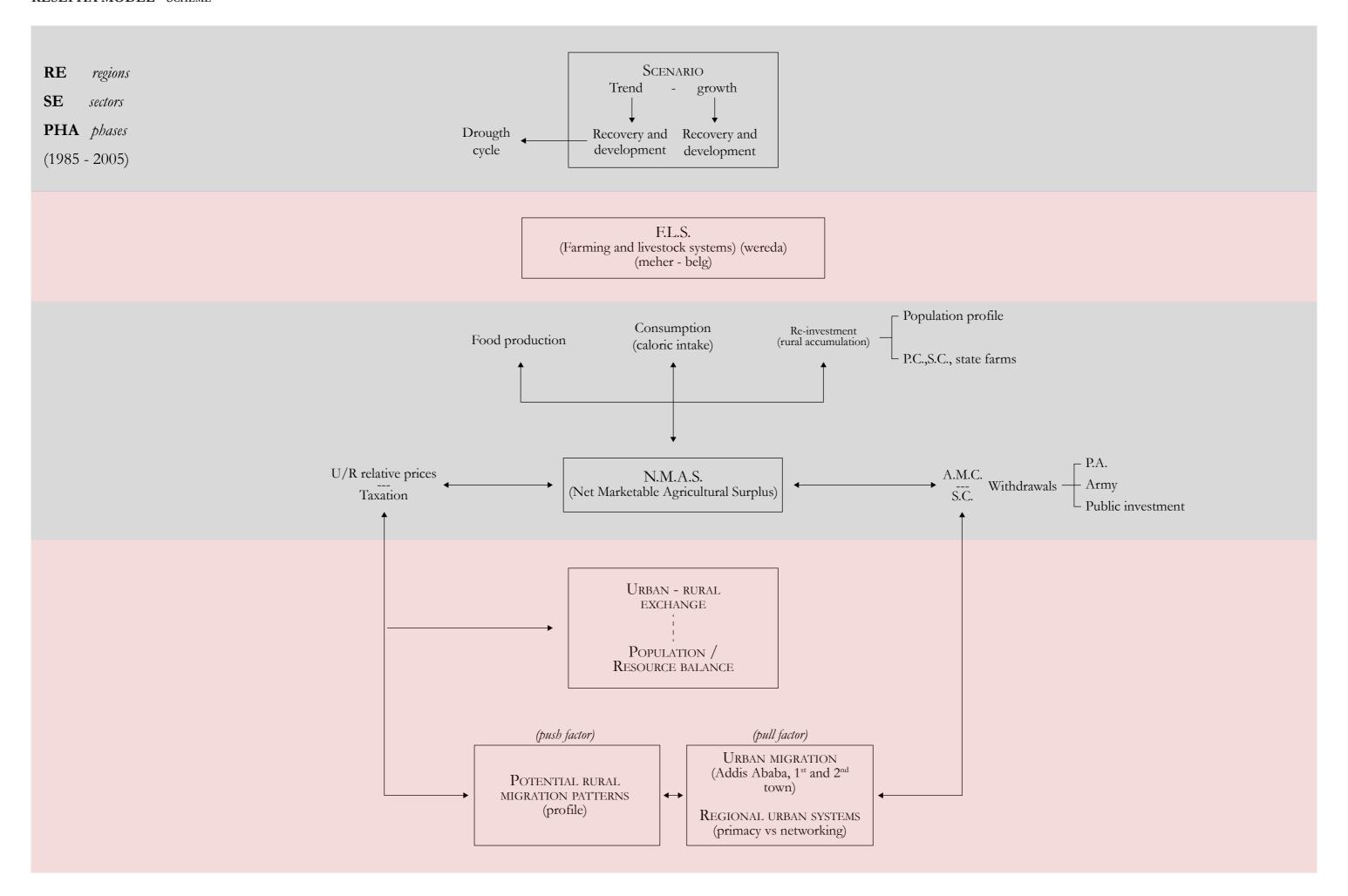






	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast			- U/R exchange (villagization, resettlement, AMC-SC Nmas withdrawal)
Indifference	- Proposed Metropolitan Council and Metropolian Planning Agency		
Collaborative experiment	- AAMPO activities (twin consultants) - IFUU (monitoring, saveguard, inter-institutional coordination, public expenditure and sectoral programmes, negotiation)	- Key-projects - Action area plans - Infill, densification and upgrading models - Mobility and transport (infrastructure network and Lrt proposal, Ict) - Site and services (Wb, ILO, etc.), Nefas Silk mixed neighbohrood, revival of housing cooperatives (Gerji, Lafto, etc.) - Airport relocation options (Melka Kunture, Dukem, Koka-Mojo)	- Secondary towns and policies in rural areas (rural non agricultural activities)
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local plan- ning culture)	- Bilateral cooperation – Mae/Dgcs - Competition among Italian Universities (Rome,Fi,-Ve,Ts) - Planning under central government AAMPPO institution - Proclamation n. 315/316 - 1987 (urban plan preparation, zoning, bulding permits) - National Proclamation and Regional regulations on land lease (1992) - Test with Iuav Post-graduate School on UR planning in DCs (leasing and LIS) - Proclamation n. 7 - 1994 (AAMP approval)	- 3 level planning process (region, metro, core) - AAMP structural plan – Usds - Resepha (u/r exchange)	- From IFU to NUPI (1987)

Mudh and Aamppo plans, 1983-1985.



Tab. 4 - Economic performances of the P.R. urban system: trend, growth and full employment scenarios

		Trend			- G	Frowth		Full	employment	
	t_0	A.G.R. (%)	t ₂		A,G.R. (%)	<i>t</i> ₂		A.G.R. (%)	t_2	
A. Outcome										
. Population										
Core Area	1,581,164	3,27	3,009,500		3.15	2,939,426		3.22	2,980,416	
Level 2 Town	562,993	4.51	1,359,798		4.67	1,403,847	•	5.71	1,709,519	
Level 1 Town	233,307	9.09	1,330,326		9.61	1,462,417		9.70	1,485,329	
Rural Mpr	829,024	4,30	1,924,827		5.13	2,254,730		5.13	2,254,730	
Rural Pr	7,958,393	2,09	12,024,541		2.08	12,015,639		2.08	12,015,639	
Total	11,164,881	2,87	19,648,992	(****	2.98	20,076,048	()	3.07	20,445,632	
Urban Rural	2,377,464	4.47	5,699,624	Ur (29%)	4.57	5,805,684	Ur (28.9%)	4.89	6,175,264	Ur (30,2%
	8,787 ,4 17	2,34	13,949,368		2.45	14,270,369		2.45	14,270,369	
L. Labor Demand Modern	136,032	3,92			2.80			5,58		
Government	181,919	3.18			4,12			5,52		
Traditional	355,092	2,99			2.90			3.65		
3. Net unemployment rate (%)	333,072	2,57			2.70			3.03		
Core Area	22,87		15.30			15,46			0,00	
Level 2 Town	8.07		8,79			7.96			0.00	
Level 1 Town	0.00		5.79			4,36			0,00	
	0,00		3.77			1,50			0,00	
Income per capita (Birr) Urban	1,104,5	-1.00	973.7	Ur (2.77)	0.67	1,261,8	Ur (2.61)	1.48	1.482	Ur (3.07)
Rural	285,6	1,05	351.7	01 (2.77)	2,66	482.5	01 (2.01)	2.66	482	01 (3.07)
	203,0	1,03	331.7		2,00			2.00	102	
3. Assumptions	•									
5. Population										
(At Natural Rate) Core Area		2.76	2 725 700		2.76			2.76		
Level 2 Town		3.23	2,725,798 1,062,473		2,76 3,23			3,23		
Level 2 Town		3,09	428,555		3.09			3,09		
Rural Mpr		3,34	1,597,803		3,34			3.34		
Rural Pr		2,94	14,216,206		2,94			2.94		
Total		2.97	20,030,832		2,97	20,030,832		2,97	20,030,832	
Urban		2.91	4,216,826		2.91	20,000,000		2,91	,,,,,,,	
Rural		2.98	15,814,009		2.98			2,98		
6. Agriculture Gdp										
Crop		3,19			5,06			5,06		
Livestock		4.26			5,68			5,68		
Rural		3,21			5.00			5.00		
1. Net marketable surplus		3.00			5.89			6.60		
3. Agric. labor demand										
Crop		1.70			1.65			1,65		
Livestock		2.89			3,17			3,17		
Rural		-1.00			3.76			3,76		
Total		2,02			2,14			2,14		
9. Government sector										
Gdp		2,83			3.76			5,30		
Average Wage (Birr)	2,400	-0.34			-0.34			-0.21		
Tax Ratio (%)	23.0		27.9		28,7			28,0		
Loans		5,00			10.0			15.0		
). Traditional sector		2.50								
Gdp		2.79			4.71			5.30		
Average Wage (Birr) Labor Productivity	1,200	-1.17			-0.04			0.00		
•		0.98			1.80			1,59		
1. Modern sector Gdp		5.06			(5 4			204		
Average Wage (Birr)	1,812	0.00			6,54 0,62			7,84 0,00		
Labor Productivity	1,012	1.10			3.00			2,15		
2. Pr migration balance		1.10	201 040		3.00	145 216		2,13	1.414.000	
(-out/ + in)			-381,840			+45,216			+414,800	

Source: Spremo, 1985.

Tab. 5 – Estimate of formal and informal employment in Addis Ababa, 1984/85

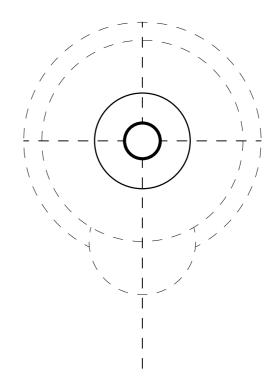
G		Production	Production		Distribution and service			Total	
Sector	Formal	Informal	Total	Formal	Informal	Total	Formal	Informal	Grand total
Modern	56,110		56,110	39,438	_	39,438	95,548	_	95.548
Traditional	20,798	24,463	45,261	90,177	45,000 (*)	135,177	110,975	69,463	180.438
Government	_	-	-	75,942		75,942	75,942	_	75,942
Total	76,908	24,463	101,371	205,557	45,000	250,557	282.465	94,463	351,928

^{*} Including 12,000 employees in trade and services censed by Survey on informal Sector; 20,000 people working in open markets; 10,000 carriers and 3,000 shoeshiners. Source: Aamppo (1985), idem. Aamppo (1984), Demographic Survey and our own adjustments on the basis of sectoral Aamppo reports. See also: par. 3.4 of Aamppo (1985), Looking at the assumptions, methodology and output of urban growth model.

2003 - ORAAMP PLAN (OFFICE FOR THE REVISION OF AAMP)



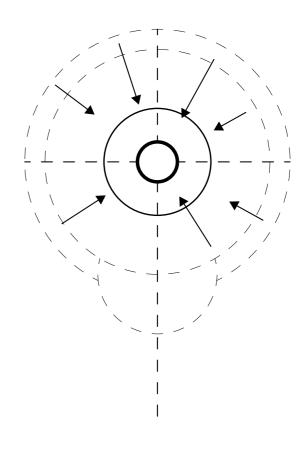
ORAMMP master plan, 2003.



	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast	 	 	
Indifference	 	 	
Collaborative experiment	- Land administration Authority and Plan- ning dept.	 - Private real estate dev't - Land use patterns within a structural plan - 10 year strategic framework - 5 year detailed plans - River banks projects - Airport extension 	- LDP and key urban projects (nearly 200) – no priority/portfolio - Road system (Africa revenue, etc.) and LRT/BRT lane (foreign investments) - Industrial parks (top down) - Coping with Merkato under stress
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local plan- ning culture)	- City administration and Local project office - 10 sub-cities and 99 weredas for decentralized Usds - City-region charter, gov'ce reform (new constitution ad regional federal system - boundaries as a planning and political issue) - Planning law and Plan adoption/approval law (2004) and new planning institution - From statutory to strategic planning (vs. infrastructural projects and programmes) - Condominium regulation - Capacity building (manuals)	- Condominium typologies and projects - Oau Hqs and spatial redesign	- Housing programmes (infill, expansion, densification, upgrading/renewal - Merkato, Cazancis, Lideta, etc) - Resettlement without guarantees - Rental housing, low-income, self-help (failure) - Centre and strategic investment areas (Cia, Sia) – Cazancis, Meri, Lebu, partially Haile G/S and Megenegna



AACPPO master plan, 2017/2018.



	Institutional and legal framework, management capacities	Design	Implementation
Refusal / contrast	U/R exchange and urban policies I - Informal settlements	 	- Stress on overall supply system
Indifference	 	 	
Collaborative experiment		- Ecological balance	 River and riverpark dev't Key Urban Projects (rivers and banks development, Central Station, Central Park, BRTs,) Transport & Land use integration Urban project financed by foreign investments (conflict with planning strategies)
Autonomous or semi-autonomous action (local plan- ning culture)	- Revised city charter - Planning and implementation as a process (participatory, semi bottom up) - Interactive and collaborative implementation - Autonomous planning Commission - New implementation and monitoring agencies - Law enforcement (failure) - Proclamation n.52 - 2017	- Revision of Oraamp plan - Project-led dev't (see urban projects driving force) - Centrality & redevelopment - Densification (polycentric compact city, amhara-oromo dispute; two scenarios: closed vs open cities)	+

REFUSAL / CONTRAST / GRIEVANCE

Colonial city duality (late adaptation of building / construction) and resetting of social framework (relationship between aristocracy, rising bourgeoisie and the rest of civil society)

_

Planning Act, due to difficulties of Launching a reform strategy (administration, land ect.) by the Imperial House despite to New Pan-African and international scenarios

.

THE CONTRAST TO AAMP APPROACH ON U/R EXCHANGE IN THE 1980s IS LESS CLEAR, BUT STILL SIGNIFICANT. THIS PHILOSOPHY WAS ONLY FORMALLY SHARED BY CENTRALIZED PLANNING PRINCIPLES (SEE VILLAGIZATION AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES)

_

U/R exchange issue almost disappeared from '90s , even from the recent national urban policies

Indifference

ETHNIC ZONING (SEE: TRADITIONAL PULL-FACTORS, LINKS WITH PLANS OF ORIGINS, SOLIDARITY AND URBAN TOPONYMS)

-

Modern African Architecture vs. colonial style and Africanism (despite the 'laboratory' of Asmara) and interpretation of the most ancient heritage (Lalibela, Gondar, Harrar, Harla...)

-

Capital relocation ('30s)

MULTI-POLAR STRUCTURE

PLANNING MANAGEMENT AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

-

Informal economy and settlements (gap between State administration, local communities and traditional economic devices)

_

Public Greenery, dairy and urban agriculture

COLLABORATIVE EXPERIMENTS

Opportunistic: Planning framework and land concession to diplomatic missions (from the foundation to 1935)

_

Relais between the two urban circuits design of USDS (post-colonial phase)

-

Urban design (organic vision vs. urban supply system; neighbourhood units vs kebele/keftegna/ketena administrative structure)

_

M APPING AND LAND MENAGEMENT (CADASTRE)

-

Regional policies and secondary towns (7 urban poles and 40 master plans during '60) $\qquad \qquad \text{Decentralization}$

_

Modern Architecture (Swedish, Finnish, Italian, British, French, Soviet block since 1974...): spatial pivot

_

AA-Nazereth regional axis (linear city vs u/r exchange – see Arturo Soria i Mata, kombinat, etc.)

_

AAMPPO TWIN-CONSULTANT APPROACH

_

Key-projects: matter of negotiation with international organizations and within public strategies of domestic capital expenditure

AUTONOMOUS OR SEMI-AUTONOMOUS ACTION (LOCAL PLANNING CULTURE)

Autonomous or semi-autonomous actions are influenced by local perspectives and help to shape local planning cultures linked to specific environmental and ethnical conditions

_

Foundation city (capital of a new State and first Municipality - 1909), clustering model, power map and its legal framework (Fitha Negest, 'The rule of kings'), slow change of a semi-feudal system

-

MIXED HOUSING TYPOLOGIES (GREEK, ARMENIAN, INDIAN AND SO FORTH)

_

UPDATING CADASTRAL SYSTEM WITH THE TRADITIONAL RIST MESGEBNA BOTA

-

British planning principles backed the metabolism of links between modern and traditional circuits (neighbourhood units as self- sufficient communities, community spaces and UDA)

-

NEIGHBOURHOOD PATTERNS INTERACT WITH CLUSTER/COMPOUND MORPHOLOGY

_

New access system (priority to motorized traffic - private and collective)

_

Urban Greenery as component of overall urban supply system

-

Guidelines for building and construction, first civic and land surveys

_

ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AND GEOGRAPHY INSTITUTE - EMGI (1954), THEN EMA

-

PERIPHERAL URBAN SYSTEMS

-

IMPLEMENTATION AND MANAGEMENT

-

HIGH-LEVEL EDUCATION, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

-

LAND AND EXTRA-HOUSES NATIONALIZATION, RHA

-

Guidelines for housing self-help design

_

Inter-institutional conflicts on land management, development and planning / urban planning from Ministry of Interior to Ministry of Urban Development and Housing

-

Competition on AAMPPO (1983-85) (Beyond the donor rationale)

-

Three planning levels (region, metro, core) and weak attention to u/r exchange (Resepha model) linked to Planning Commission and Mudh strategies

-

From IFUU to Nupi in 1987 (a first public national consultant)

-

Land leasing (from 1992) and land management/dev't (a lost opportunity)

_

Oraamp (2003) and Aacpo (2017) strengthened planning framework and its legal status, becoming operational tools of city charter/city boundaries as ethnic issue (Amhara vs. Oromo) hidden behind the land question (Uda vs Pa)

-

NEW LINKS BETWEEN STATUTORY AND STRATEGIC APPROACHES (LAND MANAGEMENT ISSUES)

-

FORMAL TRANSITION TOWARDS A STRATEGIC/PARTICIPATED APPROACH (LDP AND ACTION AREA PLANS VS REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS AND

INDEPENDENT URBAN PROJECTS)

-

Densification and informal settlement removal (resistance of Entoto Strip)

-

Oraamp first plan evaluated independently (main issues: environment, housing and condominium strategy, mobility and transport, location of industrial and commercial activities, LdP and strategic areas, institutional and legal issues) /'distance' from city administration

_

Heavy infrastructural investments on urban transport and new strategy on railway (Chinese hands on Ethio-Djibouti Chemin de Fer)

Djibouti as chinese hub (military based, finance, energy, commerce, port, logistic - underwater cable "Peace" - Pakistan and East Africa Connecting Europe)

-

NEW ATTENTION ON ENVIRONMENT AND CONGESTION

_

AN OPEN, BESIEGED OR GATED 'CITY'?

