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africa

QUARTERLY

Forging a robust relationship

- Towards a new Africa policy
- Partnering a transformation
- For a more proactive policy

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INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS

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INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS

NEW DELHI

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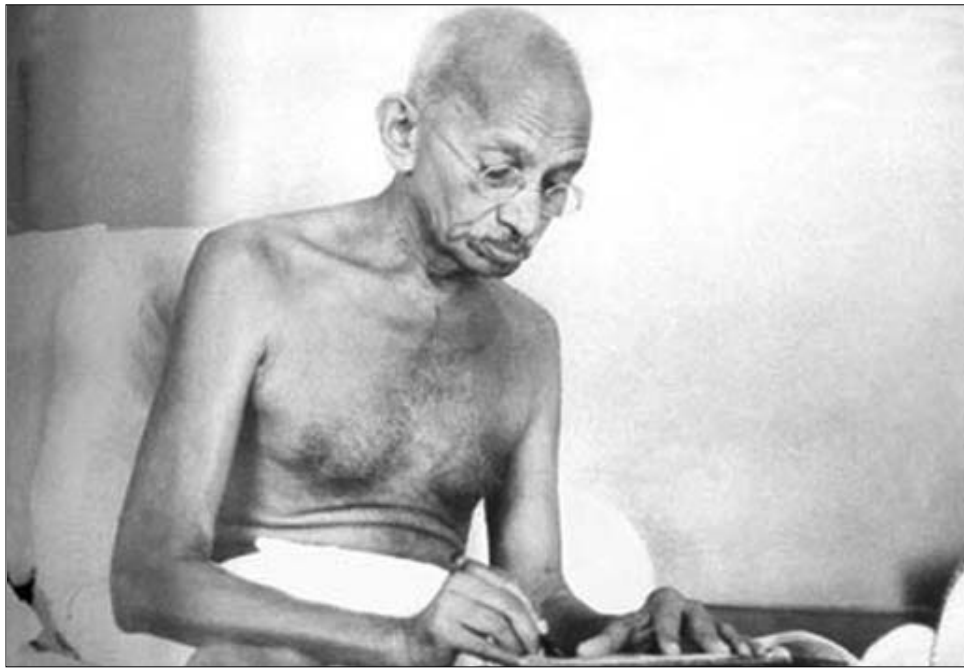

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The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), founded in 1950 to strengthen cultural ties and promote understanding between India and other countries, functions under the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. As part of its effort, the Council publishes, apart from books, six periodicals in five languages — English quarterlies (*Indian Horizons* and *Africa Quarterly*), Hindi Quarterly (*Gagananchal*), Arabic Quarterly (*Thaqafat-ul-Hind*), Spanish bi-annual (*Papeles de la India*) and French bi-annual (*Recontre Avec l'Inde*).

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From the Editor's Desk

India and Africa: Partnering in a globalised village

A dialogue with Dr. Ali Mazrui, the doyen of African intellectuals, takes you closer to the heart of Africa, with all its intriguing complexities and difficult choices in this age of globalisation. It's not the heart of darkness, as Joseph Conrad conjured up in his eponymous modern-day fable, but Mazrui lights up new paths to understanding Africa without ignoring the darker shades along the way. Mazrui paints on a very large canvas, and the breadth and depth of his world view comes out in his article on forging new Afro-Asian strategies towards globalisation. "Africa in this 21st century is likely to be one of the final battlegrounds of the forces of globalisation — for better or for worse," writes Mazrui in the article, which is based on a paper he presented at a recent international conference in New Delhi. At the moment, the balance seems to be tipped in favour of developed countries of the West, but if Africa and Asia get their act together, they too, can get there and perhaps faster than many would have thought.

The point Mazrui makes in his writings repeatedly is that globalisation is slowing turning into what he calls "villagisation" and there could be more winners than losers if only the participants follow a combination of strategies designed to garner the maximum benefit. This new approach by Africa, according to Mazrui, should consist of strategies of indigenisation (reliance on indigenous skills and talents), diversification (diversifying trade partners and cultural influences), horizontal interpenetration (forging diplomatic and economic alliances with India, China and the Arab world) and counter-penetration of global citadels of power. Mazrui is refreshingly lucid in his exposition as he writes prophetically about the ongoing process of the transfer of power from the North to the South in the days to come.

Mazrui is equally insightful about Africa's evolving relationship with India and is full of admiration for India's matchless soft power presence in the continent. In an interview with *Africa Quarterly*, Mazrui speaks nostalgically about the days when Indian movies were screened especially on 'Ladies Nights' in Nairobi. Indian films, music, cuisine and language have seeped into the collective African consciousness and continues to resonate with Africans to this day, says Mazrui. However, Mazrui is not the kind to indulge in polite flattering talk. In his trademark frank manner, he also underlines the need for India to move beyond nostalgia and the slogans of non-alignment to forge a new relationship with the continent.

Fashioning a more contemporary and robust partnership between India and Africa is also the overarching theme of Lalit Mansingh, India's former foreign secretary. He is painfully aware of the cluster of clichés in which Africa has been pigeon-holed by the West, but is confident that this is a "passing phase" before the resource and people-rich region is seen for what it is — a continent of opportunity. "Africa's image in the rest of the world is changing, in the same way India's image has improved in the past 15 years. India was described by Western governments as 'a basket case' and a 'black hole'. Now, the industrial world sees India as a multi-billion dollar market. In much the same way, the Dark Continent is currently seen as a continent of opportunity," he writes.

In his unflinchingly candid appraisal of India's foreign policy towards Africa, Mansingh analyses the European and Chinese model of dealing with the continent and advises New Delhi to amalgamate their best practices in its approach and map out its own unique path. "Neither Europe nor China have the historical linkages or the enormous fund of goodwill towards India which fortunately survives in Africa. We will be in Africa neither for exploitation nor for striking defence deals with corrupt regimes," he writes memorably. He has a string of suggestions, including increasing India's missions in Africa and having more flagship projects like the pan-Africa e-network in the continent, to infuse new energy into India's Africa policy. "Overall, I remain optimistic that we are proceeding in the right direction. To borrow a slogan from the most famous descendent of Africa today: "Yes. We can", he concludes on a stirring note.

The media has a crucial role in building bridges between India and Africa in the 21st century. But not many know that much before the proliferation of new age media, Mahatma Gandhi used his journalism an a vehicle of political activism and an instrument of identity building in South Africa. Read the article on Gandhi for new insights into the media's role in the transformation of popular consciousness.

The world has changed radically since, but certain themes have not changed in the discourse on India-Africa relations. The thirst for collective renewal and renaissance is equally strong in India and Africa and the two have much to gain from each other. India is a partner, as Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said incisively, in Africa's resurgence. During a business conclave in Africa in January this year, India's External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee outlined the "multi-focused" nature of the relationship and said "It is our desire that on crucial global concerns like climate change, food and energy security, health, *jihadist* terrorism, marine piracy and democratisation of international institutions we continue to enhance our cooperation and dialogue." This new partnership on global issues is part of what Mazrui, the iconic African thinker, calls "engaging with the idea of renaissance in one way or another."

Manish Chand

Kenya celebrates Obama inauguration

A Kenyan citizen in traditional dress rejoices Obama victory.

Tens of thousands of Kenyans celebrated Barack Obama's inauguration as the 44th president of the US at parties across the east African nation as images of their favourite son were beamed onto big screens.

Thousands gathered at a public viewing at Nairobi's Kenyatta International Conference Centre, clapping and cheering as President Obama spoke. In Kogelo, the Western Kenyan village where his late father grew up and where his grandmother still lives, residents slaughtered goats and bulls and feasted in Obama's honour.

Earlier in the day, around 3,000 people gathered at a school in Kogelo to watch traditional dancers in brightly coloured costumes.

In nearby Kisumu, thousands danced into the evening as music blasted out from loudspeakers.

Parties continued late into the night as Kenyans, who often do not need much of an excuse to enjoy a few beers, took the chance to fete the new president .

Kenyans are highly proud of Obama, and the celebrations allowed people to forget their woes, which include a food crisis threatening 10 million people with starvation and memories of the ethnic clashes that killed over 1,500 people one year ago following disputed elections.

Many Kenyans, and indeed Africans, hope that President Obama's Kenyan roots will help bring a new focus on the continent's myriad problems.

At the very least, many say they feel a new sense of self-respect since a black American with humble roots in Kenya can reach the White House.

Kogelo has already seen concrete benefits, with electricity, water and road upgrades following Obama's election.

The tiny Kisumu airport is also expected to be upgraded quickly to accommodate Air Force One should President Obama wish to fly in to visit his grandmother in the Western Kenyan village. ■

South African Indian filmmaker to produce Obama documentary

Veteran Producer Anant Singh, Newcomer Actress Q'Orianka Kilcher, Film Legend Margaret O'Brien and Acting Giant Malcolm McDowell at the Palm Beach International Film Festival Gala, held at the swanky Boca Raton Club and Resort on April 25.

Amid global media frenzy over the inauguration of Obama Barack, award-winning South African Indian filmmaker Anant Singh said on January 17 that he would produce a documentary feature on the first black President of the United States of America.

The film, titled "Barack Obama: People's President", is written, produced and directed by Danny Schechter, who was involved in "Weapons of Mass Deception" and "Viva Madiba: A Hero For All Seasons", which told the tale of Nelson Mandela. Singh said he was partnering Schechter to produce and direct the film.

Singh said that negotiations were currently underway with South African and US networks for the broadcast rights. "I was in the United States on election day and decided then that we would make a film on the first black and one of the youngest presidents of the United States.

"We are delighted to have partnered with Danny Schechter to produce and direct this film. He documented Nelson Mandela's journey to become the first black president of South Africa in 'Countdown To Freedom', which tracked the ANC's election campaign, culminating with the inauguration of Mandela as president."

Giving details of the documentary, Singh said: "It will show how his campaign mantra of 'Yes We Can' became 'Yes We Did', astonishing Americans and exciting world opinion. "This is the story of how Obama inspired and organised millions of new voters to support him, and how brilliantly the Internet was used as a communications and networking tool as part of the campaign. ■

When Mahatma Gandhi donned battle fatigues...

Gandhiji (5th from left in the middle row) with the Indian Ambulance Unit during the Anglo-Boer War.

The fact that Mahatma Gandhi, who used the tools of truth and non-violence in the fight for India's freedom, donned an army uniform may startle many. But it is true that Father of the Nation wore the British Army's uniform in 1899, although as a member of a voluntary ambulance unit during the Anglo-Boer War.

The Mahatma, then known as Mohandas Karamchand, along with fellow Indians in South Africa decided to join the voluntary ambulance unit. The little known fact, reported in the magazine *Sainik Samachar* (Soldier's News), formerly called *Fauji Akhbar*, has been archived in the coffee table book "Soldiering On" released on January 2 in the centenary year of the magazine.

"It might seem surprising but it is that in the year 1899 Mahatma Gandhi donned a uniform. This uniform belonged to a voluntary ambulance unit, which he created," an article by J.P. Chaturvedi published in the *Sainik Samachar* edition of Oct 9, 1977 says.

Accompanying the article is a rare picture of Mahatma Gandhi sporting the British Army uniform.

It might seem surprising but it is that in the year 1899 Mahatma Gandhi donned a uniform. This uniform belonged to a voluntary ambulance unit of the British Army in 1899, according to the *Sainik Samachar*.

The decision to form a voluntary ambulance unit was part of Mahatma's strategy to bring the Indians settled in South Africa into the mainstream.

"The performance of his voluntary ambulance unit was appreciated by all when the Anglo-Boer war ended in 1902 after the capture of Transvaal. This unit consisted of 1100 Indians.

"The Commander-in-Chief of the Army mentioned the heroic deeds performed by this ambulance unit, whose members walked 20 to 25 miles a day to carry out their voluntary duties to help the injured," the article reads.

When the best of the British soldiers were forced into action during the war that "the Mahatma thought of raising an ambulance unit to help the wounded."

"The Governor of Natal was sympathetic and Gandhiji was able to secure the services of the eminent Dr. Booth to train his unit... Their (Indian volunteers') sense of service and capacity for hard work was appreciated and won them many admirers," says the book "Soldiering On". The book chronicles not just the important events in the history of the armed forces but also in the history of the nation.

"Soldiering On" was released by Defence Minister A.K. Antony at a grand function here attended by Marshal of the Air Force Arjan Singh, Indian Air Force chief Air Chief Marshal F.H. Major, Indian Army chief General Deepak Kapoor and Indian Navy's vice chief Vice Admiral R.P. Suthan. ■

Mahatma Gandhi in the uniform of a British Army sergeant during the Anglo-Boer War.

India-Africa trade to grow nine times by 2012: Assocham

Even as India's exports decline, India-African bilateral trade is projected to grow by over nine times from $26 billion now to $150 billion by 2012, according to an estimate by a leading business chamber.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (Assocham), in a report on Africa, projects that in the next four years the continent will have greater business significance and drive two-way trade to over $150 billion.

According to Assocham, bilateral trade grew over five times from $5.2 billion to $26 billion from 2002-03 to 2007-08.

"The governments in African continent have also been encouraging industries to intensify their ties with India because it has already announced Duty Free Tariff Preference Scheme for all LCDs (Least Developed Countries) including Africa so that imports from them become easier and increase by manifold," said Assocham secretary general D.S. Rawat.

Rawat said the areas which will receive maximum focus in the next four to five years for increased trade include minerals, fuels, gems and jewellery, inorganic chemicals, ores and wood, besides project exports, consultancy, IT, education and healthcare. ■

All-African brass band marks R-Day

A reaffirmation of India's important role in assisting with development in South Africa and an all-African brass band playing the national anthem marked India's Republic Day celebrations in Johannesburg on January 26.

A brass band contingent from the Osizweni Combined School in Secunda, some 150 km east of Johannesburg, impressed the Indian mission officials who attended the function there last year. They joined South African Indian and African dancers in a combination of dances representing both countries.

Speaking on behalf of the premier of Gauteng province, who could not attend, Local Government Minister Quedani Dorothy Mahlangu said the special relationship between South Africa and India, started by the common links that Mahatma Gandhi created, has been recorded for new generations to understand it.

"It is important that this is recorded so that generations to come will remember and know and understand that the partnership between these two countries will always be there — politically, economically and otherwise," Mahlangu said.

"From former presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, as well as all other leaders in our municipal and provincial governments, there are a lot of things that we have learnt from India and there has been a lot of interaction that has taken place since (freedom from apartheid in) 1994, and we are looking forward to that being continued as we proceed with strengthening our democracy."

Mahlangu also lauded India's role in developing communities in South Africa: "It is important to note that one of the most important programmes in the South African government, called the Community Development Workers, was informed by and encouraged by what is happening in India. That programme is working very well with men and women who are foot soldiers on the ground who are assisting in responding to the challenges that the poor have been facing."

Mahlangu said there were still many challenges that were common to India and South Africa: "One of them is underdevelopment; the second is poverty. As we work hard at better business relationships, those must translate to higher economic growth which must lead to lesser poverty and underdevelopment."

He said India could also assist in improving education and health services in South Africa through strategic partnerships.

Indian High Commissioner Rajiv Bhatia said the similarities between the two democracies would be highlighted further when general elections are held in both India and South Africa, probably at about the same time in the next few months.

"Soon you will see the majesty and greatness of India's democracy which will enable some 700 million people to exercise their right to vote. I could say that India and South Africa are heading to general elections and it is quite possible that it will be around the same time. Of course, in neither country the timing has yet been determined, but we will be watching the announcements with expectation and interest." ■

SADC leaders begin third summit on Zimbabwe political crisis

The leaders of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) began an extraordinary summit here in South Africa on January 26, in yet another attempt to eke a compromise from Zimbabwe's rival leaders on power-sharing, BuaNews reported.

Both Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) leader Morgan Tsvangirai were present at the meeting which was underway at the Presidential guest-house in Pretoria and chaired by South African President Kgalema Motlanthe.

The summit, the bloc's third such summit on Zimbabwe in less than a year, was convened to find an amicable solution to the political deadlock that has shrouded Zimbabwe's political landscape since elections in mid-2008.

The power sharing agreement signed by Mugabe, Tsvangirai and Arthur Mutambara, the head of the minor faction of MDC, on Sep 15 last year is yet to be implemented.

The agreement made provision for the creation of the posts of prime minister and deputy prime minister under constitutional amendment 19, which still needs to be passed by Zimbabwe's Parliament.

Under the agreement, which was facilitated by SADC facilitator and former South African President Thabo Mbeki, Mugaba would remain president, while Tsvangirai would take up the position of prime minister with Mutambara as his deputy.

However, the parties did not agree on key cabinet ministries, including home affairs.

The political deadlock in Zimbabwe has exacerbated the socio-economic crisis which has led to the highest inflation figure in the world, a collapse of the once-thriving agricultural industry and business sectors and a shutdown of infrastructure.

The outbreak of a cholera in Zimbabwe has infected over 50,000 Zimbabweans and killed over 2,500 people.

The African Union (AU), SADC, the UN as well as international pressure groups hope for a resolution by the end of proceedings on January 26, as peace and prosperity in Zimbabwe is crucial to regional growth and investment. The convening of the summit on January 26 followed a decision made during a meeting held on January 19 in Harare, Zimbabwe.

The meeting was attended by Motlanthe, Mozambican President Armando Guebuza, who is the deputy chairperson of SADC's Politics, Defence and Security organ, Mbeki as well as Mugabe and the two MDC leaders. ■

Indian beauty queens crown deepening ties with South Africa

Three Indians doing well in beauty pageants in South Africa crowned a year in which business, cultural and political ties between the two countries reached new heights.

The best-known would-be business tie, between mobile giants Reliance Communications in India and MTN in South Africa, fell through, but the Tata-led consortium Neotel forged ahead in its quest to take on the state-owned monopoly Telkom as South Africa's second national operator.

By the year-end, confidence in Neotel's massive rollout plan for wireless communications saw the consortium securing 7.5 billion rands ($778 million) in funding despite a worseing economic climate.

South Africa's FirstRand Bank forged ahead with plans to start operations in India and by the year-end was finalising regulatory approval.

On the political front, the tripartite IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa) initiative that aims to extend south-south cooperation was beginning to take shape five years after it was initiated, India's Minister for External Affairs Pranab Mukherjee said at the fifth ministerial commission meeting of the IBSA hosted in South Africa in May 2008.

The year had started with Shagun Sarabhai of India being crowned Miss India Worldwide. Then in December, Miss India Parvathy Omanakkuttan emerged the first runner-up in the Miss World competition held in Johannesburg; and days later South African Indian Tatum Keshwar was crowned the new Miss South Africa. ■

African Union elects Moamar Gaddafi as new chairman

Libyan leader Moamer Gaddafi.

Long-time Libyan leader Moamer Gaddafi was on February 2 elected new chairman of the African Union (AU) during a summit in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa.

The 66-year-old immediately vowed to push on with his pet project, the creation of a United States of Africa.

However, Gaddafi admitted that there was much work to be done and that African leaders were nowhere near agreement. Gaddafi and some of his allies believe that only a united Africa can tackle the long-term issues of poverty and disease and make the continent a global powerhouse.

Gaddafi took power in Libya after a coup in 1969, and has for four decades been a controversial figure on the world stage.

He was vilified by the West over his alleged role in terrorist actions, including the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, in which 270 people died when a US airliner was blown up over Scotland.

However, Gaddafi has renewed links with the West, promising to fight terrorism and publicly giving up efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

The new AU chairman is seen as an accomplished statesman in Africa, although human rights groups say that he still crushes all opposition in his own country. ■

AU leaders push for a common govt

The African Union (AU) leaders meeting here have agreed to change the existing AU commission, the group's legislative body, into an African Union Authority (AUA) as part of an effort to expand the group's mandate in Africa, BuaNews reported on February 2.

The heads of states of the 53-member African Union attending the 12th summit in the Ethiopian capital would also discuss political situations in Zimbabwe, Somalia and the global financial crisis, among others.

AU Commission chairman Jean Ping said the new authority would have a broader mandate than the existing commission.

"We are creating an institution with a bigger mandate and capacity, so that it would lead us towards the goal a union government," Ping told reporters after the end of February 1 discussions.

He added that the African governments would still retain their

sovereignty under the new system.

"The body will have a president, a vice-president, and secretaries, who would be given different portfolios to handle," he said.

Ping said the idea is to create a union government in Africa that can tackle all regional issues.

However, many African leaders have expressed reservations on the new system. Some leaders instead favoured the strengthening of regional institutions before creating a continent-wide government that is expected to give a stronger bargaining power in favour of Africa at global forums.

Since 2007, the South African government has embarked on an intensive countrywide campaign to gather views of its citizens on the envisioned African Union Authority, the report said.

Majority of the population has shown support to the idea of Africa's gradual integration, strengthening multilateral institutions and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), it said.

South Africa falls under the 14-member REC of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), whose other member states include Angola, Botswana, Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The integration of the African governments under a single authority was envisaged by the late visionary leader Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana. ■

First Indian woman chaplain for South African army

Caroline Pillay has made history by becoming the first South African of Indian descent to serve as a chaplain in the army.

Pillay was among 275 volunteer recruits who started an intensive training course this week at the air force gymnasium in Pretoria before they serve for two years in the army.

Undeterred by the fact that at 39 she was almost twice as old as most of the other recruits, Pillay said she was looking forward to stamping her feet even at her "mature" age, confirming that she was fit, healthy and ready to tackle the course.

"The young ones will need my advice and guidance during the basic training and I will probably need their physical assistance," the delicately-built Pillay quipped as she explained that she would be looking after the spiritual needs of the soldiers at 5 SA Infantry Battalion in Ladysmith.

Pillay has a masters degree in theology and hails from a Baptist clerical family in Durban dominated by males, which increased her determination to serve as a chaplain.

Defence Minister Charles Nqakula was pleased that Pillay and seven other South African Indian women were among the 79 women volunteer recruits who were joining 5363 men of all races. Until now, Indian women had largely shunned the military. "You are truly representative of our society," Nqakula told the recruits. ■

Indians driving tractors in Chad

Sikh men with turbans can be seen driving around in Indian tractors on farms in the West African state of Chad, says Ravi Kumar, the honorary Consul-General for India in the country.

Kumar was reacting on January 9 to a call from the audience during a discussion on Africa at the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas meet for India to consider sending farmers to Africa to share their skills.

"We are finding increasing suicides amongst our farmers because they cannot make ends meet," M.V. Sreenivas Reddy said during question time.

"Why does India not get African governments to buy up land that our farmers with their skills and experience can help develop agriculturally and then export these products to countries where there is demand? We would not only find (Indian) farmers being gainfully employed, but could also wipe out the endemic suicides."

Kumar said the experimental contract cultivation project in Chad was aimed at producing cassava, rice and maize crops. There were also attempts to get a similar project going in neighbouring Cameroon.

The guest of honour at the session, South African Provincial Sports Minister Amichand Rajbansi, said the suggestion would have repercussion in countries where land restitution remained major obstacles to overcome.

Kumar also made a plea for Africa to be divided into segments by linguistic affiliation or level of development for ventures such as the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas.

"The time has come to consider dividing Africa into segments, because we must realise that Africa is very diverse, especially Francophone Africa in the west and central part of the continent.

"Some of these countries have limited populations, but have great potential and are being excluded at present."

Others in the audience reminded the panel that southern African countries were mainly English speaking, with some Portuguese, and the North was largely Arab-speaking.

Another panelist, Mozambican businessman Jose Parayenken, supported the segmentation view. ■

Rahman first Indian to win Golden Globe; 'Slumdog' bags top prizes

Music maestro A.R. Rahman became the first Indian to win the prestigious Golden Globe award for best original music score as the Mumbai-based "Slumdog Millionaire" bagged four top prizes, including Best Motion Picture-Drama.

The film also won Best Director award for British director Danny Boyle and Best Writer award for Simon Beaufoy.

The 66th annual Golden Globe awards run by the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, a group of about 90 reporters covering show business for overseas outlets, were presented at a glittering ceremony in Beverly Hills, California on January 11 night.

"Golden Globes, or the GGs as we very affectionately refer to them - your mad, pulsating affection for our film is much appreciated. Really, deeply appreciated," Boyle said.

Sunday's award was a first Golden Globe for Boyle, who is best known for his cult 1996 movie "Trainspotting", "The Beach" and "28 Days Later".

His latest offering won over "The Curious Case Of Benjamin Button", "Frost/Nixon", "The Reader" and "Revolutionary Road".

"We really weren't expecting to be here in America at all at one time, so it's just amazing to be here," said Beaufoy, whose winning script was adapted from Indian diplomat Vikas Swarup's novel "Q & A".

Bollywood superstar Shah Rukh Khan was one of the presenters. Also present were "Slumdog" stars Anil Kapoor, Dev Patel, and Freida Pinto.

British Indian actor Dev Patel plays the protagonist in the film telling the heartwarming story of an 18-year-old orphan from the slums of Mumbai, who goes on to win a staggering Rs.20 million (approx $412,000) on India's "Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?" game show.

Rahman also won the Best Composer award Friday as "Slumdog Millionaire" swept the 14th Annual Critics' Choice Awards winning five top prize. Â

Funds shortage puts Zimbabwe's cholera relief in jeopardy

As the death toll from Zimbabwe's cholera outbreak inches towards 3,000, the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) on January 23 issued a desperate appeal for funding to keep its relief operations afloat.

Its work, which includes rehabilitating the old and setting up new water supply, sanitation and cholera treatment systems, is critical to attempts to check the spread of the waterborne, diarrhoea-related disease. The scale of the operation is unprecedented in Red Cross terms — bigger, in terms of the number of emergency health units deployed than its response to the Myanmar cyclone last year. But the organisation could have to suspend within a month if it doesn't receive new funds. "As it stands now, we won't be able to continue our operations beyond the next four weeks," Tony Maryon, head of the IFRC's team in Zimbabwe, said in a statement.

In December 2008, the Geneva-based organisation appealed for 10.2 million Swiss francs ($9.2 million) in funding for the Zimbabwe cholera emergency. To date donors have only stumped up 40 percent. In the meantime cholera continues to spread. The number of dead rose 20 percent over the past week to 2,755. In total, 48,000 people are infected with the disease.

The Zimbabwe Red Cross has deployed 1,000 volunteers across the country. A key component of their work is sensitising ordinary people to the risk of infection and giving them the basic tools, like water purification tablets, to protect themselves. Â

Slumdog is a success for the India story: Vikas Swarup

Diplomat-author Vikas Swarup is not the kind to be swept by all the global adulation and limelight that has stalked *Slumdog Millionaire*, the movie version of his acclaimed novel *Q and A*. "It's a success for India and the story of India," says the unassuming diplomat in an interview.

"What it shows is that stories from India are finding increasing resonance in the world. There is a huge hunger about to know about India," Swarup, who is currently India's deputy high commissioner to South Africa, said.

"It's not about Vikas Swarup's success. It's about India's success, India being there," said the 47-year-old diplomat who first dreamed of this captivating story of a Mumbai slum kid winning the million-dollar quiz show in Allahabad, the north Indian city, where he was born and brought up.

"The novel strikes a chord with ordinary people because it's about endless possibilities of life — anything is possible. The themes the novel explores like love, friendship and fate, are universal," he said.

"My novel is rooted in India and written in an 'Indian' idiom. So the fact that it is now being translated into over 30 languages has come as a pleasant surprise," says Swarup. What accounts for the universal appeal of the novel? "The reason for the novel's global appeal, I imagine, is that though it is set in India, the issues it deals with — love, loss, friendship and humanity — are relatable to every culture and community."

"In reality, *Q & A* could be set in Mexico or Bangkok or London — the themes and the emotions evoked are universal and the underlying message is a simple one — of creating your own luck, of the underdog beating the odds and winning!"

Being a diplomat, Swarup has an inbred talent for projecting India's soft power. It's Hollywood time for India, he says. "Hopefully, the success of the book will encourage Hollywood to look more closely at stories of India and locations in India," he said.

Vikas Swarup

Being a diplomat, Swarup has an inbred talent for projecting India's soft power. It's Hollywood time for India, he says.

Why did he choose the format of a quiz show to tell his story of undying hope amidst extreme privations? "I wanted to show that knowledge is not the preserve of the educated elite and that even a 'street-kid' can possess the wisdom to win a quiz show. For me the quiz show was also a good template to tell the story of modern India, through a series of interlocking stories." *Slumdog Millioniare* has generated an unprecedented global buzz, winning eight Oscars and four Golden Globe awards along the way. *Q and A*, the novel which inspired the movie, too has garnered many awards. "Many people want a piece of me. My mailbox has been flooded with congratulatory messages. I have been deluged with interview calls," says Swarup. "But I know it fully well deep down success is ephemeral and transient," he said with a touch of philosophical gravitas.

Swarup, who served as director in then external affairs minister K. Natwar Singh's office before he went to South Africa, is excited about the prospects of a wider readership for his book after its tryst with Hollywood.

"It's been huge. It's still sinking in. Let's not forget the ultimate mass medium in India is movies. The book will now reach more people," he said.

Swarup said publishers have already renamed the book as "Slumdog Millionaire". "That's because that's a trade practice. After the movie's success, it helps readers to locate the book in bookshops. But that's only for the duration of the movie," he said.

The movie is, however, no surrogate for the tactile experience of holding a book in your hands and relating to it in the privacy of your imagination.

"The film's shelf life is nothing compared to that of the book's. The book will live long after the movie buzz dies down," he said. "Ultimately, literature triumphs," he declared in an oracle-like tone.

What's his next book about? Another imaginative version of the much-hyped India story? No, no, said the author. "The next book is not based on India or set in India," is all he is willing to let in on his next literary venture.

"I have already done two books on India. I want to find new inspiration and new theme," he said.

The story of *Slumdog* goes back to Swarup's holiday breaks in his hometown Allahabad many years ago. An avid quizzer since his college days, the hugely popular quiz show presented by Bollywood superstar Amitabh Bachchan fired his literary imagination. He, however, finally managed to write the novel *Q and A* only in the evenings in London over five years ago when he was posted there as counsellor at the Indian high commission. ■

ENHANCING relations with Africa

External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee called for increased cooperation with African nations on crucial global issues, including Jihadi terrorism during the India-Africa Business Partnership Summit

President of Rwanda Paul Kagame meeting Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, in New Delhi on January 19.

In a cavernous hall in one of Delhi's top hotels, heads of states, ministers and business leaders gathered for two days in January of deliberations to take forward the economic and trade ties between India and Africa. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Federation of Indian Chambers and Commerce and Industry (FICCI) jointly organised the India-Africa Business Partnership Summit that was attended by over 250 delegates from 30 African countries.

The meeting took place under the shadow of the global recession — but still, the mood was remarkably sanguine. A reflection of the fact because the countries in Africa and India, who have both seen a rapid economic growth, will continue to have a certain amount of growth compared to the rest of the world economy.

This is the fourth year running that India has hosted a major conference focusing exclusively on the nations in Africa. It began in 2005 with the first ever-annual India-Africa project partnership conclave, which had since become an annual fixture. It was followed by the India-Africa Hydrocarbon Summit in 2007, showcasing the Asian giant's quest for energy security with cooperation with her African friends.

Then in April 2008, India hosted eight heads of states for

the India-Africa Forum Summit. It was an affirmation at the highest political level of the close ties between the two regions, which have been interacting closely on important global issues like multilateral institution reforms and world trade talks. There had also been a business conclave preceding the political summit in March 2008.

This year's India-Africa business summit began on January 19 with a big banner announcement for by the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee, who delivered the inaugural address. He announced India was committed to doubling the amount of lines of credit to $5.4 billion for the next five years beginning 2008-09.

He stressed on the need to "vacate in a hurry" impediments to trade and investment to boost economic ties across various sectors including railways, road and construction, health care and pharma, power, mining and agriculture.

India has already announced "duty-free preference scheme" for least developed countries, including 34 African nations, which covers 94 percent of the total tariff lines extended by New Delhi. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had announced this scheme during the 2008 summit.

Mukherjee said $500 million would also be provided over the next five to six years for projects in critical areas from aid to Africa budget.

In a perfect bookend to Mukherjee's inaugural speech, Minister of State for External Affairs Anand Sharma pointed out at the valedictory session that trade volumes had increased nearly six-fold in the last five years to $30 billion.

Sharma suggested that Indian companies should get more valued-added imports from Africa, indicated that India did not just look at Africa as merely a source for raw materials. "I would also like to encourage our business chambers and trade bodies to devote special attention to promoting commercial relations through periodic exchange of delegations and business events," he said.

He added that India's commitment to Africa was total and not determined by any cyclical patterns. "India's focus has always been and shall continue to be on capacity building, skill enhancement and human resource development in Africa."

The minister said Indian missions in Africa had complaints about difficulty in financial transactions, especially in opening letters of credit. "We advise the banks and financial institutions concerned to deal with the problem expeditiously. This information can be circulated to banks in India so that the matter can be sorted out," he said.

India will put in a mechanism to ensure a smoother road for businesses for opening letter of credit and receipt of payments through banks and financial institutions, Sharma added.

Addressing the global financial crisis, he said that the model of international financial architecture has come into question.

The chief guest at the business summit, President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, agreed with India's view to reform international financial institutions. He urged the African business community to utilise financial support for effective strengthening of economic relations.

He stressed on the need to have a comprehensive strategy on Africa's development challenges.

Interestingly, India had recently helped in Rwanda starting work on its largest ever hydropower project, Nyabarongo hydro power plant, utilising $80 million line of credit from India's EXIM bank.

A consortium of two Indian companies, state-run Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited and private Angelique International Ltd, is executing the project under an engineering, procurement and construction agreement.

Minister of State for External Affairs Anand Sharma said that India's commitment to Africa was total and not determined by any cyclical patterns. "India's focus has always been and shall continue to be on capacity building, skill enhancement and human resource development in Africa."

One of the most popular speakers was minister of state for commerce, Jairam Ramesh who admitted that India could not compete with China on the amount of lines of credit. "The total exposure for the EXIM Bank in Africa is about $3 billion, which is perhaps the line of credit by China to a single country," he said.

Therefore, he suggested that the Indian companies should look at creating value-addition within that continent, instead of merely importing raw material. "India also needs to be more serious, aggressive and ruthless in value-addition of African products within the continent," Ramesh said, and cited the example of the diamond and cashew sectors, where raw products are sourced from Africa for value addition in India.

Ramesh was especially greeted with applause when he called for the "Africanisation" of the diamond trade. The minister said India's advantage over Africa was its human resource talent, and that it could share its technical expertise with African countries.

While talks about the global economy did dominate small talk at the conference, a representative of the African Development Bank did make clear that Africa remained "a land for outstanding business opportunities".

Interestingly, the state-run Export Credit Guarantee Corporation of India, that provides risk cover for exporters, said that most African countries had a favourable risk rating for most African countries. A positive rating means that the insurance cover is provide at a lower premium. A senior ECGC official said that almost 50 African countries were in the medium level of risk. "Don't shy away from risks. Where risks are there, rewards are there."

The next date for a tête-à-tête is in March when CII and EXIM Bank will organise the fifth India Africa project partnership conclave. ■

Notes towards India's new Africa POLICY

The economic revival in Africa, the cradle of mankind, is as impressive as the restoration of democracy in many African countries. **Lalit Mansingh** writes about radical changes sweeping Africa and charts out a blueprint for taking India-Africa relations to new heights in the 21st century.

The mention of Africa evokes two contradictory responses: sentimentality and cynicism. It is difficult not to be sentimental about Africa. After all, it is the 'mother continent'.

Africa was the cradle of mankind — the place where the earliest human being evolved. All human beings on this planet are descended from African ancestors. It remains an incredibly beautiful continent with its forests teeming with fabulous wildlife which does not exist elsewhere in the world. And there is the dark side of the Dark Continent, which evokes cynicism. The large majority of its mostly a billion people, are needy, surviving on less than $1 per day. Thirty five percent of the poorest countries of the world is located in Africa. It is a continent in which ethnic conflict and religious violence are rampant. Disease and malnutrition afflict all regions of Africa. Two million Africans die every year of malaria and HIV/AIDS.

And yet, it is difficult to miss the winds of change that are sweeping through Africa.

I was posted as High Commissioner to Nigeria, the most

populous nation in Africa. I had concurrent charge of Benin, Cameroon and Chad, that is, virtually the whole of West Africa. My colleagues in the external affairs ministry sympathised with me, because a posting in Africa was regarded as a punishment. I cheated the ministry. I enjoyed my experience there and now consider the time spent in Africa as a valuable education in diplomacy.

When I was there 15 years ago, Nigeria was an unstable country, ruled by military dictators. There was rampant corruption and exploitation of the poor. There was tension between the major ethnic groups: the Ibos in the East, the Hansas and Fulanis in the North and the Yomtas in the South. Smaller tribes were also in conflict with each other, especially in the oil rich Delta province. In the process, oil production was frequently disrupted.

Nigeria, 15 years ago, was a microcosm of Africa representing poverty, exploitation, tribal and ethnic conflict, religious violence, absence of the rule of law and political instability.

In the past 15 years, Africa has undergone a remarkable transformation. Military dictatorships have given way to democracy. Two thirds of the African states have embraced democracy. As many as 24 of these countries have submitted themselves to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) under which they are judged by a group of 'Wise Men' on the status of their democracy and good governance.

The African Union insists on democratic governance as a criterion for membership. The economic revival of Africa is as impressive as the restoration of democracy in Africa.

Sub-Saharan Africa, according to the IMF, has been growing at more than 5 percent per year in the past decade, touching 5.9 percent in 2006. Some of the states have registered incredible annual rates of growth. Chad (34 percent) Angola (28 percent) and Sudan (14 percent) are a few examples of this economic surge.

To speak of a resurgent Africa is, therefore, no exaggeration, even though formidable problems still remain. Africa's image in the rest of the world is changing, in the same way India's image has improved in the past 15 years. India was described by Western governments as 'a basket case' and a 'black hole', though the industrial world sees India as a multi-billion dollar market. In much the same way, the Dark Continent is currently seen as a continent of opportunity.

Residents of Soweto, South Africa, line up to vote in a federal election.

Two thirds of African states have embraced democracy. Many have submitted themselves to the African Peer Review Mechanism. Sub-Saharan Africa, according to the IMF, has been growing at more than 5 percent annually in the past decade.

India and Africa

Let me attempt a quick survey of India's policy towards Africa in the past 60 years. Contrary to official statements that the fundamentals of our foreign policy have remained intact since 1947, I maintain that it has undergone major changes over the years.

I will divide the past 60 years into three neat periods, which will illustrate these changes. Phase I covers the first 20 years from 1947 to 1967. The dominant figure during period was undoubtedly Jawaharlal Nehru, who proclaimed the basic principles of independent India's foreign policy. The theme of these 20 years was idealism. The second phase covering the next thirty years — from 1967 to 1997 — is what I call the Period of Realism.

The major influences during this period were Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and P.V. Narasimha Rao. The third and current phase is from 1998 to 2008. It is the Phase of Dynamism, and let me emphasise — it is a bipartisan foreign policy. There was a seamless transition from the policies of the NDA government led by Atal Behari Vajpayee to the UPA government led by Dr. Manmohan Singh.

How does Africa feature in these three phases of foreign policy? During the first phase, Africa was centre-stage. It was partly due to the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and his personal involvement in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The real motivator was, however, Nehru, who saw India as the flag bear-

er and champion of the cause of the liberation of all nations still under colonial domination.

India's moral support gave hope to the generation of African liberators like Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Tom Mboya, Obafemi Awolowo and Albert Luthuli.

Nehru galvanised the non-western world, convened the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, and spoke with feeling about "the infinite tragedy of Africa". "It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability, because we are sister continents," he said. Commenting on the establishment of the OAU in 1963, Nehru said in the Indian parliament on August 12, 1963: "Perhaps the most exciting thing that is happening in the 20th century is the awakening of Africa." It is largely due to India's inspiration that all the near-by-liberated nations in Africa joined the swelling ranks of non-alignment, and even today, constitute the majority of NAM.

In the second phase of our foreign policy from 1967 to 1997, Africa moved from centre stage to the periphery, except for the brief period during Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership. No doubt the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) had been set up in 1960 and had started programmes in Africa. But the excitement and enthusiasm of the Nehru years were missing in our relations with Africa. Rajiv Gandhi to some extent revived it. He had a passion for Africa. He travelled to Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe in 1986 and declared India's solidarity with the 'Frontline states of Southern Africa'. At every international forum — whether it was the Commonwealth or the United Nations — he attacked the policy of apartheid in South Africa and championed the cause of the freedom for Namibia.

In 1986, at the Harare Summit of NAM, an AFRICA Fund was created with India's commitment to provide financial support for the frontline states. Rajiv Gandhi appointed a Special Envoy for Africa. India's African diplomacy succeeded in causing the demolition of apartheid in South Africa and the emergence of Namibia as an independent nation.

The goal of de-colonisation proclaimed by Nehru was completed by his grandson Rajiv Gandhi.

No doubt the ITEC had been set up in 1960 and had started programmes in Africa. But the excitement and enthusiasm of the Nehru years were missing in our relations with Africa. Rajiv Gandhi to some extent revived it. He had a passion for Africa.

Post Rajiv Gandhi, Africa again faded out of India's foreign policy horizon. I therefore devised my own Africa Policy in West Africa, daring to take initiatives, which went against conventional wisdom. I sought out General Obassanjo, who was persona non-grata with the military government, and made him the chief guest at our Republic Day function. During our years of neglect, we owe it to personalities like Obassanjo for keeping the Indian image bright and shining.

Allow me to share a small insight regarding Obassanjo. When he was a lieutenant in the Nigerian army, he was selected for a training course in India. He protested that since he was at the top of his batch, he should have been sent to Sandhurst. He was forced to come to India. He swore to me that it was the best training in his life. He went back with admiration for Indian democracy — and it is reflected in the fact that he remains in African history the only military dictator who voluntarily handed over power to a democratically elected government.

When I was subsequently posted to London, I used to taunt my British friends by saying that India's military training produced an Obassanjo, while British training created General Musharraf!

What went wrong with our Africa policy or rather with the absence of it, in the post-Rajiv Gandhi years? We began to look at Africa with Western eyes — almost echoing their descrip-

tion of India as a 'basket case' and 'a black hole'. We lost our faith in Africa. Africa became irrelevant to India's national interests. I am sure the new generation of African leaders noticed the changes in our approach.

Let's come to the current period of India's foreign policy, which I describe as the phase of Dynamism. It started with the Big Bang — the nuclear tests of 1998. India reeled under the most severe sanctions imposed on her by the rest of the world, but eventually emerged as a global player.

I will briefly outline the features of the new foreign policy of India, which is based on four departures from the past.

We established new priorities in our external relations. Replacing the principle of equal treatment for all sovereign states, we now have a priority category of a dozen-odd countries with which we have a strategic partnership or strategic dialogue.

There is a greater economic focus in our foreign policy, including an emphasis on trade, investment and energy security.

We have broadened the definition of security from the protection of our borders and territorial integrity to a wider concept of defending our national interests.

We have a greater focus on the countries in our neighbourhood.

Africa fits in as a major focus area on the basis of the first three criteria. We have a strategic partnership with South Africa and following the visit of President Hosni Mubarak recently, we have started a strategic dialogue with Egypt.

Africa is important for our economic interests, especially as it is abundantly endowed with valuable minerals and hydrocarbon resources.

Africa is also vital to our security, being our offshore neighbour across the Indian Ocean. Our stakes in the security of the sea-lanes and the Indian Ocean were dramatically demonstrated when the Indian Navy sank a Somali pirate vessel off the coast of Oman in Novermber 2008. It is ironical that in historical times, the Sidis of the East coast of Africa were our protectors against piracy as described by the 14th century Arab historian Ibn Batuta.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with former Ghana President John Agyekum Kufuor at a meeting in New Delhi, ahead of the two-day India-Africa Forum Summit held on April 8, 2008.

Africa was never a major trading destination for India. Even the small beginnings of a trade relationship which grew until the 1960s, actually declined between the 1960s and 1990s.

India's Current Africa Policy

Let us have a critical look at the state of our Africa policy in the current phase.

Economic: Africa was never a major trading destination for India. Even the small beginnings of a trade relationship which grew until the 1960s, actually declined between the 1960s and 1990s. Fortunately, there has been a robust revival and growth, with bilateral (non-oil) trade going from less than $1billion in 1990-91 to $30 billion in 2007-08, a 30-fold increase. While this is cause for cheer, we need to recognise that our trade is still confined to a dozen countries only, and our basket of inputs and reports still follow a colonial pattern of importing raw material and exporting finished goods. This is an area which needs attention.

Industry: We have in the past decade established linkages with African industry. In 2006, the Exim Bank of India extended 46 lines of credit for projects in different parts of Africa. Indian industry is finally looking seriously at industrial investments in Africa.

And yet, our attention is focused on a handful of relatively more advanced economies: South Africa, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. The rest of Africa is yet to feel the new industrial strength of India.

Energy: Africa's energy resources have attracted global attention. India has been a relative latecomer, and hence there is a sense of frustration in feeling left out of the energy bonanza. Even so, Indian companies like ONGC, Indian Oil and Reliance have been active in seeking prospects for exploration indirectly. India has established a presence in Libya, Sudan, Angola, Nigeria and the area around the Gulf of Guinea. Oil India and ONGC have secured three blocks for exploration in Libya. ONGC /OVL have also acquired an oil field in Nigeria through an investment of around $2 billion. It has reserves of 300 million barrels of oil and 2.5 trillion cubic feet of gas. It is heartening that the ITEC programme

of MEA has been retooled to help establish an economic footprint all across Africa. Equally, the Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Commerce and the Indian corporate sector, represented by CII and FICCI, have organised successful India-Africa conclaves.

Despite the good news on the economic front, what has been missing from the Nehru and Rajiv years is a strong, pan-African political dialogue. I would like to express my appreciation of the UPA government led by Dr Manmohan Singh for finally bringing the India-Africa political dialogue to the centrestage of our foreign policy.

In April 2008, the first ever India-Africa Summit was held in Delhi in the presence of the leaders of 14 major African states. It was preceded by a conclave of business leaders on both sides — there were 600 business representatives from 33 African countries and 35 African ministers. They brought to the table 150 projects with a total of $10 billion in investments.

The areas of cooperation identified were the four core areas of Indian competence: technology, agriculture, human resources and energy.

It was a belated but good beginning in restoring our damaged relations with Africa. Addressing the summit, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh sounded almost Nehruvian when he said: "The 21st century is often described as the Asian century. India wishes to see the 21st century as the century of Asia and Africa, with the people of the two continents working together to promote inclusive globalisation." It is too early to see if the stirring rhetoric will be translated into action on the ground. I am inclined to give the benefit of the doubt to the Mammohan Singh government.

Two initiatives taken by the government in the past five years deserve to be underlined. The first is the establishment of institutional contacts at the Pan-African level. In July 2002, when the African Union was launched in Durban, it was hailed as a "major milestone in the evolution of Pan-Africanism and Africa's search for continental unity".

India has been accepted as a member of the AU Partners Group and has participated regularly in their meetings. India is a regular invitee at the AU Summits, and I hope India will some day join the African leaders at the prime minister's level.

The other initiative worth noting is the Pan-African E-network project. It is a bold as well as audacious scheme, which seeks to assist Africa to bridge the digital divide in the 21st century. Launched in Addis Ababa in July 2007, the network will be connected by satellite and fibre optics to all the 53 nations of Africa. It will provide tele-education, tele-medicine and VVIP connectivity. It will also connect five regional universities, five regional centres and five regional super-specialty hospitals as well as cover universities and hospitals in every single country in Africa. The project will cost a mere $120 million for India.

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Overall Assessment

We have a window of opportunity as well as a major challenge in Africa. We have made a promising beginning, but we need to reorganise the priorities and challenges ahead.

We have two models available to us: the European and Chinese models. The Europeans, through the Lome Agreement and the EU-Africa Summits, have established special relations with African countries, promising them substantial aid and preferential access. But it still follows a colonial pattern: procurement of raw material, and selling subsidised food and other products, often destroying the indigenous industries.

The other is the Chinese model — a blatantly mercantile approach based on deals struck to ensure energy and mineral supplies to China. It has already caused a backlash due to cheap Chinese products flooding African markets.

It is the Chinese challenge that worries Indian policymakers. But our response has been either to deny that

there is a challenge from China or exaggerate the damage done by China's push into Africa.

My suggestion is not to be in denial mode. China has been proactive, and has reached out to Africa, while India was passive in the past two decades.

We are a poor third after the western multinationals and the Chinese companies in securing energy contracts in Africa.

The response is not to despair, but take the right steps to make up for lost time. China is a competitor, not a threat to India. These are valuable lessons for Indian diplomacy from China's initiatives in Africa.

There is no shame in following some of their best procedures. Overall, however, we must strike our own, unique policy towards Africa.

Neither Europe nor China has the historical linkages or the enormous fund of goodwill that India enjoys in Africa. We will be in Africa neither for exploitation nor for striking defence deals with corrupt regimes. As the prime minister said at the recent Africa Summit: "We visualise a partnership that is anchored in the fundamental principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit."

The pan-African e-network helps Africans access the internet.

Neither Europe nor China has the historical linkages or the enormous fund of goodwill that India enjoys in Africa. We will be in Africa neither for exploitation nor for striking defence deals with corrupt regimes.

Conclusion

Let me conclude with some constructive suggestions for our Africa policy in the coming years.

1) We need to abandon the slogans of the past and stop evoking clichés in dealing with Africa. The current leaders of Africa are more interested in what India will bring to the table rather than discuss the good old days.

2) We need to multiply our missions in Africa and strengthen them. And MEA must ensure that an African posting is no longer regarded as a punishment post.

3) The ministry must strengthen its own infrastructure to deal with Africa. I propose that Africa be made into a 'Super Division' under an additional secretary or even a special secretary.

4) In the same vein, ITEC needs a radical overhaul. It is simply not equipped to carry out the tasks mandated to it.

It is a matter of embarrassment that in the 50 years since ITEC was set up, we have spent only $2 billion in assistance programmes and trained a mere 1,000 African trainees. Also, that our total credit lines amount to $2 billion in the whole of Africa, when China has extended $4 billion each to Angola, Sudan and Nigeria.

Surely, as the economic superpower that we claim to be, we can loosen our purse strings? How about training 1,000 Africans and spending $2 billion in current disbursement every year hereafter.

5) Our political dialogue must be more sustained in Africa. For Dr. Manmohan Singh to be only the second Prime Minister to visit Nigeria in 60 years is simply not acceptable. Nor the fact that External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee made his maiden visits to Africa in July 2007. How can African leaders take us seriously if our leaders are too busy to visit them?

6) We need to raise awareness of Africa in India, and sustain an Indo-African dialogue at the unofficial level though Track II events.

7) And finally, if India aspires to be the global power that it deserves to be, our leadership must think big. We need to expand our presence in Africa, have more flagship projects like the Pan African e-network project and make a major thrust through the formidable soft power of India. It is time to put India's money where its mouth is. If we fail to achieve this, our dream of an African-Indian partnership will be consigned to the voluminous archives of failed projects.

But overall, I remain optimistic that we are proceeding in the right direction. To borrow a slogan from the most famous descendent of Africa today: 'Yes we can'. ■

(The author is a former foreign secretary of India. This article is based on a speech he gave at an international conference on Resurgent Africa. The conference was organised by the Observer Research Foundation in New Delhi.)

Partnering a new TRANSFORMATION

Indian foreign policy in Africa aims at promoting self-reliant economic growth in developing countries and a model based on equal partnership, says **Dr. Suresh Kumar**

The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) organised the first ever Regional Conclave for Eastern Africa in Addis Ababa in April 2006. The availability of goods and services that the local population can afford, local production to meet the demands of the region's growing middle class consumer market, were, among others, the focus of the conclave.

Non-alignment was a major focus of independent India till 1990, and formed the basis of its secular, democratic and economic principles. "India's motivations of the early 1990s were dictated by considerations of the non-aligned framework, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union weakened much of India's international leverage" (James Heitzman, 1995). India continues with its foreign policy of 'non-interference' as part of the Panchsheel Policy of 1954. The challenges that India faces in the post-1990 period are mainly on the fronts of economy, food and energy security. The 'Concept of Aid' in terms of quantity and qualtiy is not acceptable to most developing countries. Inter- dependence of nations on the economic front has become a major factor in the economic development of nations. Science and technology did open up new opportunities on the economic front post-1990s, but the threat of international terrorism has endangered the political stability of nations and necessitated adopting modifications in the conduct of foreign affairs of nations.

On the economic front, engagement with nations needs opening up of markets to foreign investment. Indeed, India has adopted a market economy, thereby getting integrated with the global economy. "Indian foreign policy talks about self-reliant economic growth in developing countries. The development cooperation should not be based on the

donor-recipient theory, but on equal partnership. This model of economic cooperation under the post-1990 foreign policy is the extended version of South-South Cooperation" *(Suresh Kumar, August 6, 2008).*

India stands fourth in purchasing power parity in the world. India's multi-ethnic and multi-religious democracy has helped strengthen its military, economic and diplomatic reach in world politics. Leveraging its geo-strategic position, India has been engaged in addressing its political, economic, social and security concerns as part of its foreign policy goals.

India has announced unilateral zero-duty access to goods and the reduction of tariff lines from least developed countries (LDCs) in the region. Still, concerns regarding the Duty Free Preference Scheme (DFPS) and lines of credit at the bilateral and organisational levels remain. India recently announced the DFPS to all of the 50 least developed countries, offering preferential market access for exports. As many as 34 of these countries are in Africa. The DFPS promotes public-private partnerships in small, medium and micro enterprises. It also encourages domestic investors, service sectors and industrialists to expand their base for economic cooperation, bilateral trade and investment in other countries.

Africa wants Indian investors for its own growth. India's initiative in Africa, without necessarily insisting on reciprocity, is a positive practice of its foreign policy to establish cooperation with Africa.

India has been engaging the private sector in African countries and working out equal partnerships in trade and investments sectors. India is also looking at innovative use of development partnerships, economic and technological capabilities, and development of infrastructure projects as well as civilisation linkages to achieve the goal of a 'peaceful continental periphery'.

Africa looks upon Indian investors, market and economy as positive factors for their own economic growth. India's initiative in Africa, without necessarily insisting on reciprocity, is a positive aspect of India's foreign policy and is helping it establish real cooperation with African nations.

The Indian Army, working as UN peacekeeper, plays a vital role in peacebuilding in Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia-Eritrea border, Sudan and others). It also helps in building infrastructure and de-mining operations. Indian military officers train forces of African countries either in India or in their own country as per requirements. This helps India earn a good name in Africa. The goodwill generated thus helps India work with African nations to secure mutual continental ocean security interests and economic and militarily benefits.

Africa has suffered a lot from cold war politics and from the neo-colonial economic doctrine and thus engages seriously to build a strong and vital alliance on an equal basis with a growing Asian power like India.

"Africa and India reiterate their intention to ensure that in all these matters, the interests of developing countries are kept uppermost and the socio-economic developmental requirements of our countries are guaranteed" *(Delhi Declaration, 2008: 2)*. Mutual interest and good bilateral relations are for the betterment and and are meant to strengthen equal partnership through a composite dialogue process.

India's standing in Africa

Post 1990, India has engaged differently with Africa than with the rest of the world. India's ties with Africa go back to history. Both had a colonial past and India supported Africa's anti-colonial struggle. "History shows that India has never been exploitative in Africa in the past and will never be in present or future" *(Minister of State of External Affairs, Anand Sharma, 2008)*. Thus, India has never acted as a new colonial power in Africa.

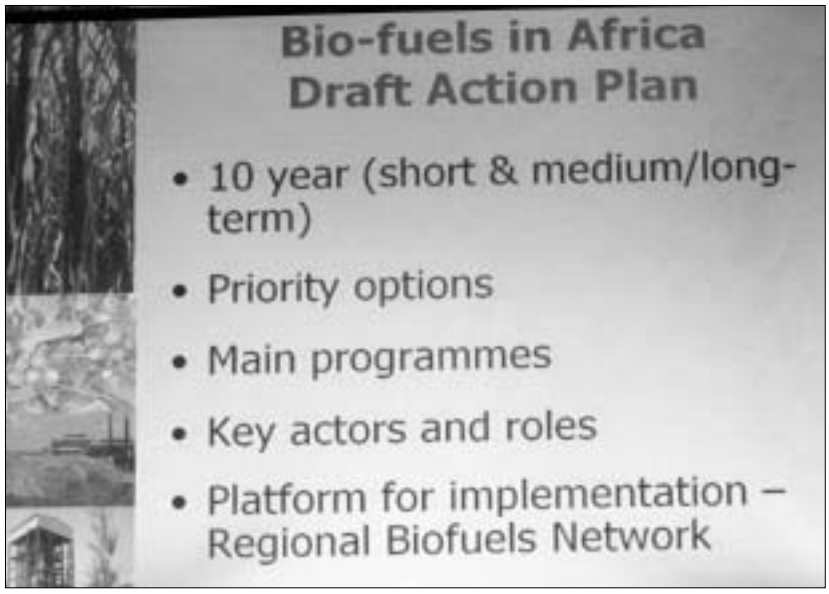
Politically, India shares humane concerns with African nations and has developed its own policies on such issues as food security, climate change and energy security in the current international setting. India takes pushing energy security concerns both as an opportunity as well as a challenge because of its place in global geo-politics which necessitates a coherent global response. India is dependent on oil and gas and Africa contributes 15 percent in reducing India's dependency on oil. India believes that refinery technology used for crude oil exploration should be accessible to all. India is leading a campaign to re-write intellectual property rights (IPR) in favour of all developing countries, partic-

United Nations peacekeepers from India wait to board an helicopter in Muhanga, Uganda.

ularly for oil clean technology. "We urge the international community to give real and immediate effect to commitments on climate change, especially in the areas of technology transfer, financing and capacity building. There is also a need for a closer look at the IPR regime to ensure cost-effective transfer of appropriate and advanced clean technologies to developing countries" (*Delhi Declaration, 2008: 3*).

India respects value addition in exploration and is committed to its partnership in developing Africa's capacity building as per the need of individual countries.

"Summit 2008 endeavours to effect capacity building, planning and training in the agriculture sector, capacity building in trade negotiations and dispute settlement and implementation of different agreements under the WTO. It also endeavours at capacity building through Entrepreneurship Development Programmes, policy formulation and institutional framework development for the Small & Medium Enterprises.



A bio-fuels seminar was held in Addis Ababa from July 30 to August 1, 2007 and emphasised on Jatropha cultivation to meet the energy needs of the continent.

"The summit also focuses on capacity building on policy and regulatory frameworks in the financial sector, including the micro-finance sector, development of automated trading system for stock-exchanges and development of cross-border stock-exchanges, such as Pan-Africa Stock Exchanges. Focus is also on capacity building to tackle the challenges of money laundering and terrorist financing, disaster management and humanitarian intervention; also capacity building for health professionals and physicians and capacity building in best practices and adaptation of methods to tackle the impact of climate change and desertification" *(Africa-India Framework, 2008: emphasis mine)*.

India and Africa are mutually working in multi-sector partnership. "Yet, contrary to what some might surmise from this new version of the scramble for Africa, if African countries play their cards right, they have much to gain. Indian companies are more than eager to invest in infrastructure and in the downstream facilities needed to bring products to port than western ones" *(John Heine, July 2008)*.

This partnership involves proper training to African youth in industrial training institutes, medical colleges, engineering colleges, business administration, legal services, etc., either in Africa or in India (CII, ICCR, IIFT, NIIT and others). It gives Africa's unemployed youth an opportunity to achieve stability in their lives.

Africa requires professionals in medical, agriculture, veterinary, engineering, computer science & engineering, information technology, commerce, sciences, social sciences and other disciplines. Indian skilled professionals are working in different African universities and training African professionals. The involvement of quality Indian manpower resources strengthens Africa's social sector and illustrates another angle of how India conducts its foreign policy differently in Africa.

India's foreign policy aims at ensuring social security, good agricultural practices and education among the youth in Africa. Rising oil prices have weakened the economy of developing countries. Now, there is a need to look for alternative sources of renewable energy which should not pollute the environment.

The developed world's misuse of wheat, corn or soya, for ethanol production, is a direct threat to social security. Ethanol is used in preparing bio-fuels and almost $12 billion spent to divert edibles to the production of ethanol in the US alone has pushed the international food market into crisis and food prices are rising. Consequently, Afro-Asian people are dying of hunger and starvation.

India neither supports such inhumane use of cereals for production of bio-fuels on international platforms, nor encourages the Indian research and development sector to work on it. "The amount of corn used to produce 45 litres of bio-fuel, (that fills one SUV fuel tank), may serve to provide for a person's food for one year" *(Anand Sharma, June 2008: emphasis mine)*.

It is a genuine concern of India's foreign policy towards Africa that represents a parallel thinking vis-à-vis world powers. India is working to produce bio-fuels from *Jatropha Curcus* (Family name is *Euphorbiaceous*). Latin America and other African countries widely utilise this plant to promote environment awareness. Jatropha has also been a crop of choice in development programmes in Africa where local villages have grown Jatropha on small plots of land and have hand-pressed the oil for use in generators, sewing machines and small motors.

India and Africa have agreed to fight against the misuse of cereals for oil and plan collective action to force the devel-

oped world to use cereals as food for human beings than for oil. India's development and mutual partnership covers self-reliance schemes, thus avoiding policies that lead to huge debts. Africa needs a mutual cooperation and development programme from the outside world.

Today's investments should strengthen the economic development of Africa and ensure a debt free Africa. India and Africa need to draw up concrete solutions to ensure sustainable development. India has adopted Africa's friendly approach in its foreign policy that facilitates building a Afro-Asia platform to deal with common issues in the political, economic, security and social arena in the current international setting. India, as the leader of SAARC, works for the larger fraternity and strengthens the voice of Afro-Asia on mutual interests. FPSD1, a research organisation shared this opinion during the 15th SAARC Summit on Socio-Economic Transformation and Global Economy held in Sri Lanka on August 2-3, 2008 *(Iqbal, 2008: 155-78)*.

India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh shakes hands with former president of the African Union Alpha Oumar Konare as Tanzanian Foreign Minister Bernard Membe (left) looks on, at the India-Africa summit in New Delhi, on April 8, 2008.

Ties with Africa as India becomes an emerging power

Historically, Africa and India have always been close allies in the struggle for independence. India maintains its past relations with Africa and works to ensure sustainable development of Africa. India fought a political battle for Africa in international forums and now is in a position to offer economic benefits. Says Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh: "Africa is our mother continent. Our shared vision of the world should enable us to work together on the vital challenges facing humanity. We have coordinated our position in the United Nations and other international forums. No-one understands better than India and Africa, the imperative need for global institutions to reflect current realities and to build a more equitable global economy and polity. Working together, the two billion people of India and Africa can set an example of fruitful cooperation in the developing world".

The emerging partnership between India and Africa is part of the South-South Trade Cooperation and not on buyer-seller terms. India-Africa global partnership is about socio-economic transformation in the context of South-South cooperation

How the India-Africa relationship manifests itself within the context of an emerging power status can be seen through actions. The emerging partnership between India and Africa is part of the South-South Trade Cooperation and not on buyer-seller terms. India-Africa global partnership is about socio-economic transformation in the context of South-South cooperation. This cooperation is not only a part of political agenda, but also forms market realism as part of globalisation. It has been observed that it has assumed critical mass (South-South oil trade increased from 13 percent to 21 percent in the last decade). It is not limited within the ambit of buying and selling oil and gas, but involves investment, joint-ventures, transfer of technology and value addition.

India offers socio-economic development assistance to traditional African partners in different fields as part of its foreign policy. India, as an emergent power, adopts technology transfer for the real development of Africa. ONGC-Mittal Energy Ltd. (OMEL) is working for Nigerian infrastructure development as Nigeria has been sharing its oil blocks under the technology and skill transfer programme to Africa since 2005. India's cost effective and intermediate technology focuses in forging partnerships in different areas. "The new partnership between India and African countries, in the true spirit of what UNCTAD refers, is 'co-development' and 'cooperation' *(FICCI, 2007)*. Nigeria is benefiting from technology transfer as the private oil companies of India are working on it and initiating it in different phases" (*CII, Interactive Session, June 2008*). African countries see India as a valuable partner that could boost their development through public-private partnerships.

Dr. Singh mentioned that "the objective will not just be a quantitative increase in trade and investments; we will also aim at a qualitative enhancement (through transfer of technology) of Africa's economic competitiveness and technological capabilities. It is one of the differences between India's relationship as an emergent power with Africa as compared to traditional partners".

The liberal market economy poses a threat as well as an opportunity in the form of new investors. The World Bank and IMF funded Structural Adjustment Programme has failed to ensure sustainable development in Africa. India as an emerging power, on the other hand, is not a threat to Africa, militarily or otherwise. Africa is concentrating on socio-economic development and needs to be visualised as a land of opportunities, not as a lost continent. India, on the eve of independence, was struggling to provide food to its people. Today, India has attained the first position in the world in milk production, second in wheat and rice production, third in cotton, groundnut and fruits production and the fourth position in sugarcane and potato production.

Africa needs a Green Revolution like India to achieve food security, as the population will reach 1.8 billion by 2050.

The new guidelines of the Africa-India Framework for Cooperation and Delhi Declaration of April 9, 2008, encourage investments by private sector companies. "The population of Africa and Asia is more than two billion today. The total percentage of population engaged in agriculture in Africa is 60 percent and in Asia is 55 percent" (*Escorts, 2008: 5-7*). Africa needs a Green Revolution like India to achieve food security, as the population will reach 1.8 billion by 2050. "Egypt is the perfect example where more than 100,000 Kirloskar pump sets are greening half of the desert land along the Nile for the past 40 years and are in operation at more than 50 large pumping stations. Such pumping systems are also at work in South Africa, Lesotho, Angola, Ghana, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, making a difference in key sectors of the economy in those countries" *(Kirloskar, 2008: 14-15)*.

Africa needs farm mechanisation that will facilitate an increase in productivity in African countries. Indian investors have been providing help in the agriculture sector by way of helping in farm mechanisation

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), both Asia and Africa have sections of the population which are under-nourished. In terms of demand, Asia and Africa need 250,000 tonnes and 150,000 tonnes of food respectively, though they produce 300,000 tonnes and 100,000 tonnes respectively *(see, FAO, 2003)*.

Africa ranks 13th in the list of 20 top food importing countries. India uses 54 percent of its total arable land, which is the highest in the world as compared to African countries — Burundi uses 37 percent, Rwanda 36 percent and Nigeria 31 percent (*see, FAO, 2003*).

Africa needs farm mechanisation that will facilitate an increase in productivity in African countries. Indian investors have been providing help in the agriculture sector by way of helping in mechanisation that aids in saving of seeds, fertilizers, enhancement in crop intensity and increase in gross income and return to farmers in Africa. India manufactured agricultural tractors, mould board plough, disc plough, sub-soiler as primary tillage, spring loaded tillers, harrow, leveller, bund former, scraper, rotary tiller as secondary tillage, back hoe with tractor, laser grader, graders and scrapers with tractors as earth moving equipments are widely accepted in Africa. (Escorts, Sonalika, Eicher, HMT, International Tractors, Mahindra & Mahindra, etc. are the largest producers of agricultural equipments from India).

Sowing machinery made in India such as post hole digger, paddy planter, seed drill for cotton seeds, seed-cum-fertilizer drill, potato planter and multi-row vegetables planters, irrigation systems, sowing and harvesting machinery such as maize combine, sugarcane combine, mowers, paddy combine, reaper, wheat combine and fruits harvester are also accepted in Africa *(Escorts, 2008: emphasis mine)*.

India is working to reduce poverty and strengthen food productivity in Africa. Fish cultivation, as an alternate source of food, is increasing. African countries can share their experiences with Indian investors to address concerns and foster cooperation in water management, agro-infrastructure, capacity building and enhancing market opportunities for each other's value-added agriculture and fisheries products under global partnership. This will certainly help in the socio-economic transformation of African countries.

Developing infrastructure in Africa is a priority. Africa attempts at strengthening economic and political foundations at regional levels through organisations such as SADC, COMESA, EAC, IGAD, ECOWAS and SACU. Continental unity is reinforced through AU. India and Africa have individual and regional strengths such as their

potential as huge markets, their substantial human and natural resources and the complementarities of their economies. India and Africa may collaborate for the development of human resources and work on sharing and transfer of technology for the long term. Both understand the importance of the development of micro, small and medium-scale enterprises for successful industrialisation in the long term. Accordingly, both Africa and India are focussing on capacity building, promotion of joint ventures, adequate training for upgrading of hi-tech skills and promoting the export of SME products in the global market.

India has offered $1 billion towards power and infrastructure devlopement projects in exchange for oil exploration rights and supplies in West Africa. This highlights the active participation of Indian investors in Africa in different development sectors.

"Overseas Infrastructure Alliance (I) Pvt. Ltd. is currently executing a project for the supply of 132 kv power transmission line, substation and distribution equipment worth approximately $78 million to Electric Power Corporation (EEPCO). It is also involved in setting up a green field sugar project worth $345 million with a capacity of 26,000 tonnes per day in Tendaho and installing a new power plant worth $142 million in Finchaa Sugar Factory in Ethiopia (*Geothermal Energy, 2008*). The company is also involved in projects worth $20 million for the rural electrification in the Gaza province of Mozambique" *(Overseas Infrastructure Alliance, March 2008: emphasis mine)*.

Today, Indian companies are involved in bringing about a Green Revolution in Africa. "International Tractors Limited (ITL) is one of the top five tractor selling companies in India and exports to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Zambia, Senegal and Ghana. ITL has a marketing arrangement with TATA International for development of select African markets" (*Sonalika, March 2008: 5-9: emphasis mine*). India is also working for power generation in different countries in Africa.

"Kamani Engineering Corporation (KEC) International is working to ensure power transmission over minefields in North-west Africa and Egypt. It is also involved in rural electrification in Ethiopia and in the politically sensitive Somalia-Ethiopia border and other parts of Africa continent. It is also working towards power generation at an altitude of 2,100 m above sea level in different parts of Africa. Angelique International Limited is working for rural electrification, agro-processing plants and Sprinkler/drip Irrigation in Botswana" *(Botswana Today: 47)*.

India and Africa both acknowledge the importance of development of the financial sector, which includes microfinance, mobilisation of domestic savings, development of combined India and Pan-Africa Stock exchanges. Such a stock exchange may help strengthen the economies of the nations involved in terms of South-South cooperation. The Engineering Export Promotion Council of India (EEPC) launched one centre in Johannesburg under the Market Access Initiative Scheme. It will function as a distribution point and render marketing support to Indian companies.

The council will now focus on Africa in a major way, and brief delegations dealing with multiple products to South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia. It will spell out the strategies in the immediate term to strengthen economic ties with Africa" *(Mohan Padmanabhan, 2007: emphasis mine)*.

The absence of Indian banks in many African countries is a stumbling block to the development of industry. It is time to put in place the necessary framework and mechanism to provide direction to the industry's efforts. This would include signing of Free Trade Agreements (FTA) and Preferential Trade Agreements (PTA), and entrepreneurship development in the Small & Medium Entrepreneurship (SME) sector.

The Pan-Africa Network (PAN) to assist Africa is complimentary to India's foreign policy goals. The network is helping to strengthen connectivity among all African countries. The Africa Development Bank (ADB) has also announced plans to invest $1 billion to develop the continent's telecommunication and energy infrastructure in what would be the largest infrastructure project in Africa's history. It would put in place a network of videoconference facilities connecting all 53 heads of state/government in

Indian farm equipment manufacturers have a sizable presence in Africa.

Africa. Africa faces several challenges to build its ITC infrastructure, including non-existent or low capacity national and international communication backbones *(Zambian President, 2008)*.

India has already given a grant of $105 million under this assignment. It aims to strengthen e-governance, e-commerce, infotainment, resource mapping and meteorological services. The Ministry of External Affairs, India, and the Telecommunications Consultants India Limited (TCIL) are supervising this project. Different AU member countries like Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Mauritius, Tanzania, Senegal and Seychelles have signed agreements with the TCIL.

The digital divide existing between rural and urban areas needs to be bridged gradually.

"The proposed network will link five regional universities, 53 learning centres, five regional super specialty hospitals and 53 remote hospitals from African countries and six universities and five super specialty hospitals from India will coordinate in the network" (*TCIL, 2008*). Ethiopia has already started a pilot project and will be the first beneficiary of the PAN project.

"The Black Lion Hospital in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for instance, is connected to the Care Group of Hospitals (cardiac specialists) in Hyderabad, where Indian doctors can advise Ethiopian doctors on X-ray and laboratory test result interpretation via a high-speed internet connection" *(Medical News, 2008)*. India has seven pharmaceutical companies manufacturing anti-retroviral drugs in Nigeria. South Africa and Kenya have signed agreements for joint ventures with Indian companies.

The digital divide existing between rural and urban areas needs to be bridged gradually. Visual classrooms and video resource centres should be established in African villages for propagation of knowledge to a large number of people to bring about socio-economic transformation.

The digital divide existing between rural and urban areas needs to be bridged gradually. Visual classroom and video resource centres should be established in African villages for propagation of knowledge to a large number of people with the aim to bring about socio-economic transformation.

Africa should develop broadband policy so as to enhance internet connectivity, giving the rural areas an opportunity to employ e-health, e-education, e-governance applications under the Pan Africa Network.

India's emergent economic status is considered a boon for Africa. Indian institutions such as Assocham, CII, FICCI, Exim Bank, IOR-ARC, TEAM-9, Focus Africa and others are working for mutual understanding in trade, finance and industrial ventures. The CII organised four conclaves to foster strong bonding between India and Africa. A visible change in perception with access to greater knowledge of the region has helped in promoting economic relations between the Indian industry members and the African countries. The CII aims to develop a long-term sustainable relationship with the private sector in the African countries.

The March 2008 conclave was attended by over 600 business representatives from 33 African states, led by 35 ministers, and discussed more than 150 projects worth $35 billion in technology, agriculture, human resources and energy. All the institutions played their active role during conclaves and sponsored it as per their capacities. The CII Africa Committee has institutional agreements with 32 counterpart organisations in 18 African countries with the objective to facilitate exchange of information and promote business interests of Indian and African industries.

It has developed an integrated strategy for promoting Indian exports into Africa on the basis of project partnership, to supplement the Focus Africa programme of the Ministry of Commerce. A strong structure that supports a continuing dialogue, transparent access to opportunities and interaction with the government and the African Heads of Missions has now been institutionalised in Conclaves. Felix Matati, Minister for Commerce, Trade and Industry, Zambia, said that India has a share of 50 percent in Zambia's mining industry. The total Indian investment in Zambia is estimated to be $2 billion, with capital also flowing into

other sectors like banking, health and education. "We have had a long partnership in India, with investments in several areas. But what has been lacking was visibility. This zone will help in improving India's profile in Zambia" *(Staff Reporter, 2008: emphasis mine)*.

The 10th AU Summit's (January 2008) focal theme was Industrial Development of Africa and covered India-Africa relations in its ambit. India-AU understanding on industrial development, including human resources development by providing adequate training and short-term courses, is a step towards strengthening South-South cooperation. NEPAD shares the developmental approach with India and Indian institutional partners. This bonding may help in political stability and economic advancement and will serve the interests of smaller countries as well. The CII, Assocham, Ficci and FIEO have identified the region as a thrust area and initiated different schemes promoting economic and business cooperation. Similarly, the August 2008 SAARC Summit focussed on global partnership and emphasised socio-economic transformation in Africa *(See, Suresh Kumar, August 2008: 155-76)*.

The India-Africa Business Partnership Summit was held in New Delhi on January 19-20, 2009.

A constructive and mutually beneficial relationship needs careful nurturing. Doubling of exports between India and Africa in less than five years can be achieved by reducing trade barriers and bringing down transaction costs

Of course, a constructive and mutually beneficial relationship needs careful nurturing and encouragement. Africa's engagement, vision and the roadmap provided by the Foreign Trade Policy (FTP) for 2004-09 with clearly enunciated objectives, strategies and policy initiatives, has been instrumental in putting exports on a higher growth trajectory. Doubling of exports between India and Africa in less than five years can be achieved by reducing trade barriers and bringing down transaction costs.

In its economic engagement with Africa, India keeps local needs in view. Different turnkey contracts have been undertaken in Tanzania, Ghana, Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, Algeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Libya and Mauritius. The contracts enable the import of Indian equipment and technology on deferred credit terms extended through EXIM Bank, PTA Bank, BOAD, EADB and EBID.

Indian companies, having joint ventures in Africa provide Lines of Credit. India needs energy security to sustain an economic growth of 10 per cent and India currently imports 70 percent of its oil and 50 percent of its gas. Africa has fuel reserves that constitute nearly 8 percent of global reserves.

India and Africa should work in the energy sector and India has drawn up a road map to intensify cooperation in the hydrocarbon sector with African countries. The road map identifies the broad areas of cooperation in this field such as exploration, refining and production, stepping up crude oil imports and exports of petro-products by India, retail marketing of fuels and lubricants by the Indian companies in Africa, and training of personnel of African nations in hydrocarbon industry management.

Mittal Steel and ONGC shared an investment of $6 billion to establish a refinery, power plant and railway lines in Nigeria through a joint-venture company under OMEL. As Mani Shankar Aiyar, India's Panchayati Raj Minister and a strong advocate of better India Africa relations said: "ONGC Videsh along with other national oil companies have been bidding to buy oil and gas assets. I would seek a relationship between India and the Africa Union that does not recognise the colonial distinction between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa" *(Mani Shankar Aiyar: 28-29)*.

"Africa accounted for the highest growth in India's exports at 73.26 percent followed by WANA (57.14 percent), Asia and ASEAN (35.66 percent), Europe (21.94 percent) and America (21.95 percent)" *(Directorate General: 2007)*. ■

India & China in Africa: DIVERGENT perceptions and approaches

India must adopt a proactive policy vis-à-vis China as it increasingly engages with African countries in a constructive partnership, say **Renu Modi** and **Seema Shekhawat**

President of The Democratic Republic of Congo Joseph Kabila addressing the India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi on April 8, 2008.

There has been meaningful and policy-oriented debate on India's relations with African nations in recent days. This debate has been generated following China's emergence as a ruthless competitor in the African markets, its surging trade relations with African countries and the competitive advantage China has to clinch major trade deals. Though a late entrant on the African continent, China has surpassed India-Africa trade, despite India's much hyped and talked about historical, cultural, diplomatic and ideological connections with the African continent.

This article attempts to analyse the comparative advantage as well as disadvantage of India's relations with Africa vis-à-vis China. It emphasises that India must adopt a proactive policy to engage Africa in a constructive partnership.

Indo-African Linkages

India's connection with Africa dates back to centuries. However, the 20th century saw this relationship reach its peak when M. K. Gandhi carried out his experiments with truth and non-violence on South African soil. Gandhi contributed to the ideological discourse of the African freedom movements with the government of independent India later extending support to the national liberation movements in Africa. Through its leadership of the non-aligned movement and its positions on issues like racism, colonialism and imperialism, India endeared itself to the African countries. Besides the historical and ideological connections, it was the migration factor that enriched the cultural bonds between the two. The Indian diaspora in Africa played a key role in keeping the relations alive.

Though the cultural and ideological bridge was in evidence in India-Africa relations, the economic relationship progressed at a snail's pace. India did initiate fruitful measures to help the African countries in significant ways. In the mid-1960s, despite the fact that India was struggling with its own problems that ranged from poverty to development, it launched the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme for the sub-Saharan African countries on September 15, 1964. Since then, thousands of Africans have attained academic and professional training and have been able to share the Indian development experience. Around 1,000 individuals from African coun-

tries are provided technical training in India each year. Besides, there are an estimated 15,000 African students currently studying in Indian educational institutions with sponsorship from the Indian government. This has earned a lot of goodwill for India.

An important landmark in the India-Africa cooperation was the launch of the Indian government funded Pan-African e-network project in 2007. The project aims at providing instant connectivity between the 53 members of the African Union and thus bridge the digital divide on the vast continent. The network is also expected to contribute to the development of education and healthcare by connecting major universities and hospitals in India and Africa.

India is one of the largest suppliers of peacekeeping forces under the command of the United Nations (UN) to the conflict-ridden countries of Africa and has also extended military support to counter-piracy and terrorism on African shores. In the past few years, India has reinvigorated its relations with Africa by extending lines of credit, widening its trade base and defence agreements.

If we compare India with China in terms of economic ties with Africa, the former appears to have missed the opportunities offered by the huge untapped natural resources that Africa is endowed with.

However, if we compare India with China in terms of economic relations with the African continent, the former appears to have missed the opportunities offered by the huge untapped natural resources of oil, gas and minerals that the African continent is endowed with.

The China Factor

China is a new entrant to the African market, but within a short span of time, the China-Africa trade has grown significantly. The two-way trade between India and the African continent totals about $30 billion a year. In comparison, the trade between China and Africa has grown from $55 billion in 2006 to $73.3 billion in 2007.[1]

The surge in trade has been mainly due to China's import of oil and other commodities from Africa and the sale of low cost manufactured products. As evident from the balance sheets, the Chinese government has certainly been aggressive or rather farsighted and adopted swift policies and programmes to capture African markets in various sectors. First, China and India are fast rising economies with an ever-growing demand for energy resources. The requirements are likely to grow rapidly and both the energy importers have no alternative but to diversify their resource base, in which China has already taken the lead. Second, China's huge manufacturing sector has pushed Chinese policymakers into looking for fertile markets for textiles, electronics, machines, clothes, jewellery, toys and household products, among others. China has flooded the African markets with low cost products that are priced much less than those offered by the African counterparts or their international competitors. Third, China exports technology to Africa along with skilled Chinese manpower to handle the 'made in China' machines. Fourth, China has adopted a pragmatic political policy and agreed to provide 'aid' and enter into business collaborations in Africa without a check-list of stringent norms on adherence to human rights, democracy and good governance. This unconditional aid is an attractive proposition for many of African's authoritarian rulers.

The following section compares the different perspectives regarding ways in which China and India are engaging African countries.

Mercantilism vs Equal Partnership

For centuries, African countries were exploited by colonial powers for its cheap labour, natural resources and markets. This exploitation of African resources and unequal terms of trade between Africa and the colonial powers resulted in stunting the continent's development. Of late, African countries have realised that the continuing exploitation of their resources is one of the main reasons for their underdevelopment. Prompted by this understanding, the African countries have adopted a 'Look East' policy as a pragmatic and fundamental decision. Today, many African countries, such as Kenya, Angola, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, amongst others, have welcomed investments and aid from the 'Asian drivers', mainly India and China, for economic investments that come without sermons on democracy, good governance, corruption and human rights and are 'win-win' situations for both.[2] Though the policies adopted by China have brought development in Africa, debates on its long-term adverse impact have already been in circulation in academic circles, civil society, and at the governmental levels.

First, several Africa watchers have accused China of adopting unethical means to derive the maximum political and economic mileage. Others have equated the Chinese policies in Africa as akin to those in the colonial era. The Chinese style of business with little or no concern for consequences for the 'common man' can be compared to the colonial variable of mercantilism.

Second, the Chinese economic strategy that has focused on ensuring energy security and raw materials for its booming economy, and for gaining access to African markets for its goods and weapons, has been criticised in the international press. The recent controversy over the Chinese supply of arms to the Mugabe government of Zimbabwe, considered as a pariah state by the West, substantiates the fact that China pursues a policy whereby the profit motive sur-

passes all other concerns such as democracy, good governance or human rights. For China, the sale of arms to oil and mineral producing countries helps her offset its huge import costs. An economic engagement based solely on the profit motive will certainly worsen the abysmal record of democracy, human rights and good governance with the continued Chinese presence in the continent.[3]

Third, African leaders and the public are concerned about China not taking into account local sentiments. The massive transfer of Chinese personnel to Africa is perceived negatively as it erodes local job opportunities. It also hampers local capacity building and transfer of skills to the local populace. Besides, the competition from cheap imports of manufactured goods from China has stirred significant local resentment in some African countries. To illustrate, in October 2006 there was a huge protest in Zambia against the flooding of local markets with 'made in china' goods as it threatened the local, small-scale industries as well as retailers. The increasing Chinese investments in the Zambian mines apart from other sectors became an election issue in the country's 2006 presidential elections. The leading opposition candidate, Michael Sata, campaigned on an anti-Chinese platform. Beijing's investment was, according to him, "almost entirely worthless for Zambia". Though Sata lost the elections, he did garner large majorities in all the areas of Zambia, affected by the Chinese investments. His defeat led to anti-Chinese riots in Lusaka. To prevent loot and damage, the Chinese-owned shops had to shut down, but shops owned by other nationalities, including the Asians, carried on their day-to-day trade without any fear of violence.[4]

Many Africa watchers accuse China of adopting unethical means to derive maximum political and economic mileage. African leaders are concerned about China not taking into account local sentiments.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) also witnessed the expulsion of about 600 Chinese and the closure of their industrial units. Further, Denis Tull, a Germany based researcher, has stated unequivocally that China is supporting authoritarian regimes in Africa and sizeable benefits of China's engagement in Africa will accrue to only a miniscule percentage of the state elites.[5] Therefore, the common people of Africa would not be the beneficiaries in the overall China-African engagement.

Though over the years India has accumulated abundant goodwill in its relations with African nations, the economic context of these relations is low in comparison to that of China. India needs to make significant inroads into the African economy. India has an advantage in terms of acceptability because of a long-term association with Africa. It also has support for its investments, as the Indian government's policies are not motivated by profit alone. India has focused on capacity building in Africa and adheres to economic relations with Africa based on equal partnerships. The Indian assurance that its companies working on infrastructure projects in Africa would not bring the Indian labour force with them, but employ and train local staff to build capacity would help boost bilateral economic engagement. It highlights the fact that Indian companies are willing to train local populations, impart the necessary managerial skills and thereby upgrade the capacity of African workers.

While the promotion of business needs to acquire centre stage in India-Africa partnership, equal emphasis needs to be made on the point that unlike China, India has made it virtually a policy decision to adopt fair means of trade in its relations with Africa. Beijing's admission of the fact that its presence in Africa is directly linked to its need for resources[6] can be counterpoised by New Delhi's insistence on mutual benefit and equal partnership, as indicated in the Delhi Declaration and Framework for Cooperation signed during

(File picture) Chinese President Hu Jintao (left) and former South African President Thabo Mbeki during the launch of the China-South Africa economic, trade and cooperation website at the Union building in Pretoria on February 6, 2007.

the Indo-African Summit meeting in April 2008.

Unlike China, India is a functional democracy. The difference in style of governance in the two countries is reflected in the discrepancies of their approach and business models in Africa.

Policy Guided by Realism

Essop Pahad, one of the most powerful ministers of South Africa, stated that he wanted to engage both India and China in the spirit of 'let the best man win.'[7] This should serve as an indicator to India that historical ties and India's traditional role as a peacekeeper and idealistic mentor may not suffice to usher in beneficial economic exchange. Although the Indian government has stated that it is not competing against China in Africa, it is a fact that at present, India's economic and political engagement in Africa is determined by the China reflex. In the given context, India needs to pursue a policy of constructive engagement with African countries within a realistic framework. The Indian policy towards Africa as reflected in the two documents signed during the recent India-Africa summit — Delhi Declaration and Framework for Cooperation[8] — that aims to further economic cooperation with African countries in a manner that does not replicate colonial systems of exploitation of African wealth. It is based on a long-term mutually beneficial collaborative framework that incorporates good trade practices, and is people-oriented. However, the time has come to translate the summit declarations into practice. ■

Notes and References

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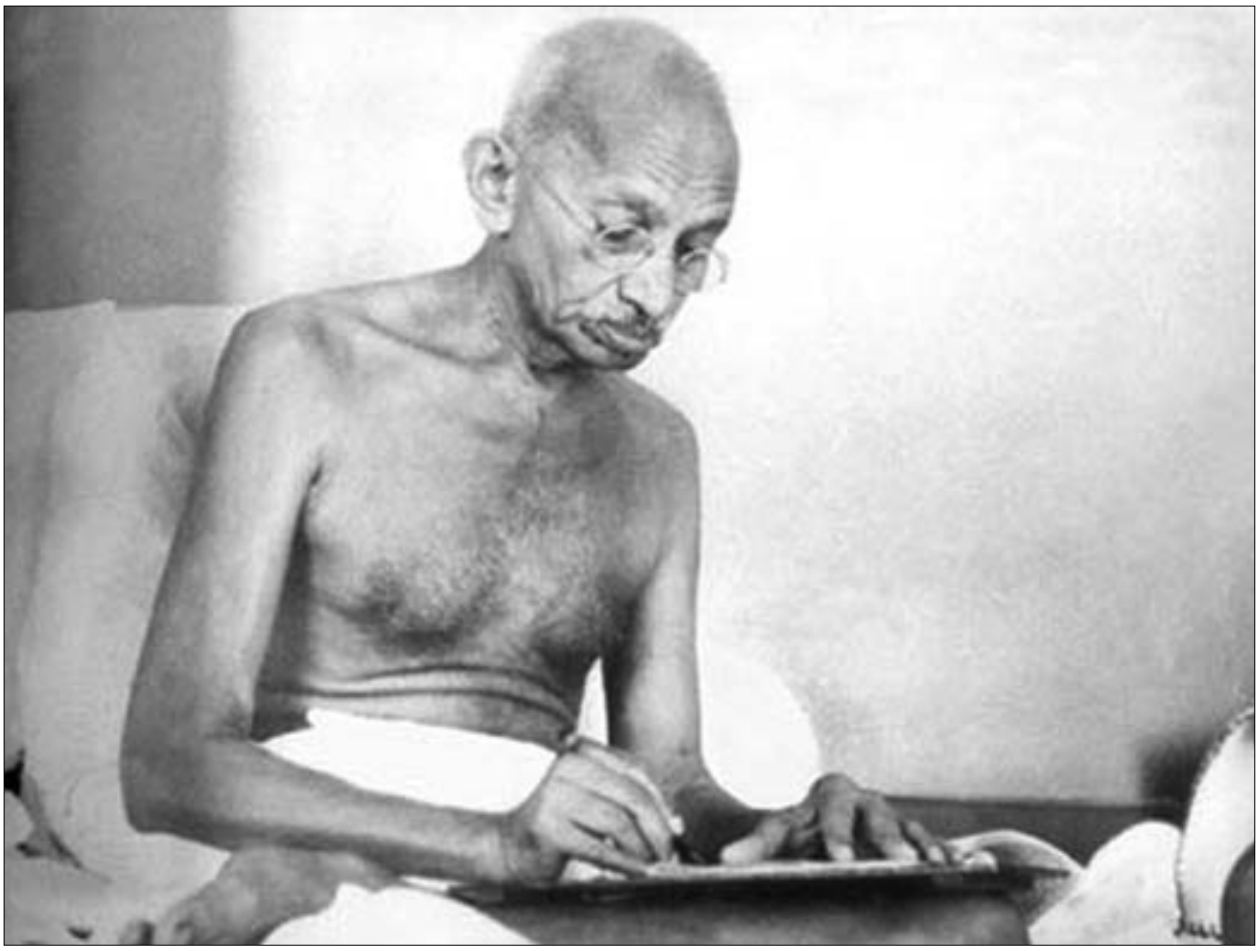
Gandhi as JOURNALIST and activist

Jigyasa Meena writes revealingly about how Gandhi honed his journalistic skills in South Africa and displayed it as a vehicle of political activism to transform the destiny of South African Indians.



I believe that a struggle which chiefly relies upon internal strength cannot be wholly carried on without a newspaper... the Indian Opinion... was certainly a most useful and potent weapon in our struggle.[1]

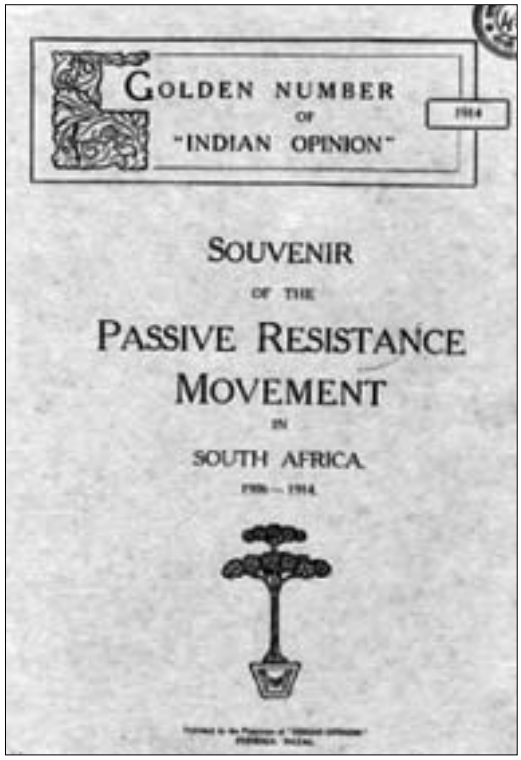
The media has been one of the significant factors that catalyse the systematisation of societal structures. It facilitates various social and political processes which, triggers changes in society. The dynamics of oppositional politics and protest movements are difficult to conceive without positioning Gandhi and the uses of mass media as an important organ in its functioning frame. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's resistance campaign in South Africa was conceptualised, introduced and mobilised through the efficacy and eloquence of the press. It was a *potent socio-political* tool that was pivotal in determining his politics and reforming the vision of South Africa's Indian community. The functional worth of his use of journalsim as an instrument of *protest* and *identity construction* is well exhibited in the formation of a homogenous reality for South African Indians, and awakening and consolidating them to firmly stand for their rights. Gandhi's venture into South African politics is marked as a fundamentally formative experience for himself, the Indian community and the South African political scenario.

Journalism was among the crucial elements that transformed an ordinary Gandhi into '*Mahatma*' Gandhi, earning

him the leadership of the masses. His first association with the English society brought him into the realm of the print media that allowed his innate journalistic talent space to develop. Three years of his Britain stay enlarged his horizon and developed him into a more accomplished freelance journalist.

Protest through Journalism

It was Gandhi's profession as a lawyer that brought him to South Africa, where he got a platform to evolve as a person, a leader with pronounced organising and mobilising capacity, and a conscientious journalist. Here, he entered the arena of protest politics, agitating against the disabilities imposed on Indians, through various modes of struggles such as representations, petitions, and memorandums.



Political Activism and Press: Prior to Indian Opinion (1893-1903)

Gandhi's campaign went through various stages and forms, but it was newspapers that he trusted most to record the monumental transformations he brought about in all phases of this struggle. In order to ventilate the grievances of Indians and rally public opinion in their favour, Gandhi used different newspapers as the forum to express his views, through letters to local dailies and interviews. He used to peruse all the local newspapers and appropriately responded and argued against any misrepresentations and distortion of facts. These instances illustrated his eloquence and reasoning. In an article entitled "Indian Village-Communities" in *The Natal Mercury*, in July 1894, he commented on a petition made to the Natal Legislative Council by the Indian community in connection with the Franchise Law Amendment Bill.[2] The newspaper asserted that parliamentary government was very different from any form of representation known to the village communities of India, and that Indians were still in political infancy. Gandhi contested the argument by countering their claims on voting privileges and cited the instance of the State of Mysore that had given the right of franchise to its subjects.[3]

Apart from publications in South Africa, he used to send articles to leading English and Indian newspapers as *The Times*, *The Echo*, *The Daily News*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *Kesari*. He harnessed the local press and even acted as the South African correspondent to journals outside the country to gather support for the cause. His articles and correspondences on the conditions of South African Indians were given space and were well received in Dadabhai Naoroji's journal, *India*, which was published in London. Gandhi maintained regular contact with Naoroji and kept him informed about the Indian situation in South Africa. The Anglo-Boer Wars (1899-1902) provided an opportune occasion to demonstrate his journalistic skills and proved, as S. N. Bhattacharya remarks, "a landmark in the freelance journalism of Gandhi".[4]

The war not only brought out his competence in social service, through the activities of his Indian Ambulance Corps, but also helped him display his expertise as a war correspondent, documenting his experiences and activities of the Ambulance Corps that was published in *The Times of India* of Bombay.[5]

This fruitful liaison between the media and politics made him realise the importance of print media as a forceful and persuasive device in his movement. In a letter to the editor of *The Times of India*, he wrote: "Publicity is our best and perhaps the only weapon of defence."[6] He used the columns of several newspapers to write against injustice, demonstrating his ability to employ the press to bring the debate into the public space. An interesting example was his letter dated October 25, 1894 to the *Times of Natal*, where he assertively argued against a contemptuously worded editorial titled, 'Rammysammy' that derogatorily discussed Indians as incapable citizens in the political realm. He wrote: "Does not the very heading 'Rammysammy' betray a studied contempt towards the poor Indians? Is not the whole article a needless insult to him... You, in your wisdom, would not allow the Indian or the native the precious privilege (of voting) under any circumstances, because they have a dark skin... So long as the skin is white it would not matter to you whether it conceals beneath it poison or nectar... this, I presume, you would call Christianity. You may; it is not Christ's..."[7]

Gandhi became such a competent publicist that from 1894 to 1898 the *London Times* devoted "eight leading articles" to the Indian situation in South Africa, almost entirely in response to the interest he generated through the press.[8]

Gandhi's Newspaper, Indian Opinion and his Resistance Movement (1903-1914)

Gandhi's second sojourn in South Africa marks the beginning of the story of his transformation and acquisition of a new role with novel values. His politics was multi-dimensional, focusing on building a united front by infusing solidarity among the diverse sections of the Indian community

in South Africa. "The Muslim merchants and their Hindu and Parsi clerks from Bombay, the semi-slave 'indentured' labourers from Madras, and the Natal-born Indian Christians had all to realise their common origin."[9] Further, it had to create awareness and publicise the implications of the measures, both among the Indians and the Europeans, and rally the support and pressure of the people and governments of India and England.

After ten years of relentless crusade, and given the magnitude of the daunting tasks, he became convinced about the gravity of the movement. As he wrote in a letter to Gokhale: "The struggle is far more intense than I expected."[10] Gandhi soon realised that occasional writings and the generosity of other newspapers were acutely inadequate for his struggle. Further, Gandhi was disillusioned by the political stalemate and the existing mode of politics. Under these circumstances, he realised the urgency to revitalise the campaign.

This heightened need for a 'new element' appeared to be effectively served by a regular newspaper, which would voice the feelings of Indians confronting racial discrimination in every walk of their life. The Indian question could not have been executed through the contemporary newspapers with divergent interests. It was thus that Gandhi launched *Indian Opinion* in Durban in the June of 1903. Gandhi's long acquaintance and experience with the press had given him an understanding that emboldened him to start his own journal. The Indian community in South Africa thus found in *Indian Opinion* an organ for voicing its views.

Gandhi's weekly journal rolled out as a 16-page tabloid issued every Saturday in four languages, namely Gujarati, English, Tamil and Hindi. Three years later, Gandhi dropped Tamil and Hindi for want of competent editors, but he himself edited the paper in the other two languages and issued the paper on time until he left South Africa in 1914. Even later when he came back to India, Gandhi continued to devote time to *Indian Opinion* by writing its editorial regularly and providing moral and financial support.

Focus, Approach and Content of the Newspaper

It was Gandhi's firm belief that the newspaper was meant for "selfless service" and that it should not be used as a commercial enterprise to amass profits. Despite financial strains, he chose to turn down advertisements as it could compromise the focal purpose of the paper. Instead, he devised unconventional modes to sell his paper and expanded the subscription to sustain his paper. He argued that additional columns would be saved and could be instead employed to advance the struggle, and appealed to the readers to patronise the journal liberally. *Indian Opinion* broadened Gandhi's horizons and gave him a sturdy platform for the cause he was fighting for. He elaborated the threefold objects of the journal as: "First, to make our grievances known to the government, to the Whites here in South Africa and in England and to people in India; secondly, to tell our people of their own shortcomings and to exhort them to overcome these and, thirdly — and this is perhaps the principal object — to eliminate the distinctions between Hindus and Mohammedans and also those among Gujaratis, Tamilians and Calcuttawallas prevalent here."[11]

The newspaper mostly focused Indian issues and it brought forth the "grievances of the Indian community". Gandhi attempted to reason out the injustices against the Indians and justified their presence in South Africa, stating that: "The elements that generally constitute a reason of expulsion of a people from civilised states are entirely absent in the case of these people... they are not a political danger to the government, since they meddle very little, if at all, in politics. They are not notorious robbers, I believe there is not a single case of an Indian trader having suffered imprisonment or even been charged with theft, robbery or any other heinous crimes...Their teetotal habits make them exceptionally peaceful citizens.[12]

Gandhi believed that the newspaper was meant for 'selfless service', a sturdy platform for his movement and was not be used as a commercial enterprise... Through his journal *Indian Opinion*, Gandhi tried to bring forth the grievances of the South African Indians.

Gandhi believed in fostering amiable relation between Indians and Europeans.[13] His initial activism was based on his firm faith in the British sense of equality. The journal, Gandhi believed, would prove useful to the European community as it would "give it an idea of Indian thought and aspirations" and "would also acquaint it with such Indian matters which are not commonly known to it".[14] Thus, Gandhi used the press substantially to enlighten the Europeans about the distress of the Indians, placing deep faith in their egalitarian nature.

Apart from political issues, the paper aimed at the social and moral uplift of the community. Gandhi visualised the newspaper as "a great instrument for education"[15], a means to defend and instil a strong sense of Indianness, upholding the "honour and culture of India" and to restrain the White owned newspapers from their attempts to publish derogatory articles. He appropriately wielded his pen to promote Indian art and culture "for the edification of the South African readers", addressing especially "to the Indians who have never been to India".[16] His articles on Indian art exhibit his experiments with aesthetic themes.

Gandhi employed the press for the overall advancement of the community and sought to enlighten the readers about sanitation, health,[17] self-discipline and good citizenship. He shed light on a wide range of health matters, from the evils of tobacco,[18] alcohol,[19] the benefits of being a vegetarian, the

Mahatma Gandhi andhis wife Kasturba in Durban along with friends before their return to India in July 1914.

significance of exercises, to different types of remedies and cures.[20] His knowledge about health and his eagerness for its dissemination was reflected in the collection of articles entitled *General Knowledge about Health* and other such essays published in *Indian Opinion*. His emphasis on dietary issues was an important component of his socio-political reform. Joseph Alter opined that his "diet reform" was part of "his vision of politics" and that it was situated in the larger scenario of socio-political change. Gandhi's faith in, what Alter calls, the "bio-moral imperative of public health" was an essential segment of his programme. Alter argues that it is inconceivable to separate and compartmentalise his personal experiments with dietetics, celibacy, hygiene, nature cure, his virtual obsession with health, and his faith in truth and non-violence.[21]

Press and Protest: The Consequential Interface

Gandhi constructively used journalism as a vehicle of his political activism. However, the movement stretched beyond the political realm and entailed the striving for dignity and self-respect. It brought about elemental transformation in the socio-political frame of the Indian community.

An Instrument for Identity Construction

The press essentially performed the fundamental task of constructing a collective Indian identity in South Africa, from a socio-cultural and political perspective. It shaped the identity that enabled people to *imagine* a connectedness on a broader than local sense, linking people who never physically met. It offered a participatory approach to the community and was effectively harnessed to create an "imagined community". It developed the ground for common ideals and values. As Benedict Anderson, in his landmark study *Imagined Communities*,[22] points to the rise of the vernacular press as a catalyst that helped to fuel the emergence of nationalist consciousness. He argues that the advent of commercial printing provided the means, for the first time in history, through which readers could imagine a companionship with a large number of fellow readers. He attributes the genesis of new nationalisms to a process of 're-imagination' initiated by the changes in the collective conscience and mediated by the press. He perceives the possibility of "large anonymous socialites" as being formed by the simultaneous experience of "reading the newspapers", and recognises that "all communities larger than primordial villages of face to face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined".[23] The newspapers created a medium for the sharing of experiences across a relatively distant territory. It did not matter that the experiences were vicarious and the sharing not exactly reciprocal, the news revealed the contours of a social world beyond the immediate experience of its readers, and reading the news made readers feel a part of that lengthened social sphere. Anderson observes that the historical force of nationalism lies foremost with this sense of belonging it instils. The language of print also contributed to shaping the experience. The fact that many of the papers were printed in the vernacular instilled awareness of a broader, ethnically diverse community of speakers.

Marshall McLuhan mooted a similar point 20 years before Anderson when he wrote that "print, in turning the vernaculars into mass-media, or closed systems, created the uniform, centralising forces of modern nationalism".[24]

The absolute adoption of the 'Andersonian exposition' on the genesis and dissemination of nationalist consciousness in the subjugated colonies is, however, fraught. The discrepancies between the European model and the colonial reality are bound to surface. The nationalism in the colonial settlements may be externally inspired by the model in some parameters, but they had their own specificities. Partha Chatterjee, one

Gandhi interacting with journalists. To his right is seen his close associate Mirabehn.

of the thoughtful scholars on the subject, in his *Nationalist Thought and Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?*[25] proposes the argument which he develops extensively in *Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories*[26], over the nature and function of nationalist thought in the decolonising world. Chatterjee identifies various local sources of nationalist belief and inspiration in the colonies. He disapproves of Anderson for proposing that the nationalism that emerged in the colonised states around the beginning of the 20th century was a *derivative* of various European and American nationalist movements that had begun a century or more earlier. He points out that then Anderson's "modular nationalism" will be a western invention and nothing is imagined, "If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and Americas, *who do they have left to imagine?*... Even our imaginations must remain forever colonised."[27] Chatterjee defends the nationalism of Asia and Africa as "uniquely authentic" and explicates his own argument that has been built up on the dichotomy of the domains, the "outside" and the "inner" domains. The former is the material realm where the West has established its superiority and the East has succumbed to it, whereas the spiritual, on the other hand, is the "inner" domain bearing the "essential" marks of cultural identity and demands to be preserved. Anderson's "print capitalism" perceives nationalism beyond this distinction and attempts to deconstruct it. For Chatterjee, the driving force of historical nationalism in the colonised states is located in the myriad forms of resistance to European control, a resistance that is perceptible only on the margins of dominant discourses but demands comprehension.

Gandhi and his press were the foundational determinants in the evolution of consciousness among the Indian community in South Africa. As Anderson assumes that a sense of belonging that is at the heart of a community is created by awareness that others are simultaneously reading the same stories in the same language.[28] This development of Indianness aided in asserting a respectful position for the community in a politically volatile South African society.

Heterogenous to Homogeneous Identity Formation

Gandhi's politics was focused on *homogenising the heterogenous* sections and identities rooted in the varied regional, religious and cultural backgrounds and other factors as class and caste, around the common Indian identity to pose a united stand. Indians in South Africa were in numerical minority. They were largely concentrated in Natal and to a lesser extent in the mining town of the southern Transvaal, as a heterogenous entity. They first came in Natal in 1860 as indentured labourers. Since then several streams of

migration swelled the community's population. The colonial born descendants of these labourers sought employment in different sectors and developed into the Indian bourgeoisie in South Africa. Besides them, the migrants also included the traders, mostly Gujaratis. The labourers were mainly Tamil speaking who came from southern India. For putting forth a cohesive stance, the traders had to accept their kinship with the poor indentured labourers and had to acknowledge the Indian identity above these sections.

Gandhi was sensitive to the multi-lingual, multi-caste, multi-class and multi-religious nature of Indian people. He made efforts to eliminate the heterogeneity of the community that could have developed fissures in the movement and thus urged them to be together: "All religious antagonism, as that one is Hindu or a Muslim, a Christian or a Parsi, should be forgotten. Let there be no provincial distinctions such as Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis, Punjabis, etc. All ideas of high and low, which divide men into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras should be abandoned. Indians are all subject to same laws: if so how can we fight them disunited?"[29]

He successfully persuaded people to move beyond sectional barriers, for which he introduced his newspaper in four different linguistic mediums. In fact, besides English and Gujarati, Gandhi earnestly attempted to acquaint himself with Tamil as the vernacular or the language of the masses was essential to mobilising people. It was a strategic realisation for Gandhi that a language, familiar to the people, could be used to disseminate the 'message' to the whole community.

Notably, Gandhi's dexterous use of the press in the movement goes beyond Anderson's perception of the role of "print capitalism" in nation building. It strides ahead of long held assumptions and generalisations about the spread of consciousness through the dominance of one print language and its readership. And, it adroitly employs Robin Jeffrey's thesis[30] that argues that the press in different languages representing myriad communities, instead of showing diversifying tendencies, integrate them on common grounds. He makes a compelling argument that the explosion of local-language newspapers has helped to reinforce the legitimacy of the Indian federation as a unified nation based on regional differences. He, in fact, explicitly claims that the secessionist movements against the Indian nation state in the past two decades, like those in Punjab, the North East, and Kashmir, have taken place in regions where there was no commercially successful local-language press. Gandhi's journalism in this manner with the inclusion of local stories, along with stories about the community as a whole, enhanced a communitarian sense, thinking ahead of sectional differences. It enabled Indians to conjure an image of a broadly shared nationality.

Conception of South African Indianness

The conception of a "South African Indianness" was quite restrictive with regard to other communities in the region. Bhana and Vahed throw light on the initiation of this exclusive identity of Indians in South Africa. They put forth that racial attitudes emerged among different communities with the changes in the political economy of Natal. It brought Indians into conflict and competition with Whites and Africans over "land, labour and commerce" in the public and private sectors.[31] Gandhi developed this concept among the South African Indians, which exhibited a kind of "otherness" and "separateness". Gandhi manoeuvred the imperial framework to defend their rights as British subjects.

His approach towards the natives was not coloured by racial prejudice, but largely driven by political considerations of an insecure minority group. This stance is well examined and summed up by Paul Power that "when linking the phrase 'all men are brothers' with Gandhi to describe his view of mankind and his efforts to eliminate such injustices as 'untouchability', one should keep in mind that he was a *cultural federalist* who resisted any movement toward the social and political solidarity of African and Asian peoples."[32]

Indian Opinion was a powerful weapon in the armoury of passive resistance. Editorials with motivational citations and poems were used to instil courage for participation in the struggle.

With the escalating momentum of the movement, the Indian community cultivated a strong sense of identity for itself. The maturation of consciousness about the reality of their deprivation, recognition of common interests and grievances, the identification of an opposition group with whom the interests were in conflict and a realisation that only by collective community action could change be initiated, developed the "community in itself" to "community for itself".[33]

Before the advent of Gandhi on the political scene, the perception about the communitarian consciousness was evident only among a few sections. The formation of the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 based on Gandhi's initiative was the first organisational manifestation of this awareness. And his efforts to draw a petition,[34] countering the Franchise Amendment Bill, was the first ever petition sent by the Indians to a South African legislature and the initial expression of the community as the whole. His ingenious use of the press pronounced and rooted the idea of communitarian front, which knit Indians into an independent entity, resolutely standing for its cause.

A Strategy for Political Assertion, Opposition and Mobilisation

The role of the press has been so crucially positioned in the domain of politics that the political campaigns are even visualised as "communication phenomena".[35] According to Gandhi, "Indian Opinion... was a powerful weapon in the armoury of passive resistance and continues to be the only recorder of accurately shifted facts about our countrymen in South Africa and of passive resistance."[36]

Gandhi at the Federal Structure Sub-committee meeting at the Round Table Conference in London in November 1931.

The resistance movement involved various political tools, such as petitioning and signature campaigns, which were publicised through the press and generated awareness about politics and its working. Political education was essentially contributive in making them responsible members of the community. Besides being informative and educative, the columns of the newspapers were quite participative. He used to communicate with his readers through the leaves of his journal. It was like, "a communion with people".

The *Indian Opinion* was the chief agency entrusted with the monumental task of administering the whole campaign. The editorials urged and called upon the community to stand for "their duty" and come up to "go to gaol rather than submit to the proposed Act".[37] The newspaper took upon itself the onus of translating the ordinances printed in English into languages like Gujarati.[38] The journal kept the momentum of the struggle even in the face of government's broken "sacred pledges" and intransigent stance. The campaign continued and streams of people joined in the struggle, drawing widespread support from India and England. The journal was well received by people, which was evident from its increasing subscription through this period. Gandhi remarked that at the peak of the struggle, the number of subscribers rose to 3,500.[39]

Editorials with motivational citations and poems were used to instil courage for participation in the struggle. It even drew on examples and analogies from mythology and ancient literature. The journal cited the *Ramayana*: "What *Rama* did with *Ravana*, the Indian community has done with the Transvaal government... And in the end, *Ravana* was defeated because he was in the wrong."[40] The journal also referred to various examples of contemporary resistance movements, such as the English suffragette movement led by the "Brave Women", to inspire the Indians into emulating their courage.[41] A few sections of *Indian Opinion* were devoted to biographical reproductions of "brave and pious men and women of high principles" like Tolstoy, Lincoln, Florence Nightingale, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Elizabeth Fry. These editorial endeavours helped trigger and stimulate the movement. *Indian Opinion* covered news about Indians in other British colonies in the hope of forging a common identity. Within South Africa itself, the newspaper had a well-networked system of correspondents, providing news from different parts of the colony.[42] The journal closely observed and documented the political happenings in India and urged the Indians in South Africa to follow those examples.

Gandhi believed that the support from India and the imperial government was particularly crucial for putting due pressure on the authorities in South Africa. The external pressure through the press was intended to secure help and internationalise the cause. He made appeals to emerg-

ing Indian nationalists to talk to the imperial authorities and influence South African governments. Gandhi went to India twice (1896 and 1899) and twice travelled to London (1906 and 1909). He established contacts with Congress party leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal K. Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, which added considerable force to his cause.

The tour, planned in the initial years of the campaign, was chiefly "commissioned to educate the public and the authorities in India with regard to the treatment Indians were receiving in South Africa".[43] His *Green Pamphlet*,[44] a book prepared by him discussing the question of the South African Indians, received space and recognition in prominent newspapers.[45] His interaction with various newspapers in India helped him to promote and champion the issue.

Women's Participation

Indian Opinion called for a cohesive and inclusive resistance that appealed to all groups and sections. To make the campaign a wholesome struggle, it called for women's participation through persuasive articles like "When women are manly, will men be effeminate?"[46] In 1913, the newspaper report hailed "Native Women's Brave Stand" against the pass laws in the Orange Free State, urging the inclusion of Indian women as resisters in the ongoing movement.[47]

The agitation witnessed the emergence of active bands of women resisters and the formation of organised fronts such as the 'Transvaal Indian Women Association'. They enthusiastically offered to suffer imprisonment rather than indignity.[48] The resolution of the Indian women of Johannesburg on the Searle judgment, which questioned the validity of Indian marriages, was seen as a significant development of the passive resistance campaign. *Indian Opinion* encouraged and praised their efforts stating, "We congratulate *our lucky sisters* who have dared to fight the government rather than submit to the insult offered by the Searle judgment. They will cover themselves and the land of their birth, as, indeed, of their adoption, with glory."[49] Their participation imparted immeasurable strength to the movement. The newspaper recounted their valuable contribution marking the initiation of the political activism among the Indian women in South Africa.

Pragmatic shift: Transition from 'Partisan to Protester'

In the Gandhian movement, the journey was of the essence than the ultimate destination itself. It was a transforming period not only for the Indian community but also for its leader. The transformation of Gandhi from a young barrister to "a sophisticated political organiser" and to a mass leader was perceptible. The depth of this change was significant — from once seeking 'White approval' to now resisting colonial rule. *Indian Opinion* reflected this change in its truest sense.

During the first Satyagraha campaign in 1913.

Gandhi's corpus of ideas and thoughts was not the eruption of the moment but represented an historical evolution. No theorist, his principles evolved in response to his own needs, and the environment in which he found himself.

Gandhi had unflinching faith in the moral authority of the British to govern its colonies. His trust was not impaired even by witnessing what Indians had to suffer in South Africa. He was even enamoured of the 'British Empire' to write a genuinely warm message of felicitation, expressing his sentiments of loyalty and devotion, to Queen Victoria on the occasion of the diamond jubilee of her ascension to the throne. His address to the Queen, published in *The Natal Mercury* on June 3, 1897 read thus: "Most gracious Sovereign and Empress... we are proud to think that we are your subjects, the more so as we know that the peace we enjoy in India, and the confidence of security of life and prosperity which enables us to venture abroad, are due to that position. We can but re-echo the sentiments of loyalty and devotion which are finding expression among all your subjects and in all parts of your vast dominions on which the sun never sets. That god Almighty may spare you in health and vigour for a long time to come to reign over us is our devout wish and prayer."[50]

However, his expressions of loyalty did not imply blind support to the colonial policies. This unwavering trust restricted his activism to merely a constitutional mode of protest, which did not lead to any significant outcome.

Gandhi's gradual disillusionment with the colonial system transferred his reliance from the politics of 'petitioning' and constitutionalism by 1907 to the political strategies of mass mobilisation and moral uplift of the community. In the earlier stages of the struggle, Gandhi's approach to the issues was a blend of mild disapproval and reconciliation, as his opinion on the £3 poll tax, which was imposed on all formerly indentured Indians, depicted: "It is a matter of great sorrow that such a penalty is inflicted on British subjects; but where there is no remedy, one has to reconcile oneself to the situation."[51] His stance visibly shifted in 1909 as he explicitly described it as an "evil thing" and called for "an agitation for its removal".[52]

The discriminations that Gandhi faced and the hurts to his spirit that he sustained have often been seen as crucial factors in the evolution of his political career. But it is interesting to observe his outward attachment to the symbols and institutions of British power. It was not until late 1906, when Gandhi took vows of abstinence and celibacy and first decided to break legal restraints, that it became evident that he had discarded loyalty to the 'modern' European values of equity and progress. The period between 1906 and 1909 saw an extraordinary transformation in Gandhi. It was the formative period during which he honed his strategies of Satyagraha and Sarvodaya which subsequently became central to his philosophy of 'passive resistance'. The 1909 publication of his *Hind Swaraj* conceptualised and confirmed this transformation.

Conclusive Clauses

Gandhi's politics in South Africa represents a movement in itself, traversing through different stages of political activism. Beginning with a 'moderate' stance, in a mild protest tone within the confines delineated by the British institutional setup, he moved to a 'mass mobiliser' mode. His initial political intervention was inspired by his set of ideals and beliefs, which underwent crucial remodelling with experiential structuring of his thought and politics. Gandhi's corpus of ideas and thoughts was not the eruption of the moment but evolved with circumstances and time as Nanda argues: "Gandhi was no theorist; his principles evolved in response of his own needs, and the environment in which he found himself."[53] This intellectual and thoughtful fermentation crystallised and reached its culmination with the conception of *Hind Swaraj*. His newly conceptualised ideological orientation, studded with his ideals of Satyagraha and Sarvodaya, showed the direction of his future politics.

Gandhi's profound writerly skills is not a well discussed aspect of his multi-faceted personality. His journalism was a means to an end. He regarded it as a medium of social and political change. The Gandhian idea of a newspaper and its centrality to a movement was largely "educative", that people ought to understand the importance of social, economic and political independence. It was part of his strategy to use every move in the campaign for overall advancement of the community. He looked upon journalism as a means to serve the people, as expressed in his autobiography: "The sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole countryside and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within."[54]

Gandhi through his craft of prolific journalism in the Andersonian mode, disseminated the idea of Indianness among Indians and sought to forge them under one banner. But his politics moved beyond Benedict Anderson's comprehension of nationalism through a single vernacular press. Gandhi employed different vernaculars in his journal to represent varied regional and linguistic groups with their specificities to disseminate a harmonious message. His journalistic organ, *Indian Opinion*, was primarily responsible in moulding the socio-political consciousness of South African Indians and organising them into a unified entity by developing a participative forum or a "public sphere"[55] in the community. The newspaper was advanced as a communicative realm where Gandhi raised and put forth common issues and questions and urged Indians to have discursive sessions to help devise consensual politics and course of action.

It has often been argued that Gandhi's South African politics was not conclusive and that it did not provide an "enduring solution" to the Indian question. But his activism through the press intended and meant much more. It would be a gross underestimation to gauge Gandhi's resistance movement in South Africa only through its political achievements. It was in fact a multi-dimensional campaign encompassing the socio-political, cultural and moral aspects that sought to advance the community, which would have been difficult to conceive without the spearheading role of his newspaper, '*Indian Opinion*'. ■

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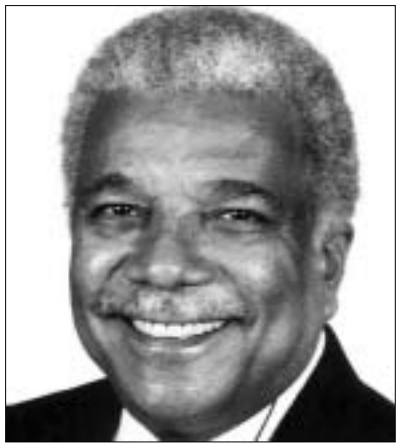
'India has SOFT POWER advantage in Africa'

In this interview with **Manish Chand**, Dr Ali Mazrui, an iconic African intellectual and academic, speaks about issues that will influence the course of African resurgence, the potential of an African renaissance in the 21st century and India's soft power in Africa.

Dr Ali Mazrui, an iconic African intellectual and academic, has dazzled generations of students and readers with his illuminating discourse and insights into African identity, culture and Africa's place in the world. He has been ranked among the world's top 100 public intellectuals by the UK-based *Prospect* magazine.



Dr Ali Mazrui

The Kenya-born Mazrui's research interests are wide-ranging that includes African politics, international political culture, political Islam and North-South relations. A passionate advocate of a new ideology of liberalism that suits the African ethos, Mazrui has authored more than 20 books, including *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis, The African Predicament and the American Experience: A Tale of Two Edens and Islam: Between Globalisation and Counterterrorism.*

He has published articles in major scholastic journals and served on the editorial boards of more than twenty international scholarly journals. He straddles the worlds of academia and media with equal ease. He created a BBC-produced television series entitled "The Africans: A Triple Heritage", which was later published as a book. Mazrui, an Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities and the Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton, came to India in November last year to attend an international conference on Africa.

Mazrui spoke to Manish Chand, Editor, *Africa Quarterly*, on a wide array of issues that will influence the course of African resurgence, the potential of an African renaissance in the 21st century, India's soft power in Africa and the need for India and Africa to move beyond nostalgia and old slogans to fashion a quintessential 21st century partnership.

Excerpts from the interview:

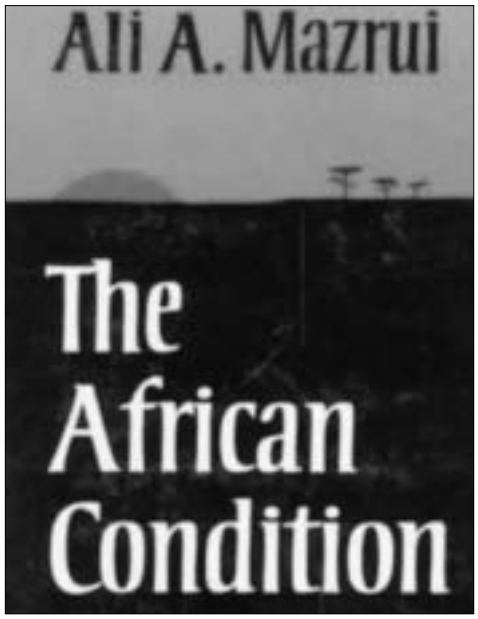
Q) There is much talk about an African renaissance these days. What's your idea of an African renaissance? What factors do you think are contributing to it and what factors are holding the resurgence of the African continent?

A) Well, we'll begin with the issue of the African renaissance. The first time this term was used was really a long time ago; it was way back in the 1930s, believe it or not, by somebody who later became Nigeria's first president Nnamdi Azikiwe. That was a time way before independence. At that time it was more of a dream about getting Africa out of its bondage rather than getting Africa into a revivalist mood. The term almost completely disappeared until quite recently. And people started raising it mostly in South Africa and before the full dismantlement of apartheid. And now it has spread out as a concept more widely beyond South Africa. But underneath it all there is a kind of, more than revamping Africa, attempting to give it a new energy and greater regard, and redefine its agenda, and its destiny. And very often it's a wine bottle rather than the wine — because the wine may differ from thinker to thinker or from country to country — but the bottom-line is still vintage renaissance. This desire to give Africa a greater personality than we have allowed it to have and to make its more inhabitants more proud of it. So we are engaging with this idea of renaissance in one way or another.

Q) Mostly people talk about an African renaissance in terms of economic resurgence…

A) Well, the resurgence has many elements. The economic is one element of resurgence. But even that would be more than just a heavenly situation when the economy is doing better than it did before — a situation where it is based on something more reliable than what it has been in the past. And then you can have resurgence that is political which gets beyond the old-style lethargy and the instability. Also, the old-style trial and error like trying one party system that does not work and experience periodic well-meaning military coups which turned out to be dictatorial. The one-party systems were prestigious experiments in the 1970s and 80s. People have tried certain things and are now looking for alternatives.

Q) You wrote about the relative decline of the strategic value of Africa in the Cold War period. And now there is a sense that



Africa is again emerging in the 21st century, that it is probably acquiring greater weight in the international calculus. Is this for real?

A) Well, it is true that it is beginning to regain some strategic value for certain reasons and many of these reasons are not always good. For example, there is a sense that the so-called war on terror requires a more stable Africa than we had before and requires reducing enmity towards the West within Africa. So that increases Africa's strategic value. Unfortunately, the war on terror is sometimes conducted by the United States in ways which threaten Africa's democratization. Therefore, it is not a reliable way of regaining strategic value.

What made Africa lose the strategic value was the appearance that the world had only one superpower in post Cold War period and there's no longer competition for Africa's friendship. And even Russia is not as engaged in Africa as it was when it was the Soviet Union. But it turned out premature to say that the world had only one superpower. Now countries like China and India will be joining the competition for Africa's goodwill and Africa's friendship.

Q) Talking about the engagement of external actors, do you think a new variant of neocolonialism is at work here?

A) Well, there is a risk of such a thing. I don't think there is yet a concrete trend. There is a risk of getting in that direction. But at the moment the effort of China, for example, is one which is often discussed in these terms. To be on the better side of Africa does not mean it should marginalise Africa. China is discussed in the West in terms of a potential exploiter of Africa. The West has a reason to denigrate its rivals. At the moment it's target is China. But tomorrow if India is more active, you could get the same treatment. China is not doing things which seek to marginalise Africa, but is at the risk of doing things which might be seen as exploitative. It has to, therefore, watch how it deals with its new friendship with Africa, that it doesn't become neocolonial and exploitative in its effect. So the risk is there.

Q) But you don't see tendencies in that direction? For example, striking deals with dictatorial regimes.

A) Yes, but you get it both ways. If you start choosing regimes on the basis of democratic order. A democratic order is a good thing for the people. But China is not a democracy itself, so it will be totally hypocritical of China to demand of Africa higher democratic standards than it practices itself. China, therefore, decided to outdo the West as it does not have democratic credentials for the time being.

Q) India likes to think that it has a more humane development-centric approach to Africa than other powers. How do you see India's engagement with the continent?

A) India does have credentials, which are definitely better than those of most major players in world politics today. India has had longstanding historical relationships with parts of Africa long before the Europeans came. It did have for a while the type of leadership that is committed to Afro-Asianism as a basis of solidarity. And people like Nehru and Gandhi were strongly committed to South-South friendship. So all that is a good starting point for a new relationship. But, of course, we need more than just nostalgia for the new 21st century. And India, because it itself started off as a developing country, knows many of sensitivities of developing countries in Africa and can avoid some of the pitfalls of a superior power.

Q) Is there a view in Africa, as you said, that it's time to move from nostalgia and build ties with India on new ideas?

A) I think this view is shared and partly because India is still a developing country and everybody wants to do things. There are problems of India as a developing country. And some of it is just the inefficiency of the underdevelopment in India. There are problems in terms of organisational effectiveness.

Q) You have spoken about India being a much bigger cultural force or soft power and its soft power is more deeply felt than any other external player in Africa. How do you see India's presence in Africa and the importance of cultural relations in framing diplomatic relations between the two sides?

A) India's soft power influence is very much there, especially if you are comparing it with China where much of the focus has been on economic relations and on some degree of military cooperation. But there is very little Chinese cultural impact on Africa. There is a longstanding Indian cultural impact. An older Asian power in Africa is Japan and it has next to no cultural impact except for economic, trade and some diplomatic cooperation. Part of it is that they don't project themselves culturally. You don't easily get to listen to Japanese music or Chinese movies. But these have been part of the African experience from the days of the British Raj in both India and Africa. When I was growing up as a child, Indian movies were a regular feature in Mombasa. There even used to be a special institution called the "Ladies' Nights" — a screening of Indian movies, especially organised for ladies where men were not allowed. That institution seems to have disappeared after independence. And then our entire cuisine in my subculture has been considerably influenced by Indian cuisine. There are a lot of dishes in our cuisine that Indians

have almost never heard of, but there are many dishes that still bear Indian names like *pulao*, *biryani, chapatis* etc. For weddings, *biryani* is a must! So there is the movie impact and the music impact. CDs of Indian music were sold like hot cakes in Kenya, Tanzania and north Nigeria. Indian singer Lata Mangeshkar's songs are a big draw in Africa. There is some degree of impact of language, although sometimes you are not sure whether you have got that word directly from India or Persia or some other place. Take the word 'Taj' in Taj Mahal. You see our Swahili word for crown is 'Taji'. And I was discussing about the 'Mahal' with my Indian friends in 'Taj Mahal' and he told me it means palace, in our language the world is "mahali" and it means place. What do you call a vehicle? *Gadi*. In Swahili, it's called *gadi*. So you must have got that from us. I can't think about any equivalent linguistic influence from China in Africa. Maybe, there is some that I just didn't know about. But the nature of our interaction with China has not been close enough to include the soft power influence like the one we have with India.

Q) Coming to the Indians, what is the attitude in Africa about the Indian Diaspora that is quite substantial in some countries, especially in East Africa and South Africa. What is the attitude of Africans towards Indians? Are they seen as integral parts of African society?

A) There's a great variation among the attitude of the African countries towards Indians. In Tanzania, there's greater Indian integration and even assimilation than in Kenya or in Uganda. The homes in Tanzania are more pronounced than in Zanzibar where Indians allow themselves to speak Swahili. In Tanzania, there's quite a high level of assimilation. In South Africa, there's a high level of political integration. That's because the nature of the apartheid system created situations where Africans and Indians became allies.

It happened differently in Kenya where there was constant tension as the Indians there were seen as better off under the British Raj and they were afraid of black majoritarian rule. Therefore, after the end of political apartheid till 1994, many Indians rose high in the government. The first speaker of the parliament was an Indian woman. There was far less integration or assimilation in Kenya or Uganda. In Uganda, it was disastrous as an awful government targeted and expelled Indians after they killed thousand of Africans. In Kenya, the Indians have remained a major aspect of the scene and some of them have become powerful. Now we don't have an Indophobia.

During the last decade of colonial rule, the Indian settlers were seen as the allies of the Raj. It was a contradiction of sorts as there was a great admiration of the Indian nationalist movement and of the Congress Party. There were speeches by African leaders admiring the Indian nationalist movement and many African leaders proclaimed themselves as Gandhians.

Q) In your early career, you were extremely critical of Marxism and other Western ideas and you thought that perhaps Africa needs to have its own version of political liberalism. What kind of political culture do you see working in Africa, which can really be instrumental in the context of resurgence and renewal?

A) A subtle version of political liberalism, not necessarily economic liberalism, an open society and pluralism, considerable tolerance of difference and dissent. These are preconditions for Africans to find out what formula suits them best. Because if some other system demands conformity on the basis of who is in power, you are going to stifle potential African creativity, including capacity for self-rediscovery. If you don't allow freedom you won't even allow yourself to find yourself. I have always maintained this position. Liberalism has been a potential key to intellectual autonomy and cultural rediscovery. It is true that I was afraid during those days of our being mesmerized by western Marxism and western versions of socialism. I regard capitalism as an economic system. And some limited capitalism is a precondition for political liberalism like multiparty system and freedom of the press.

Q) There are some democracies which are working in Africa, but there's still a big democracy deficit in the continent. What are the factors that are hindering the democratization of African countries and how do you see this process unfolding?

A) Well, for a long time the problem was excessive imitation of somebody else's democracy. There was very little effort to explore the cultural compatibility and to figure out what kind of system would suit us best. But I think we are making progress. We are in a situation now where we can make amends in the system of democracy. There are experiments like combining a powerful president with a powerful prime minister, like in Kenya. We never had this kind of situation before as Africans have had prime ministers combined with presidents, but there wasn't a situation where they both were powerful. In a country like Kenya, you do need a distribution of offices which are genuine checks and balances. On the whole, the systems are beginning to produce results.

Q) Talking about the bigger role for Africa at the global stage, there's this ongoing debate about reform of the United Nations Security Council and other international institutions. This debate has acquired an added urgency in view of global financial crisis. Do you see any movement in that direction? Do you see Africa getting there or India getting there?

A) I think they will certainly be forced to make changes to accommodate the aspirations of countries like India and Brazil and China. Whether they'll make enough changes to accommodate the aspirations of Africa, we don't know. We have been agitating for it, global institutions like that have enormous power over many countries. Therefore, these institutions should have more representation from countries over which they exercise their power. That includes the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Security Council of the Unite Nations. So I think this crisis may create greater responsiveness to the need for global reforms.

Can GLOBALISATION be contained?

Ali A. Mazrui writes about the influence of globalisation, particularly in Africa and suggests strategies to contain this globalisation in the interest of the local people...

Africa in this 21st century is likely to be one of the final battlegrounds of the forces of globalisation – for better or for worse. This phenomenon called globalisation has its winners and losers. In the initial phases, Africa has been among the losers as it has been increasingly marginalised. There are universities in the United States which have more computers than the computers available in an African country of 20 million people. This has been the great digital divide.

Let us begin with the challenge of a definition. What is globalisation? It consists of processes that lead toward global interdependence and the increasing rapidity of exchange across vast distances. The word globalisation is itself quite new, but the actual processes toward global interdependence and exchange started centuries ago.

Four forces have been major engines of globalisation across time: religion, technology, economy, and empire. These have not necessarily acted separately, but often have reinforced each other. For example, the globalisation of Christianity started with the conversion of Emperor Constantine I of Rome in 313 BC. The religious conversion of an emperor started the process under which Christianity became the dominant religion not only of Europe but also of many other societies later ruled or settled by Europeans. The globalisation of Islam began not with converting a ready-made empire,

but with building an empire almost from scratch. The Umayyads and Abbasids put together bits of other people's empires (e.g., former Byzantine Egypt and former Zoroastrian Persia) and created a whole new civilisation. The forces of Christianity and Islam sometimes clashed. In Africa the two religions have competed for the soul of a continent.

But there are paradoxes of hope. Senegal, overwhelmingly a Muslim country, had a Roman Catholic President for twenty years (1960-1980). When President Leopold Sedar Senghor stepped down in 1980, he was succeeded by President Diouf, a Muslim, but Diouf's First Lady was a Roman Catholic.

The United Republic of Tanzania has been unique in a different way. Tanzania has had a 'religiously' rotating Presidency – beginning with Roman Catholic President Julius K. Nyerere, succeeded by a Muslim Ali Hassan Mwinyi, followed by Christian Benjamin Mkapa, and now once again succeeded by Muslim President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete.

Where else but in Africa can such rotation occur at the highest level of government? Actually there is one other area of the world which has been prepared to experiment with rotation at the pinnacle of power, though not as consistently as Tanzania. India is the nearest rival to Africa in religious rotation of power. India's current Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, is a Sikh – in spite of the fact that it was a Sikh who assassinated a Hindu Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, in 1984. In the past India has also had a Muslim President – though the Presidency in India is titular rather than an executive role. India has also had an Italian-born Head of the ruling party – Sonia Gandhi of the Congress Party. It is conceivable that Sonia Gandhi may one day agree to become the first European Prime Minister of the Indian Republic – having seen across the world the first African American with a Muslim father become President of the United States.

It is one of the ironies of globalisation that while it does consolidate the pre-eminence of the Northern hemisphere in the global power equation, globalisation has also begun to open doors of reciprocal penetrations between the North and the South.

Voyages of exploration were another major stage in the process of globalisation. Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus opened up a whole new chapter in the history of globalisation. Economy and empire were the major motives. There followed the migration of people. The Portuguese helped to build Fort Jesus in Mombasa, Kenya. The migration of the Pilgrim Fathers to America was in part a response to religious and economic imperatives in Europe. Demographic globalisation reached its height in the Americas with the influx of millions of people from other hemispheres. In time, the population of the United States became a microcosm of the population of the world, for it contained immigrants from almost every society on earth. The making of America was the making of a globalised society or universal nation. Similarly, South Africa had Dutch settlers three centuries ago – a potential universal nation on the African continent was initiated.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe represents another major chapter in the history of globalisation. This marriage between technology and economics resulted in previously unknown levels of productivity. Europe's prosperity whetted its appetite for new worlds to conquer. The Atlantic slave trade was accelerated, moving millions of Africans from one part of the world to another. Europe's appetite also went imperial on a global scale, and one European people, the British, built the largest and most far-flung colonial empire in human experience, most of which lasted until after the end of World War II.

The two world wars were themselves manifestations of globalisation. The twentieth century is the only one to witness globalised warfare: during 1914-18 and again during 1939-45. The Cold War (1948-89) was yet another manifestation of globalisation, for it was a global power rivalry between two alliances: the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. While the two world wars were militarily the most destructive, empirically the Cold War was potentially the most dangerous, for it carried the seeds of planetary annihilation via nuclear warfare. At that time Africa was being courted by the Soviet bloc, by China as well as by the West. But China was a minor player. However, China and India are now emerging as newer global players.

The final historical stage of globalisation came when the Industrial Revolution was joined with the new Information Revolution. Interdependence and exchange became dramatically dependent upon the computer. The most powerful country by this time was the United States. Pax Americana mobilised three of globalisation's four engines: technology, economy, and empire. Although in the second half of the twentieth century this Pax Americana apparently did not seek to promote a particular religion, it did help to promote secularism and the ideology of the separation of church and state. On balance, the impact of Americanisation probably has been harmful to religious values worldwide, whether intended or not. Americanised Hindu youth, Americanised Buddhist teenagers, or indeed Americanised Muslim youngsters in Kenya or Nigeria are far less likely to be devout adherents of their faiths than their non-Americanised counterparts.

In the new millennium the forces of globalisation are likely to continue, against the background of the meaning of the twentieth century in world history. As the twentieth century came to a close, scholars interpreted globalisation in three distinct ways. These three prisms still classify globalisation in the following terms:

I. Forces which are transforming the global market and creating new economic interdependency across vast distances. Africa is affected, but not centrally.

II. Forces which are exploding into the information superhighway - expanding access to data and mobilising the com-

puter and the Internet into global service. This tendency is marginalising Africa.

III. All forces which are turning the world into a global village - compressing distance, homogenising culture, accelerating mobility, and reducing the relevance of political borders. Under this comprehensive definition, globalisation is the gradual villagisation of the world. These forces have been at work in Africa long before the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

As we have indicated, the twentieth century was the only century which had world wars - 1914 to 1918, and 1939 to 1945. This was the only century which created world diplomatic institutions - the League of Nations and the United Nations.

This was the only century which created a World Bank - the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) with the International Development Association. The twentieth century also issued a Universal Declaration of Human Rights - adopted by the United Nations in 1948. This was the only century which established a global university - the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan. Some of these institutions have affected Africa more deeply than others. China was marginal for much of the second half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately these well-intentioned organisations were not always helpful to Africa.

This was the only century which had a world health institution - the World Health Organisation (WHO). The twentieth century also created a global mechanism to moderate trade relations - the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The Seattle meeting of WTO at the end of the last millennium illustrated the depth of feelings about the organisation.

This was the only century which had a part-time global policeman - the United States of America. And, of course, this was the only century which developed a genuine world economy - or at least a close approximation to it.

All these were indicators of globalisation. Although the term "globalisation" is indeed new, the forces which have been, as we indicated, creating it have been going on for generations. It is only now that we have realised that the forces at work have had global repercussions and have been sometimes global in scale. The creation of the African Diaspora as a result of the slave trade turned out to be another major manifestation of globalisation.

Towards Taming Globalisation

But is a globalised Planet Earth really a global village? The world may be globalised - but what would make it villagised? There is something missing - the compassion of the village has yet to be globalised. It is the cruelties of globalisation which create a need for arresting or containing the process. What strategies are available for post-colonial Africa and Asia to arrest, tame or contain globalisation? It is to these strategies that we must now turn.

The Southern hemisphere especially has to strike a careful balance if it is not to be marginalised by globalisation. In spite of all the foreign forces at work, and perhaps because of that foreign intensity, the South (or Third World) must pay special attention to the strategy of indigenisation. This includes protecting major areas of indigenous culture, retooling indigenous skills for use in modern contexts, and making sure that indigenous human and natural resources are utilised in the optimum interest of the local people.

Another approach that the South needs in order to save itself from the negative consequences of globalisation is the strategy of domestication. This involves making imported foreign institutions or imported technologies more relevant to the needs of local populations and societies. At the beginning of the twentieth century indentured Indian labourers were used by the British Raj to build a railway line from Mombasa in Kenya on the Indian Ocean to the great Lake Victoria in otherwise landlocked Uganda. Both the Indian labour and the railway line were being exploited in the interest of the British Empire. The Indians had helped to build a key part of East Africa's infrastructure – the railway system. But it took a while before the rail system was "domesticated" in the sense of making it serve the interests of local populations rather than primarily the British Empire.

The Southern hemisphere has to strike a careful balance if it is not to be marginalised by globalisation. In spite of all the foreign forces at work, the South must pay special attention to the strategy of indigenisation.

Much later the British built a university college in Kampala, Uganda (Makerere College). In concept, syllabus, purpose and design, Makerere was for a long time a foreign institution. It took decades to Africanise the syllabus, localise the orientation, and "domesticate" the college.

If and when Sonia Gandhi becomes independent India's first European Head of Government, would that constitute the return of the Viceroy of India? The Viceroy was of course the white Governor-General who had once presided over India on behalf of the British Raj.

What would prevent Sonia Gandhi from becoming a latter-day Viceroy is that she has become almost completely Indianised. The British Viceroy had been a symbol of the attempt to Westernise India. Sonia Gandhi, on the other hand, has become an embodiment of the Indianisation of a Europe within the Indian Republic. She represents the process of "domestication" at a human level. Is she part of the globalisation of India, or part of the Indianisation of the European legacy in South Asia? Perhaps Sonia Gandhi represents both those phenomena.

The third strategy of containing the consequences of globalisation is the strategy of diversification. The purpose is part-

ly to ensure that globalisation is not just another name for, or another face of Westernisation. Africa must ensure that it learns not just from Western culture, but also from the Indians, the Japanese, from Muslim history, from Chinese economic and social experiments. In other words, globalisation should really try to "go global" in its diversified impact.

But Africa has needed to diversify not merely its sources of foreign cultural influences, but also its trading partners, its foreign-aid benefactors, the commodities it produces, and the very foundations of its economies. In addition, Africa has to learn how to make the best use of the diversity it already possesses – including the ethnic diversity of its indigenous populations and the racial diversity of its immigrant communities. Instead of treating its 'tribal" and racial diversities as problems to be resolved, Africa needs to see them as resources for Africa's enrichment and challenges for Africa's creative response.

The fourth strategy for taming globalisation is the strategy of horizontal interpenetration. This involves cultivating partnerships with countries at approximately the same level of development as that already attained by one's own society. For Africa the first stage of horizontal interpenetration is the cultivation of greater cooperation with other African countries. The ambition is for better trade relations, joint projects in developing shared infrastructure such as roads, railways and hydroelectric dams, and greater Pan-African readiness to invest in each other's economies. Regional integration among African states could develop into not only enlargement of economic unions, but subsequently monetary unions and eventually federal unification of African countries.

But horizontal interpenetration for Africa should go beyond relations among African countries themselves, and encompass relations with partners in Asia and Latin America. The post-colonial phase of Afro-Asian solidarity goes back at least to the Bandung Conference in 1955 which brought together a number of African and Asian countries to consolidate an alliance against imperialism, colonialism, racism and the dangers of an unfolding rivalry between the big powers.

Comparative Soft Power: India and China

But relations between Africa and Asia were of course centuries older than they were during the Cold War of the second half of the twentieth century. Particularly interesting were the contacts and influences between India and Africa across the ages, as compared with relations between China and Africa historically. India has over time become a soft power in Africa, influencing important areas of African cultures and lifestyles.

India is more of a cultural force in Africa than China is. India's civilisation has exerted a soft impact beyond its shores, creating a wider global cultural constituency. An obvious leverage emerges out of India as a power for global entertainment. The Indian film industry rivals Hollywood in production and in number of people who view the movies. Hollywood has a larger overseas constituency than India does. However, India has a much larger domestic constituency than Hollywood does.

There is no Chinese equivalent of "Bollywood" – a movie-producing force from India whose products are seen by people of vastly different cultures, from central Asia to Northern Nigeria, from Eastern Africa to the West Indies.

Then there is the related influence of Indian popular music. This amounts to more than the popularity of Indian film songs. There is also the impact of Indian musical styles and rhythms on the music of other cultures and countries.

Sometimes it is difficult to identify where the Indianisation of African music ends and the Africanisation of Indian music begins. A particularly striking example is the Mombasa singer called Juma Bhalo. This vocalist turns to Indian films extensively – sometimes blatantly plagiarising and sometimes rendering honest translations.

There are occasions when Juma Bhalo attempts to capture the theme of an Indian movie or the mood of an Indian song. There are also examples of musical influence rather than direct musical borrowings. However, not all India's linguistic influence in Africa comes from the world of entertainment. The word for "vehicle" in Kiswahili is gari which seems to be a direct borrowing either directly from Hindi or indirectly through Gujarati. There are also words which both Indian and African languages have independently borrowed from Persian (Farsi) or Arabic. The name Taj Mahal is borrowed from Persian. The word "Taj" means crown in Hindustani and Urdu. The word for crown in Kiswahili is also "taji".

In the world there may be more Chinese restaurants than Indian, though this may not be true of the United Kingdom. However, Indian cuisine is more influential on other cuisines than Chinese is. It is certainly true that a variety of Indian dishes have had a greater impact on African cuisines than anything from China. Samosas as a snack are on the verge of getting universalised. The chapati has become part of the African cuisines in Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique and South Africa – though what Africans call "chapati" may be more like the Indian paratha. Weddings in Eastern Africa often have banquets of "biriani" or "pilau". The term shish-kabob is disaggregated in African cuisines. Kababu is one dish made of minced meat, and mshakiki is an entirely separate snack made of larger slices of roasted pierced meat.

Even in those African cuisines which have been greatly influenced by the spiced styles of India, there are a lot of other dishes which may be either indigenous or influenced by the Arabs. But in the context of our current comparison between India and China, the Indian impact on African food culture has been much more extensive than China's.

With regard to comparative diasporisation, the Chinese Diaspora on the Asian continent may be larger than the Indian Diaspora. But on the African continent Indians have settled in the much larger numbers than Chinese – especially in Eastern and Southern Africa.

In coastal Tanzania Indians have sometimes been assimilated to such an extent that some Indian families speak Kiswahili at home among themselves. In Southern Africa large numbers of Indians have been so Anglicised that they have interacted well with the Anglicised African elites. In post-apartheid South Africa many Indians rose high in government because they had once been prominent in the struggle against apartheid. The first Speaker of South Africa's Parliament in Cape Town after political apartheid ended in 1994 was an Indian woman, Dr. Fran Ginwalla.

Indian settlers were less assimilated or integrated in either Kenya or Uganda. In Idi Amin's Uganda the Indians paid a high price. They were arbitrarily expelled by President Idi Amin in 1972, though some have started returning to Uganda under the more hospitable policies of President Yoweri Museveni.

India's Diasporisation in the Black world outside Africa has also been much more extensive than the Diaspora of China. In both Guyana in South America and Trinidad and Tobago in the West Indies the total populations are almost half and half between people of Indian descent and people of African ancestry. Indian music and even Indian languages have survived better in the Caribbean than have either African musical styles or African languages. Since the Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean was more recent than the African, and since Indian workers were imported as indentured labour rather than outright captives of enslavement like the Africans, Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Trinidadians have saved much more of their ancestral culture than have their African compatriots saved theirs.

Indian cultural soft power must therefore be regarded as a fascinating aspect of horizontal interpenetration within the Third World. Indian influence helps to prevent globalisation from being excessively Eurocentric or Americocentric, it does not reverse globalisation, but helps to diversify globalisation.

More directly political influences from India in recent history came when India became the vanguard of anti-colonialism within the British Empire in the twentieth century. Some of the ideas of Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi became quite influential in the Black world. In South Africa Nobel Laureates for Peace, Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, combined Christian ideas and Gandhian principles in their political worldviews. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia were professed Gandhian disciples during the struggle for independence. They later became Presidents of their respective countries. In the United States the most famous Gandhian in the civil rights movement was the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. King's Gandhism was publicly professed and implemented as a strategy of passive resistance and nonviolence. Ironically, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated almost exactly twenty years after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Both leaders have left behind great moral legacies.

Gandhi's impact on Africa does qualify as horizontal interpenetration (South-South). However, Gandhi's impact on

the Civil Rights Movement in the United States was more a case of vertical counter-penetration (from South to North) to which we will shortly turn for further examination.

Horizontal interpenetration also includes the whole diplomatic stance of nonalignment to which postcolonial India was a major contributor. In the middle of the Cold War (from the end of World War II to the late 1980s) almost all independent African countries claimed to be non-aligned as between the Western bloc led by the United States and the Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union. India's first Prime Minister after independence, Jawaharlal Nehru, was one of the top leaders of the non-aligned movement until his death in 1964.

The Cold War itself was one of the political forces which fostered globalisation, but nonalignment in Third World countries helped those states to maintain a semblance of diplomatic independence. Nonalignment was mainly a South-South movement encompassing postcolonial Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America. The few European members of the non-aligned movement were led by Yugoslavia under Marshall Josip Broz Tito. The non-aligned movement helped to tame competitive ideological globalisation fostered by the Cold War.

The People's Republic of China did regard itself as part of the Third World for much of the second half of the twentieth century, and sometimes even professed to be non-aligned on grounds that it was not a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Mao's China even had ideological influence on some African nationalists and intellectuals. But while Gandhi's influence in Africa was disproportionately in the struggle for independence, Mao Tse Tung's influence in Africa was disproportionately postcolonial. While Gandhi's influence was a convergence of ethics and politics, Mao's influence was a convergence of revolutionary ideas and politics. Gandhi's worldview was more clearly rooted in Indian culture; Mao drew his inspiration not from Confucius but from Marx and Lenin. Gandhi's ideas were never banned even in British colonial Africa, whereas Mao's books were actually outlawed under such regimes as Jomo Kenyatta's government in postcolonial Kenya.

In the struggle against white minority rule in Southern

Africa, the People's Republic of China could lend the hard power of weapons and not merely the soft-power of ideology. While India's most distinctive contribution to Africa's struggles was passive resistance and nonviolence, the contribution of Mao's China to nationalists in Southern Africa was weapons of war and military training. In terms of horizontal interpenetration China's relationship with some of the nationalists in Southern Africa at times came close to a military alliance.

China's most expensive foreign aid project was the building of the Railway Line between Tanzania and Zambia (popularly known as TAZARA). The rail system was designed to give Zambia (which was landlocked) an alternative route to the sea – avoiding both apartheid South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique and Angola. China also contributed to health projects even in less hospitable Kenya, and expanded trade with countries like Tanzania and Sudan. India's trade with Africa fluctuated but remained significant.

Both India and China have also made efforts to contribute towards Africa's higher education. Their offering scholarships to African students to study in India and China started before Africa's independence. Scholarships for India were not banned by the colonial powers, but Chinese scholarships did not flourish until after independence.

More recently India has moved towards helping Africa close the digital divide. India is not only giving priority to African students seeking to study science and technology. India has also begun a scheme to help computerise Africa's own educational institutions at home. On the one hand these technological trends are themselves a contribution to globalisation. On the other hand, they reduce the marginalising consequences of more Eurocentric versions of globalisation in African societies. The struggle to tame or contain globalisation has its paradoxes and contradictions. China and India contribute towards further globalisation in Africa, but they also help to stem the tide of Westernisation and Eurocentrism in African societies.

Towards Vertical Counter-penetration

The fifth strategy for taming globalisation is the strategy of counter-penetrating the citadels of power. Since the days of European colonisation of Africa and Asia, Western power and values have penetrated non-Western societies. The strategy of counter-penetration reverses the direction of leverage and influence. Africa and Asia have been seeking to penetrate Western institutions and attempt to exert counterinfluence.

Oil producing Third World countries were among the first to acquire counter-power among their oil consuming Western customers. The Arab oil boycott of the United States and the Netherlands in 1973 was a particularly dramatic illustration of how the oil producing South could punish the oil consuming North if the occasion required it.

China has used more diverse forms of trade to counter-penetrate the Western world. Chinese textiles, toys, pet foods, calculating machines, video players have penetrated American supermarkets. The terms of trade between the United States and China are heavily tilted in China's favour. As the United States has gone deeper and deeper into debt, one of its principal creditors has been the People's Republic of China. Many nationalistic and protectionist Americans have become more and more resentful of China's counter-penetration into the American economy. Here is another contradiction of globalisation. Reciprocal economic dependence between China and America is both an example of globalisation and a trend towards reducing the link between globalisation and Westernisation.

India's counter-penetration of the Western world is more complex, partly because the population of India includes a huge English-speaking elite. Technically highly qualified Indians have found relatively easy access to the job markets of the Western world. Indian names and faces have become more and regular on American television – with expertise which ranges from surgery to the world economy. South Asian Americans like Dr. Sanjay Gupta and Fareed Zakaria have hosted television programs of their own. This is quite apart from widespread South Asian researchers, professors, engineers, doctors, and entrepreneurs. Per head the Indians may be the most prosperous immigrant minority in the United States.

A more unusual form of counter-penetration by Indians is the contribution of their skills without migrating their people. A customer may pick up the phone in Chicago to place an order on an American firm. The customer in Chicago may be speaking to a salesclerk based in Mumbai, India. Are American jobs being exported to South Asia? At election time this is often a bone of contention between protectionist Americans and those who have reconciled themselves to the globalisation of labor. India has counter-penetrated the United States both through the migration of its qualified personnel and through the hiring of skills in India.

Demographic counter-penetration by Africa into the United States can be traced back to the Atlantic slave trade. The Diaspora of post-enslavement in the United States consists of African Americans like Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, and Jesse Jackson, all of them descended from the enslaved. On the other hand, the Diaspora of post-coloniality consists of Africans who have moved abroad as a result of the disruptions and dislocations of the colonial experience in Africa. Many African engineers and professors currently working in the United States constitute a post-colonial form of demographic counter-penetration.

Barack Obama is a particularly spectacular manifestation of demographic counter-penetration. The son of a Kenyan father who studied in the United States long enough to produce a son, Barack Obama is definitely not part of the Diaspora of post-enslavement. He is not descended from the survivors of the Middle Passage (the trans-Atlantic slave route).

But is Obama a product of the Diaspora of post-colonial-

ity instead? Since his mother was a white American from Kansas, and his father returned to Kenya and died there, Barack Obama is not fully a product of the Diaspora of post-coloniality either. It is perhaps the very ambiguity of his identity which helped him to attract such large numbers of White, Black, Hispanic and indeed many South Asian Americans to rally behind his presidential candidacy. Obama's multicultural and ambivalent racial backgrounds turned out to be an electoral asset. He was born in multicultural Hawaii, had a Luo father from Kenya, an American mother from Kansas, a step-father from Indonesia, a brief education in South East Asia, a Muslim middle name, and a spectacular academic career at Columbia University and from Harvard Law School. Barack Obama is more than a case of Africa's counter-penetration into America's citadel of power. Obama is also the only U.S. President who has ever been close to being globalisation incarnate. The struggle continues.

Conclusion

We have tried to demonstrate that both Africa and Asia were caught up historically in a process of globalisation which extended over centuries, and which acquired a name only recently. We described the four engines of globalisation as religion, empire, economy and technology. In the twentieth century the two World Wars and the Cold War became derivative engines of globalisation affecting not only the main antagonists in Europe, but also the colonised peoples of European empires, particularly in Asia and Africa.

The literature of globalisation in the second half of the twentieth century focused on economic globalisation (enlargement of economic interdependencies across vast distances), informational globalisation and comprehensive globalisation (all forms of integration and interdependency which have been converting the world into a global village.

Are the forces of globalisation either reversible or irresistible? Or can globalisation be tamed or even contained? In this paper we have identified five strategies of globalisation. The strategy of indigenisation maximises utilisation of native skills, talents, and the pursuit of the welfare of indigenous peoples. The strategy of domestication converts contributions from foreign sources into greater relevance for local needs. Gandhian techniques of resistance were "domesticated" or Africanised to serve African anti-colonial struggles.

The strategy of diversification seeks to diversify not only trading partners and crops cultivated, but also diversifying the cultures from which Africa should be prepared to learn. African societies should be more responsive to relevant models of development from India, China, Japan and the Muslim world.

The strategy of horizontal inter-penetration would encourage not only partnerships among African countries themselves (Pan-Africanism) but also Africa's economic and diplomatic alliances with India, China and the Arab world (including the non-aligned movement and Afro-Asian solidarity).

We have also drawn attention to India's historic soft power in Africa, manifested in comparative music, cuisine, political ideas, and the impact of Indian films on the world of entertainment in Africa. In the twentieth century there was also the impact of Gandhi on anti-colonialism in Africa and on the civil rights movement, in the United States. Nehru's India was also a vanguard of the non-aligned movement when the big powers were divided between the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Pact. Former African and Asian colonies tried to avoid entanglement.

China's influence in Africa was less soft and less cultural than India's – and more economic, more revolutionary and more military than the impact of Nehru's India. Mao's China helped to provide weapons for Africa's armed struggle, as well as Maoist ideas of Leninist struggle. Indian labourers at the beginning of the twentieth century helped build a railway line between Kenya and Uganda under the auspices of the British Raj. Mao's China in the second half of the twentieth century helped to build a railway line between postcolonial Tanzania and postcolonial Zambia.

Both India and China have cultivated trade with Africa. In more recent years China has been particularly energetic in pursuing Africa's natural resources, especially petroleum in countries like Sudan. On the other hand, China has been reluctant to put pressure on Sudan about the conflict in Darfur, or otherwise to interfere on issues of human rights and civil liberties in countries with which China has trade relations.

As for the strategy of vertical counter-penetration, this involves the reverse flow of influence and leverage from the South to the Northern powers. China's counter-penetration of the United States has tilted the balance in trade, and made China a creditor to the United States. India has counter-penetrated America more with skills, partly aided by a shared English language. Indians are becoming more and more visible as part of the educational elite of the United States. And even from Mumbai Indians sell their skills to American corporations.

As for Africa, its demographic counter-penetration goes back to the Atlantic slave trade. There are now more people of African descent in the United States than there are Jews in the whole world added together. Africans who have migrated more recently to the United States have produced the Diaspora of post-coloniality, as contrasted by the Diaspora of post-enslavement as symbolised by Martin Luther King Jr. and Colin Powell.

As for Barack Obama, he is the most spectacular case of counter-penetration by Africa into America's citadel of power. But Obama is more than Africa's presence in the Oval office. His multicultural background of Hawaii, Africa, Indonesia, Kansas, Muslim father and grandfather, and Christian upbringing, have made Obama perhaps the only Head of State worldwide who can be described as globalisation incarnate – hopefully in the spirit of optimism and human solidarity. Amen. ■

Changing face of African RELIGION

Dr. A.S. Yaruingam writes about the many phases of transformation in the African religion — from traditional religion to Islam and from Islam to Christianity...

The sociology of religion primarily studies the practices, social structure, historical background, development and roles of religion in society. There is particular emphasis on the recurring role of religion in nearly all societies presently and throughout recorded history. Sociologists of religion also attempt to explain the effects of society on religion and the effects of religion on society; in other words, their dialectical relationship. This article attempts to look at African religion from this sociological point of view. African traditional societies were religious by nature. Whether by necessity or choice, every African consciously or unconsciously takes part in religious activities. Every aspect of a man's social and individual life, whether farming, hunting, fishing or observation of festivals and ceremonies, is governed by religious rites and practices. Thus a writer wrote: "Wherever the African is, there is his religion: he carries it to the field where he is sowing seeds or harvesting crops, he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend the funeral ceremony; and if he is educated (formal western education) he takes religion to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician he takes it to the parliament" (Mbiti, 1970; 2).

African religion has undergone several phases of transformation — from traditional religion to Islam and from Islam to Christianity. Even among Christianity there have been

many sectarian transformations. This article is a modest effort to look at the evolution of African religion and its transformational nature during the last many years of historical development in the continent. The paper, specifically, looks at African religion from the socio-historical perspective and sees the changing nature of beliefs and practices taking place among the Africans. The article also attempts to inquire into the changing role of religion in consonance with the changing social, cultural, political and economic environment of society.

It is argued that inspite of the apparent shift in their religious beliefs and rituals from the traditional to Islam and from Islam to Christianity, the motive force underlying the Africans' adherence to different religious beliefs remains unchanged. The apparent 'change' of religion is in essence a quest for a new mechanism to cope with the changing social, political and economic situation, as Ambrose (2001: 321-324) wrote: "African Muslims and African Christians are seeking to redefine or modify their religion and religious identity in response to modern need and problems. For example, Muslims try to incorporate more orthodox Islamic practices and beliefs into their pre-Islamic African religious and cultural heritage in order to seek a harmonious social existence. Moreover, many African Muslims are also seeking a new religious response to help meet the political, economic and social problem they are facing."

From the social evolutionary point of view, African religion can be classified into three stages of evolution:

1) African traditional religion
2) Islam
3) Christianity

According to a recent finding, out of nine million Africans about 100 million Africans today adhere to African traditional religion (*adherem.com 2007*). Hence it is clear that only 10-12 percent of Africans follow their traditional religion today. In other words, the number of Africans who adhered to traditional religion is declining. This is quite plausible because on the face of the onslaught by the more advanced religions, especially Islam and Christianity, traditional religion finds it hard to survive. This has been the simple reason for the spread of Islam and Christianity, especially among tribal communities in many parts of the world.

Muslims form the largest religious group in Africa. Today 50 percent of Africans follow Islam. A bulk of them, nearly 44 percent, comes from the the northern countries, such as Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Sudan and 30 percent from the West. East Africa has about 16.5 percent Muslims.

In terms of country-wise ratio, Somalia and Mauritania has a 100 percent Muslim population. This is followed by Algeria, Djibouti with 99 percent. Morocco and Tunisia has about 98 percent each. Egypt, Libya, Niger, Senegal, Mali, Guinea and Gambia have between 90 to 92 percent Muslim populations.

The second largest religious group in Africa is Christianity. According to the latest statistics, about 40 percent of Africans adhere to the Christian faith. The region that has the most followers of Christianity is sub-Saharan Africa, mainly eastern and southern Africa with 59 percent each of the total population. Country-wise, the majority of African Christians come from Uganda with 85 percent and Malawi with 79.9 percent. South Africa has 79.7 percent of Christian population followed by Botswana with 71 percent. Ghana has 68 percent while Kenya has between 66 to 68 percent.

Traditional African Religion

Africans are consciously or unconsciously, deeply religious. This is basically due to the fact that African societies are centered around 'community' which is traditionally bound by the religious beliefs and practices expressed in family and community rituals and activities. In traditional societies, an African finds meaning and purpose of existence in community life that is a part of a religious centered community (Ambrose, 2001: 299).

Wherever the African is, there is his religion: he carries it to the field where he is sowing seeds or harvesting crops, he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend the funeral ceremony; and if he is educated he takes religion to the examination room to school or to the university; if he is a politician he takes it to parliament.

Traditional African religion is, therefore, a term which in the words of Idowu in his article, 'African traditional religion: A definition,' embraces myriad beliefs and rituals (Idowu E.B, 1971: 21). Some scholars, for the sake of convenience, use the term 'indigenous religion' instead of traditional African religion. As its origins lie in the endogenous social cultural environment, ritualistic practices are imbued with African arts, philosophy and imagination. Thus, traditional African religion is not only a belief or philosophical system, but is an embodiment of society itself. Hence, it becomes necessary to understand African religion in order to understand African life.

As the roots of the beliefs and practices of African traditional religion lie in their social, cultural and physical moorings, there are myriad belief systems and practices among different tribes and communities, shaped by their social, cultural and physical environments. Therefore, it would be an oversimplification if we put together African religion under one generic term 'Traditional African Religion' or 'Indigenous African Religion'. At the same time it would be difficult to comprehend the religious beliefs of each and every community and make it into a topic of academic discourse. Therefore, while dealing with African traditional religion, scholars largely seek out common elements. This is possible because despite variations, there are certain basic

underlying features that invariably run through all traditional belief systems and its practices today. One of the common characteristics of all African religions is the belief in one 'Supreme Being'. Some writers refer to it as a 'high god' which, however, has been denounced by many of Africa's educated classes suggesting that god is 'transcendent' (Smith: 1950; 63). Africans believe that god is the creator and sustainer of the universe and all its living beings. Since this god is the source of life, human beings are inseparably bound to him and because of this very belief in one supernatural god, some earlier writers opined that Africans are by nature 'monotheist' (Schmidt, Wilhelm: 1931: 12-18).

This supreme god is given different nomenclatures by different tribes and communities according to their perception of the nature of god. Yoruba, one of the largest tribes in West African Coast, call this god, 'Olorun. (Feldman: 1863; 36), the Kikuyu of Kenya call it 'Agai' and the Edo of Benin call their highest god Osanobuo'. The Edos traditionally believe that Osanobuo created the universe by sending out his three sons on a canoe. After creating the universe he sent human beings to the four corners of the world to fill it. After accomplishing his work of creation, this god, Osanobuo, who ranks above all other gods, went back to heaven where he lives as a king. Before his departure, however, he entrusted his creations to his three sons (Leonard and Ottong; 139). In the same manner, the Akan of Ghana call the 'High God' Nyame while the Mawus call it 'Ewe'. The Akans and Mawus express their belief in this High God in the following way: 'He is older then all the things that live on wide, wide earth, Asase, teve, na, Onyame ne Panin. He is Onyakopon, Alone, the Great One; Twenadduampon, the Dependable One; Bore-Bore, the First, the Creator of all things; Ortumfo, the powerful One; Odomankoma, the Eternal One; Ananse kokroko. The Great Spider, that is the Wise One' (Busa:1954; 192).

How do Africans perceive this god? According to Ambrose (2001), Africans do not perceive god as some supreme being in merely speculative form. They relate god to their day to day life. They live with the concept that god can be real only when he is experienced in different situations of life. This means the African concept is not to perceive god in an abstract form but in a concrete form through the experiences of life. Hence, the African concept of god is situated in concrete and practical relationships, especially when this god meets their mundane needs (Ambrose, 302).

The second element that is important in African religion is the existence of 'lesser gods and goddesses'. Traditionally, Africans believe that below the High God are varieties of lesser gods and goddesses, or a "host of divinities and spirits" (Ambrose, 303). The Supreme God rules the world through them. He has entrusted different duties and functions to each of them. Africans meet their practical needs from the High God through these divinities. Owing to this nature of traditional African religion, some scholars opine that Africans who were monotheist turned into pantheist in course of time.

These lesser gods keep in touch with the mundane world and intervene in the daily life of human beings and their needs. Whenever people need help from god they approach one of these gods who is entrusted that particular duty or work. This nature is vividly revealed in the beliefs of the Edo tribe of Benin. Edos approach their High God through Olokun who is the provider of children, wealth and prestige — the three most important needs of a community. Because of this, in every Edo household there are altars for Olokun. Besides, in every village of Edo there are Olokun shrines which are brightly coloured. The central figure of the shrine is the god in the form of the Benin king, surrounded by wives, attendants, courtiers and chiefs.

Ogun is another lesser god for those who use tools and his power is regarded as physical, and therefore expressed in tools and weapons. Edos also believe that the god who possesses and dispenses knowledge to them is Osun. The same god also has the power of healing. Therefore, the sick and the ailing approach him with offerings in the form of libation (Leonard & Ottong: 139). Orisha among the Yarubas and Bosom among the Akans of Ghana are the lesser gods found among the western African religion.

Africans believe that God is the creator and sustainer of the universe and all its living beings. Since this god is the source of life, human beings are inseparably bound to him and because of this very belief in one supernatural god, some earlier writers opined that Africans are by nature 'monotheist'.

Worship of "ancestor spirit" is an important component of African traditional religion. Africans believe that death is not the end of man's life and that there is a spirit that exists without dying. And the spirit of great ancestors of the family, tribe and community is very important. The Shona tribe of Zimbabwe call this spirit *vadzimu*, the Zulus of South Africa *amadhozi*. Africans believe that the soul of the departed ancestor would join the land of eternity with those who have died earlier. This spirit of the death could affect the lives of those who are alive — punishing the bad and rewarding the good. Though they believe in the spirit of all ancestors, they do not necessarily venerate every ancestor's spirit but only certain prominent ancestors who had done good deeds while they were alive and left behind a worthy legacy. The remaining family or tribe members worship these spirits. Special respects are paid to these ancestors' spirits by performing rituals and paying obeisance from time to time (Nukunya, 1992: 56). African worship of the ancestor spirit also manifests in many other forms. The Akan tribe of Ghana hold periodic ancestor rituals to venerate the souls of great ancestors. During this time, the Akans offer prayers for fertility, good health, and plentiful harvest and fishing (Nukunya, 1998: 62).

This ritual of ancestral worship has an important social implication. It plays the role of social control and helps cement social relationships. Through this practice, individual behaviour and action are regulated to conform to traditional values and norms. Besides, it also motivates people to lead an exemplary life so that after death, the spirit would be regarded as important and venerated by the community. The fear that ancestral spirits reward and punish those who abide or violate the traditional norms and practices, compel people to abide with the ancient customary rules, laws and practices (Nukunya; 76). The ancestors' spirits are not regarded as objects of worship, rather they are the guardian spirit and intermediaries. However, people believe that they are closely associated with the Supreme Being. And that is why at times, it becomes difficult to distinguish between the worship of ancestral spirit and the Supreme Being. It is clearly revealed in the prayer of the Shilluk tribe of Sudan who pray to Nyikang, believed to be a great ancestor. Their prayer goes: "There is no one above you, O God (Juok). You became the grandfather of Nyikang; it is you Nyikang who walked with God, you became the grandfather of man. If famine comes, is it not given by you? …We praise you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save us. You and Nyikang, you are the ones who created… The cow for sacrifice is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you." (Parrinder, 1969:69).

African worship of the ancestor spirit also manifests in many other forms. The Akan tribe of Ghana hold periodic ancestor rituals to venerate the souls of great ancestors. During this time, the Akans offer prayers for fertility, good health, and plentiful harvest and fishing.

The Shonas of Zimbabwe too believe that the Supreme Being and the ancestors' spirits are closely associated and therefore, whenever they offer prayers they invoke both entities. For example, they would say that children are the gift of Mwari (God) and the Vadzimu, the ancestor. So one can frequently hear them praying, '*kana Mwari nevadzimuvachida*' ("If god and the ancestor are willing" — Ambrose,1987: 126).

The concept of leadership is also an important part of traditional African religion. The gender of leadership could be male or female depending upon the tribe and community's nature of religion. In certain communities the cultic leaders are the shrine officials who are mostly male figures. These leaders usually preside over rituals and other religious gatherings and offer libation on behalf of people. Among the Bantus of southern Africa, the head of the family takes the leadership and presides over the family's religious meetings. 'Spirit mediums' form another category of religious leaders. These are individual members of the family or clan through whom the spirit of the ancestor communicates with the community. Some of these leaders were Mbuya and Nehanda of Zimbabwe. These spiritual leaders wield great authority. During the colonial period they played a significant role in the struggle for African liberation, especially in mobilising people for the cause. The first war of Zimbabwean liberation was led by Mbuya and Nehanda who were eventually hanged by the colonial regime (Ibid: 306). Another 'spiritist' leader called Kinjikitile led the Maji Maji revolt in southern Tanzania against the then German East Africa. Kinjikitile was inspired by a higher spirit called 'Hongo', who was one of the most powerful and influential spiritual leaders in Tanzania at that time. The appeal of diviners was so powerful that it spread to all the countries and became a big movement in Tanzania's political liberation movement against the European colonial regime during that time (Benjamin C. Ray: 1999; 156).

In traditional African religion, the king, the head of the family, and the chief of the clan and tribe also had certain share of spiritual leadership. In situations where the whole nation or tribe is involved, the head of the community or tribe takes up the responsibility of bringing the matter to the diviner and consulting him. It is also their duty to make sure that all the religious functions and observances are carried out by the designated authorities (Ambrose, 2001: 307).

Witchcraft is another type of leadership in traditional African religion though its role is negative. Witches are people, male or female, who are believed to possess inherent supernatural powers that they use voluntarily to harm others or to benefit themselves. It is believed to be a psychic emanation that causes injury to health and property. Witchcraft is mostly motivated by jealousy, hatred, envy and fear. Witches do not perform any rites and those who want to harm their enemies use them as a medium (Nukunya, 62; Ambrose: 307). This is a common phenomenon prevalent in Africa. Misfortunes, sickness and sufferings are often attributed to witches and magicians. Such beliefs are so strong that

even many educated African Christians and Muslims are influenced by it.

Islam in Africa

For a perspectival analysis of the historical development of Islam in Africa in the modern period, one can discuss the entry of Islam into Africa under three historical periods — the early period, middle period and the modern period.

The time soon after the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632 can be regarded as the early period. To escape from the persecution, many followers of the Prophet fled to Africa and took refuge in Egypt and Ethiopia. Thus, Islam made first first footfall in Egypt and subsequently spread to northern Africa. They drove out the Christians who inhabited the towns and cities and spread their message to rural areas among the Babers who had remained untouched by Christian missionaries (Mostyn, 1988:190). Besides, many Arabs married local tribals, converting them to Islam and assimilating them into the Islamic society. From there Islam spread out to other regions through military conquests. The conquered regions and states were incorporated into the Islamic socio-cultural system and thus strong Islamic Arab culture and traditions were established. It is in this context that Arab historian Khaldun wrote: "After the formation of the Islamic community, the Arabs burst out to propagate their religion among other nations."

Hence, it is clear that during this early period, Islam spread among the Africans in two ways — either through military conquests or through trade and commerce. In the North, Islam spread through military conquests whereas, in sub-Sahara it was through trade and business. Many Islamic missionaries who were mostly engaged in trade with local Africans in raw materials such as gold, ivory, gum, and slaves spread their message and converted many tribals into Islam. These traders, wherever they went, established Muslim commercial and religious centres near the capital cities. They entered Nubia (a region in southern Egypt along the Nile), Sudan, Ethiopia, and central Africa via the Nile. From Sudan, some of them went to western and central Africa and converted many Africans who were basically followers of traditional tribal religion into Islam and assimilated them into a larger Arabian socio-cultural system (Lewis: 1980:15-16). This way, a strong foundation of Islamic culture was laid in many African countries, particularly in North Africa.

In eastern Africa, Islam was spread by Persians and Arabian merchants in the late seventh century. These merchants established trading centres along coastal areas and inter-mingled with the locals. They soon married local tribals which resulted in the development of the unique Swahili language. It also led to the flowering of a hybrid Afro-Arab culture in that part of the continent (Ibid: 7).

The second phase of Islamic missionary work in Africa started from the 11th century till the liberation of Africa from colonial rule. During this period, Islam developed a strong Islamic consciousness. But Muslims felt that their religion was threatened by Christianity which they thought was being propagated by those who entered Africa during the colonial rule. African Muslims became conscious of their identity and made a great effort to bring about reformation in the land under the slogan of *jihad*. Thus, they were able to mobilise the masses to spread Islam in different parts of the continent. This movement was basically led by the pious and zealous African Muslim leaders who eagerly wanted to reform African society — socially, politically and morally. Some of them became radicals and attempted to set up an Islamic theocracy. They imposed Islamic laws and norms on the people and sought to justify their action of political conquest and centralisation of administration. One of the leaders of this group was Uthman dan Fodio of northern Nigeria (Mazrui, 1986: 184-185).

This was also the period of the rise of the Sufi movement in Africa. The Sufi religious order or brotherhood urged faithful adherence to their belief. Among them was the Qadiriyya who introduced the learning of Timbuktu in many Muslim centres (Lewis, 1980:18-19). The Qadiriyya greatly influenced Uthman dan Fodio of northern Nigeria, whose jihadist movement led to the founding of the Muslim Sokoto (Voll, 1982:80-81). It was the Sufi brotherhood who mobilised the masses for political, economic and purely religious ends in Africa. These movements later linked up with the political movement against the European colonial power in Africa. Using the idea of jihad and the 'brotherhood' of Islamic believers they were able to organise resistance against colonial oppression on a wider scale than African political units or ethnicity would allow (Mazrui, 1686: 284). For instance, in Senegal, the Mourides transformed their religious movements into a major political and economic force and brought about reformation in the society.

In East Africa, Muslim brotherhoods played a great role in

mobilising people to oppose European imperialism. In Sudan, during times of crises, the Mahdi, who was believed to be a messianic figure sent by god, gained many followers who revolted against and defeated the British at Khartoum in 1885 (Mazrui: 151). Thus, Islam also contributed towards fighting colonial rule and played an important role in Africa's liberation movements.

The third phase of Islamic movement in Africa was after the independence of African states from colonial rule. Islamic organisation and practices underwent remarkable changes after the Europeans left the continent. In some cases, they encountered Christianity and confronted it in various ways. For instance, in Sudan, followers of Mahdi transformed into a political party in order to protect Islam from Christianity; in Nigeria the conservative and reformist groups formed political parties and contested elections against Christians and non-Muslim political parties.

A key element Islam in this period was the process of conversion — the conversion through force was replaced by respect for religious pluralism. During this period, there was also a compromise on the Islamic faith by incorporating many African traditional beliefs and practices into Islamic beliefs to maintain cordial and peaceful relations with local Africans. Thus, traditional African beliefs and practice continued to be a part of the religious life of many African tribals who converted to Islam (Ambrose: 2001: 323). Hence, religious syncretism took deeper root in Africa during the period. Writing about Senegal, Mbiti wrote,

" In spite of the impact of Islam, there is still much deeper layer of pagan belief and observances… Men and women are loaded with amulets, round the waist, necks, arms, legs both for protection against all sorts of possible evil, and to help them achieve certain desires. Most frequently there contain a paper on which a religious teacher has written a passage from the Koran, or a diagram from a book on Arabic mysticism, which is then enveloped in paper, glued down and covered with leather, but some times they enclose a piece of hone or wood, a powder, or an animal claw" (quoted from Ambrose, 2001).

Survey by researchers reveal that many African Muslims remained faithful to their traditional beliefs and practices. The veneration of ancestors, wearing of amulets to ward off misfortune and to protect cattle and homesteads, and belief in magic, witchcraft and sorcerer which are the essential elements of Islamic faith and belief remained a part of African Muslims' beliefs. Besides, the traditional African medicine men, who performed exorcism, sometimes used Koranic quotations as magical formulae.

Changes in various forms and nature have taken place within the Islamic religion in Africa today. To cope with this, Africa today is trying to redefine and find a new identity in response to the various social, political and economic transformations occurring in the continent. To some this means to incorporate orthodox Islamic practices and belief into their pre-Islamic African religious and cultural heritage. This has led some Muslim to seek fundamental way by reaffirming to their orthodox beliefs, often being influenced by the fundamentalist group from Iran and North Africa (Hunwick, 1995; Illesanmi;1995; Voll, 1982:1250). Adapting to the temporary concerns, Sufi and Muslim brotherhoods have been at the forefront to provide a new way to find accommodation between the demand of Islam and popular aspirations, both religious and secular. One of such movement is Hamallism, a social religious reform movement that stresses equality of people and liberation of women. It opposes materialism and corruption of conservative Islamic leaders. Hamallism movement also influenced political leaders like Modibo Keito, and Diori Hamani, former presidents of Mali and Niger respectively.

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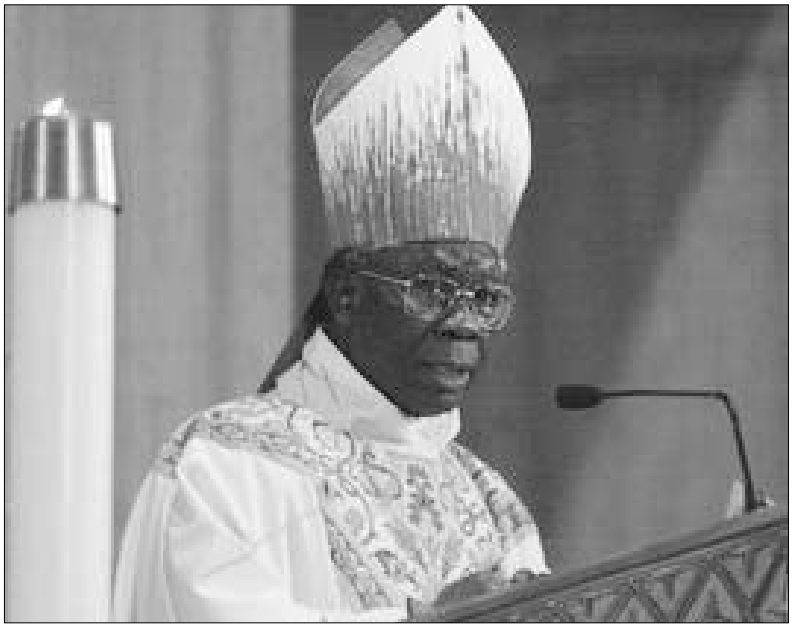
An important development which became prominent among the Muslims, in the recent period has been the rise of Islamic fundamentalist groups that is gaining popularity



among the young people. This group tries to use religious issue s for political gain. The introduction of Sharia law in Sudan and Nigeria resulting in civil war in the continent are some of the clear evidences. However, there are many educated Muslims in Africa who have realised the emptyness and the harms caused by such radical Muslims and are today, searching for a new identity of Islam in Africa compatible to the social and cultural ethos of Africa and the world at large.

It would be pertinent to mention few things about—why Islam appealed to the Africans? Islam appealed to Africans for several reasons. One of them was Islam is different from the western religion, Christianity which Africans alleged their missionaries as racist since they opposed to their traditional beliefs and cultures. Unlike the Christian mission Islam did not pose much problem to the African indigenous beliefs and practices.

Islam is tolerant to many African traditional and cultural practices like ancestor worship, polygamy, female circumcision, belief in magical power, spirit and other divinities (Lewis, 1980:33-34; Callaway and Creevey 1994). Hence, conversion into Islam does not require much changes in their cultural and religious practices and thus escaped from persecutions and harassment from the family, relatives and society around. Africans found Islam compatible with their social and cultural life and thus many of them embraced it.

Besides, Islam also appealed to the Africans due to the social status that is attached with it. Invasion of Arab in Africa came along with a new social concept of 'high' and 'low'. In this new social structure, Africans were racially believed to be inferior to the Arabs. Converting to Islam designated a new social identity to Africans. For the sake of this benefit many African converted to Islam by simply uttering "There is no god, but the (one) God, and Mohammad is his prophet" (Deng, 1999: 194).

Christianity in Africa

Christianity was not new to Africans. Christianity in Egypt was believed to be founded by St. Mark, the writer of one of the gospels in the New Testament Bible. Except Rome, Egypt was one of the countries, which had a large number of Christians in the middle age. Christianity continued to be the dominant religion of Egypt till Islam came to Africa in seventh century (Robinson, 1982: 231).

Christianity was introduced in Ethiopia in the fourth century. With the conversion of Ethiopian emperor, Christianity became the state religion in the same century. Today, the only Christian nation in Africa with its pure indigenous form of Christianity is found in Ethiopia (Pankhurt, 2005; 39). Besides, northern Africa such as Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, which were known as the 'Roman Africa', were under the influence of Christianity. Great Christian theological intellectualists like Tertullian of Carthage, the first person to use the word, 'Trinity' was from this part of Africa. Thus, it is a historical fact that, once upon a time, Christianity was a dominant religion in this part of Africa (Ambrose,2001: 310).

The spread of Christianity in sub-Sahara was mostly due to European missionaries and the colonial regime. The Jesuits and Dominicans of Portugal who came to the sub-Saharan Africa in the 15th century were the first European Christian missionaries to Africa. These missionaries established their mission centre in Congo and Mozambique. One of the well-known pioneers was father Gonzalo da Silveria. It was believed that he had baptised more than 450 people and was martyred in Africa (Ambrose, 2001: 310).

However, the broader gate for Christian mission was opened up just after the anti-slavery movement in America and Europe. Subsequent to abolition of slave trade, many African slaves who had already converted to Christianity were sent back to Africa, especially to Sierra Leon and Liberia to rejoin their native people. Those converted Christian slaves became missionaries and spread Christianity in their country. One of the committed leaders who had played an important role in reaching out Christianity to many native Africans was Samuel Adjai Crother who became the first African bishop of Anglican Church.

This was followed by the movement called 'scramble for souls' among the many protestant sects from Europe and America. Several churches started sending missionaries to Africa who believed that Africans are in darkness and needed to be rescued. Prominent Christian missionaries who offered their lives in preaching and helping the Africans during the period were David Livingstone from Scotland and Robert Moffat from England. They had contributed greatly

in spreading Christianity to Africa during 17th century. As a result of the efforts of such people, many hitherto unknown lands was explored and thus the doors were opened for many missionaries to preach the new religion in Africa. This laid the firm foundation of Christianity in Africa in the 20th century. Today Christianity has become a part of the African life (Sanneh, 1983).

One of the distinct features of African Christians in the 20th century is the growth of indigenous churches. The origin of this church could be traced back to a Congolese woman named Donna Beatrice who claimed herself to be possessed by the Spirit of St. Anthony, one of the staunch Christian pioneers in Europe during the 16th century. The lady claimed that Jesus Christ and his apostles were all blacks. Therefore, Christianity is not a religion of the white but the blacks and thereby justified African traditional, social and cultural practices in the church as legitimate. Among the many, one of the points she preached to the native people was the coming judgment of Christ. Her message appealed to many Africans and attracted them to this new religion. Her message gradually spread to Angola, which was known as Sao Salvador at that time and to the rest of the continent (Daneel, 1987; 40).

Some of these churches are radically different in their polity, doctrine, and general ethos from their counterpart western churches. This new church known as the 'indigenous African church' allowed traditional social and religious practices such as polygamy, female circumcision and celebration of their traditional festivals in the church (Ambrose, 2001; 312).

There were several reasons for the wide spread and fast growth of African indigenous churches. The reasons were—First, African believers did not find much of African ethos in western religion. Thus the later failed to meet their emotional needs. Moreover, they wanted to express their faith in African symbol and images. They strongly felt that Christianity, proclaimed by the western missionaries were devoid of African social cultural ethos. Thus, the need arose to have their churches.

Secondly, Africans felt that the missionary churchs couldnot be completely free from racism. In spite of ardent efforts on the part of the missionaries to accept Africans as their equal partner, and preach them love and equality, in practical life, they were intolerant and racially discriminated.

Thirdly, when the Bible was interpreted in African dialects many Africans could read and found that many of the Biblical stories were similar to their traditions and practices. For example they found that David and Abraham were polygamist like them. Moreover, Biblical teachings like the ten commandment of Moses 'those who honored parents, their days will be long…' was consonant with their practice of ancestor worshipping, interpreting it in their traditional context. Thus they accepted Bible as part of their religion and continued to practice their traditional beliefs and rituals.

Fourth, newly converted Africans greatly aspired for leadership in the new social set up. But missionaries' refusal to relinquish leadership in the church and hand over to the local African Christians, due to reasons that they are not trust worthy disappointed African believers. Thus they left the mother church and set up their own churches (Ambrose, 2001; 315).

Fifth, Africans could not accept some of the Christian cultural practices imposed on them like prohibition of polygamy. In fact, polygamy is one of the deeply rooted African traditions which has great social implication; it is the expression of a persons' status in the society. The number of women a man married determined his status in the social hierarchical structure. Hence, forbidding to such customs became a great blow to their social life and thus many Africans could not accept it and left the missionary churches and set up their own local churches. Besides Christian missionaries forbade the African converts from participating in their traditional festivals and other celebrations considering it as a heathen practice, which is harmful to their faith (Maukau Matua, 1999; 174). Hence converted Africans were supposed to completely severe their family and community ties and had to begin a new life in the new social cultural and family environment. Because of such strict prohibitions imposed on the African converts, they had to face a lot of hardships. Many local converts could not endure the hardship and left the missionary church and started their own new church.

Christians were often alleged as instruments of colonial political power. To some extent it was true. Christian mis-

sionaries lived with the native Africans; they worked with them intimately. As a result they came to know about the African social, cultural, political and economic life very well. European colonialists wanted to make use of them and thus collaborated with them in many ways. At the same time the missionaries also needed the former for their protection and for getting many other things done for their mission work. Therefore, unwittingly, in many ways, missionaries and colonial rulers collaborated and worked hand in glove to fulfill their different objectives and interests. This kind of working together gave the impression that the Christian missionaries in Africa were the tools of colonial rulers. Such allegations are clearly expressed in the famous writing of Jomo Kenyata. "When the missionaries came the Africans had the land and the Christians had the Bible. They taught us to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened our eyes, they had the land and we had the Bible" (Mazrui, 1986; 149-150).

Numerous Christian denominations operating in Africa can be broadly classified into two—The Ethiopian-type church the group that mainly protest the white dominated missionary church on the ground that they allied with the oppressive colonialist. Followers of this church identified themselves with the Biblical nation, Israel, the chosen race of God, who suffered under the oppression of Babylonian rule for a long time. In the same vein, they believed that Africans are the chosen race of God and are suffering under the oppression of foreign yokes. Thus, they aligned themselves with the aspiration of the oppressive people and gives theological meaning to their sufferings. They received inspiration from the Bible that the oppressed people have special place in God's kingdom. Hence, religion is being used as a source of emotional and psychological strength in their practical life. Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) is one of these churches.

The second type of churches is 'spirit-type church' often referred to as the Zionist Church. They are prophetic in character and place great importance on the work of the Holy Spirit which manifests itself in healing, speaking in tongues, prophesising, dreams and visions. They believe that the Holy Spirit could cast out evil spirit and witchcraft. Their worship services are characterised by beating drums, singing and dancing. This sects gives a lot of emphasis on the daily practical needs of the people than on the hope for the future. They try to relate their religion with their day-to-day life in this world. Thus they seem to be more concerned of their worldly needs and affairs. They forbid members from involving in religious rituals of their traditional belief (Morrison, Mitchell, and Paden, 1989: 76).

Zionist church includes the Aladura or 'praying' church in Nigeria and the Harris churches in Cote d' Ivoire (Ranger, 1986:3). This church attempts to Africanise the Christian faith by responding to the needs and aspirations of the African people. They take African world-view such as 'if the salvation is to be real it liberates people from evil spirit, sickness and disease'. Thus they seek to fulfill the practical needs of their daily life through religion.

In a sense, changing of religion is nothing but seeking new means to cope with the sufferings and other problems of life. And many Africans found the solution in this new religion, the Zionist group. This is one of the reasons that 'holy spirit filled Zionist church' became popular in Africa and the number of people converting to this religion is increasing year after year. With the change in time, people meet different problems for which the traditional ways of coping are no longer effective and thus arises the need to find new means and ways to cope with. People become more rational and secular and run after the things of this world. This created a kind of social moral vacuum in the society, as well as in the individual's mind. Holy Spirit focused Christian church found to be the right religion to fill this vacuum. Many people who had lost adherence to their traditional religion and were looking for the new religious power found their right place in this new Christian denomination. Today, this Zionist group is growing at a very fast pace in Africa. According to Jim Kiernan (1995, 118) today, 80 percent of African Christians belong to this church.

It is logical to see that today traditional religion has become desolate to meet the challenges of the society and subsequently its roles are gradually diminishing. On the other hand, Christianity is growing at fast pace as many Africans are embracing western religion since it provides their emotional and psychological needs.

Today the population of African adherence to western religion —Christianity is growing at a fast pace. Thousands and thousands of young and old are thronging to Christian meetings to hear the message that brings promise of hope, peace and prosperity. Many fundamentalist Christians claim that Africa will become a land of Christendom in the 21st century as it was in the United States of America in the 20th century.

It is logical to see that today traditional religion has become desolate to meet the challenges of the society and subsequently its roles are gradually diminishing. On the other hand, Islamic faith remains stagnant as it failed to meet the practical, emotional and psychological needs of the common people. But Christianity is growing at fast pace as many Africans are embracing western religion since it provides their emotional and psychological needs. Thus a writer remarked, 'while messianic religion grew, there was corresponding decline in African religion' (Isichei 1995, 324). ■

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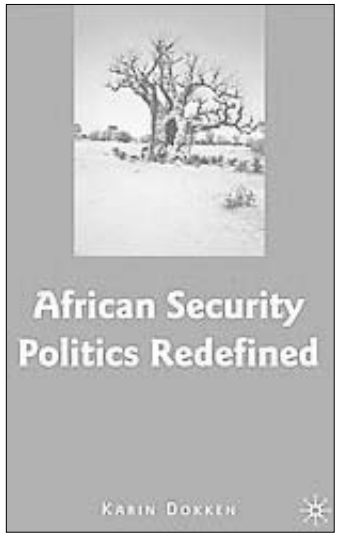
African security politics redefined
By Karin Dokken; UK, Palgrave, 272pp; Hardback; £47.50.



Analyses recent alterations in African security politics related to the recognition of the relationship between security/peace and development, and the war on terror. Includes information on civil wars, security and the state, transnational aspects of African conflicts, peace-keeping efforts, security challenges of the African Union, UN experiences in Africa, and privatisation of security

Policing post-conflict cities
By Alice Hills; UK, Zed Books; 224pp; Paperback; £18.99.

How and why does order emerge after conflict? What does it mean in context of the 21st century? From Kabul to Kigali and Kinshasa, in Baghdad and Basra, abandoned by the state, and with security increasingly ghettoised, people make their own rules and survival becomes a matter of manipulation. In this book, Alice Hills discusses the interface between order and security. Though the focus from analysts and donors is generally on security, Hills argues that the concept of order is much more meaningful for peoples' lives. Focusing on the police as both providers of order and a measure of its success, the book shows that order depends more on what has gone than on reconstruction that tension is inevitable in donors' attempts to reform brutal local policing.

Radicalism and Cultural Dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960-1974
By Messay Kebede; USA, University of Rochester Press; 240pp; Hardback; £40.

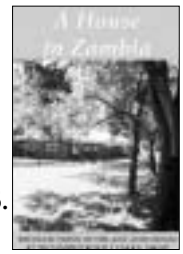
During the 1960s and early 1970s, a majority of Ethiopian students and intellectuals adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology with fanatic fervour. The leading force in an uprising against the imperial regime of Emperor Haile Selassie, they played a decisive role in the rise of a Leninist military regime. In this study, Messay Kebede examines the socio-political and cultural factors that contributed to the radicalisation of the educated elite in Ethiopia, and how this phenomenon contributed to the country's uninterrupted political crisis and economic setbacks since the Revolution of 1974.

■ Pictorial View

Avenue Patrice Lumumba
By Guy Tillim; Germany, Prestel; 128pp; Hardback; £35.00.

Tillim's earlier photographs documented war-torn Africa and the people whose lives have been shaped by years of hardship. In this book, through 80 coloured images, he focuses on the structures that dot the urban landscape of Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The modern buildings constructed with illusions of prosperity and peace and then left to decay. This collection tells a story of failure and atrophy, and points to the intersection of present-day societies forsaken in the name of progress and the perpetual quest for power.

A House in Zambia: Recollections of the ANC and Oxfam at 250 Zambezi Road, 1967-97
By Robin Palmer (Ed.); 170pp; Zambia, Bookworld Publishers; Paperback; £19.95.



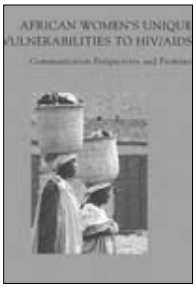
The story of a house with a complex history combining politics and development, which explores links between Oxfam in Zambia and the African National Congress during the momentous time of South Africa's transition to democracy.

LOSS OF INNOCENCE

Child, Victim, Soldier: The Loss of Innocence in Uganda
By Donald H. Dunson, Photographs by Gerald Straub; USA, Orbis books, 145pp; Paperback; £8.99.

The Lord's Resistance Army has abducted children, boys and girls, to serve as soldiers and to provide sexual services. Torn from their families in the dead of night and forced to carry out terrible acts, including murdering family members and other children, they bear terrifying scars on their bodies, minds, and souls. This collection, accompanied by photographs, lets their stories be heard, often in their own voices, telling of their hurts and of their hopes for the future.

African women's unique vulnerability to HIV/AIDS: Communication Perspectives and Promises

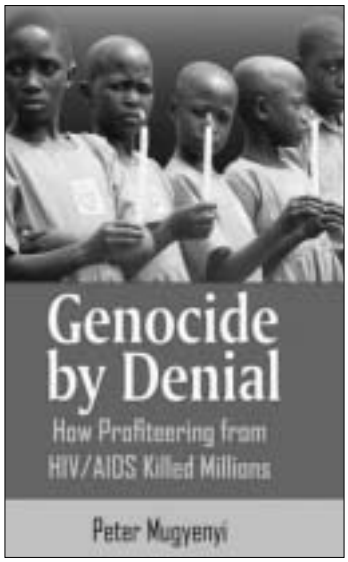


By Linda K. Fuller; UK Palgrave, 306pp; Hardback; £50.

Provocatively titled study that offers a multi-disciplinary perspective on the AIDS/HIV epidemic, addressing a range of issues: patriarchal social ordering, homophobia, and biomedical, educational and financial vulnerabilities in African societies generally and in women particularly, who are most vulnerable to the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.

■ Naked Truth

Genocide by Denial: How Profiteering from HIV/AIDS Killed Millions



By Peter Mugyenyi; 294pp; Uganda, Fountain Publishers; Paperback; £24.95.

Traces the carnage of HIV/AIDS from its Ugandan epicentre in the villages of Kasensero, along the shores of Lake Victoria, through sub-Saharan Africa and onto the rest of the world. Peter Mugyenyi's involvement in the struggle against the virus started in 1989, soon after his return from a long exile in Europe and the Middle East. On arrival he found the disease devastating his country, compelling him to fight the modern plague. He became one of the leaders in a protracted fight against the scourge and an advocate for universal access to life-saving antiretroviral therapy. Here he exposes the incredible self-indulgence of the pharmaceutical companies and the cold-heartedness of the rich world that turned a blind eye until it was far too late, and then responded too slowly with too little.

Women's land rights and privitization in Eastern Africa
By Birgit Englert; UK, James Currey Publishers, 192pp; Hardback; £45.

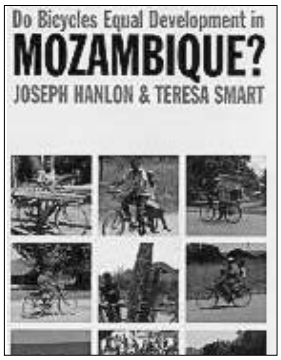
Focuses on the impact on women's land rights from the contemporary drive towards the formulation and implementation of land tenure reforms which aim primarily at the private registration of land. It is solidly grounded in the findings from seven case studies, all based on in-depth qualitative research, from various regions of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda.

From revolution to rights in South Africa: Social Movements, NGOs & Popular Politics after Apartheid
By: Steven L. Robins; UK, James Currey Publishers, 256pp; Hardback; £50.

Critics of liberalism in Europe and North America argue that a stress on 'rights talk' and identity politics has led to fragmentation, individualisation and depoliticisation. But are these developments really signs of 'the end of politics'? In the post-colonial, post-apartheid, neo-liberal new South Africa, poor and marginalised citizens continue to struggle for land, housing and health care. They must respond to uncertainty and radical contingencies on a daily basis. This requires multiple strategies, an engaged, practised citizenship, one that links the daily struggle to well organised mobilisation around claiming rights. This book argues for the continued importance of NGOs, social movements and other 'civil society' actors in creating new forms of citizenship and democracy.

■ Developmental Discourse

Development and entrepreneurship



Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique?
By Joseph Hanlon & Teresa Smart; 242pp; UK, James Currey Publishers; Hardback; £50.

Is Mozambique an African success story? It has seven percent a year growth rate and substantial foreign investment. Mozambique is the donors' model pupil, carefully following their prescriptions and receiving more than a billion dollars a year in aid. The number of bicycles has doubled and this is often cited as the symbol of development. This book questions some key assumptions of both the donors and the government such as whether there has been too much stress on the Millennium Development Goals, and too little support for economic development; if it makes sense to target the poor, or to target those who create the jobs; whether there has been too much emphasis on foreign investment and too little on developing domestic capital; and if the private sector will end poverty, or must there be a stronger role for the state in the economy?

Dust to Diamonds: Stories of South African Social Entrepreneurs
By B. Thumbadoo & Colleen Magner (Eds.); 237pp, UK, Palgrave; Paperback; £17.99.

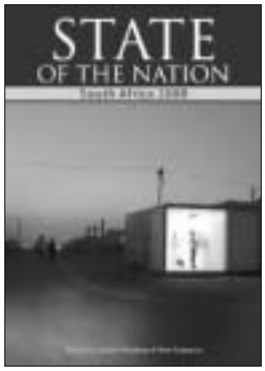
Social entrepreneurship is a term that is becoming more widely used and practised internationally. From Grameen Bank in India to the free University, CIDA in South Africa, social entrepreneurs are helping address the issue of global poverty and other social challenges. This book looks at the transition of the organisations pre and post-apartheid, established to provide for majority of the population who the apartheid government largely ignored, and the new institutions set up to address current crisis such as HIV/AIDS.

T.E.A. Salubi: Witness to British Colonial Rule in Urhoboland and Nigeria

By Peter P. Ekeh (Ed.); 578pp; Nigeria, Urhobo Historical Society; Paperback; £54.95.

Autobiographical account of a man whose life spanned the extent of British colonialism in Nigeria. Adogbeji Salubi was born during the British colonial rule in Urhoboland, in the hinterland of Western Niger Delta. He attended one of the earliest colonial schools in Urhobo-land, and completed his elementary school in Lagos in 1926, before joining the Colonial Civil Service. In 1943, Salubi was awarded a scholarship to Cambridge. On retirement from the Civil Service in 1962, Salubi became the head of The Urhobo Progress Union. From 1938 onwards, he a meticulous diarist, maintained vast records of his personal life till the time of his death in 1982, that reveals a great deal about the nature of British colonial rule in Nigeria.

■ A Continent in Review



State of the Nation: South Africa 2008
By Lungisile Ntsebeza & Peter Kagwanja (Eds); South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council; 380pp; Paperback; £27.99

Fifth volume in the annual series published by the HSRC Press. Features a range of contemporary viewpoints drawn from the ranks of academics, political analysts, civil society and the research community. Issues featured in this edition include: Black consciousness in contemporary South African politics; Modernising the African National Congress; The developmental state in South Africa; Globalisation and transformation of the South African Merchant Navy; Landlords, tenants and social power in the backyards of a South African city; and, The state of military relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe and South Africa in the UN Security Council.

■ Hour of Transition

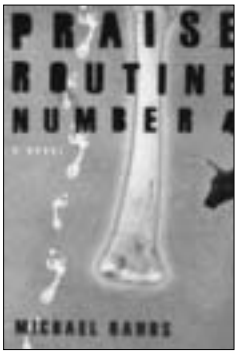
Urban Appropriation and Transformation: Bicycle taxi and handcart operators in Mzuzu, Malawi

By Ignasio Malizani Jimu; Cameroon, Langaa Rpcig; 142pp; Paperback; £18.95.

Study of the informal responses to unemployment in Malawi. To the bicycle taxi and handcart operators who are the focus of the book, informality is a means for negotiating newer experiences associated with urbanisation. Jimu documents the failure of the state as well as the private sectors to respond to escalating demand for formal sector jobs.

The New Ship of Zion: Dynamic Diaspora Dimensions of the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem
By Martina Könighofer; Germany, Lit Verlag; 144pp; Paperback; £15.95.

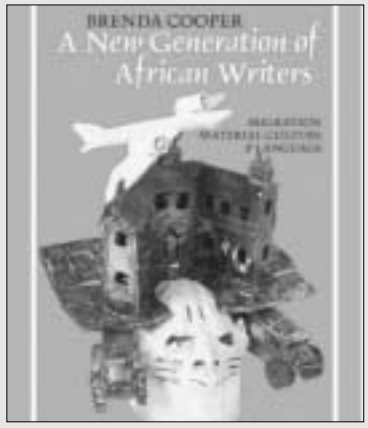
Explores the diasporic connections of the African Hebrew Israelites, a spiritual movement of African Americans who have traced their roots to Zion. With the successful establishment of model communities in Israel and Ghana they have built up a framework for repatriation to the 'Motherland'. The resulting constructions of ethnic and cultural identity are the subjects of this book. It also sheds light on the ideological concepts of other communities that travel the same waters as the New Ship of Zion, such as the Rastafarians. Foreword by Werner Zips.



Praise routine number 4
By Michael Rands; South Africa, Human & Rousseau, 296pp;
Paperback; £12.95.

Byron Winterleaf is on the verge of losing his job as a translator at a Xhosa-themed restaurant. And during heavy rains his back garden in Observatory, Cape Town, is flooded, killing the marijuana plants that he'd been hoping to harvest for profit. But the flood also brings something else to the surface — it's a bone, that much is clear, but whose?

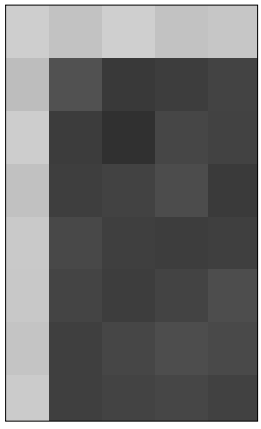
A New Generation of African Writers: Migration, Material Culture, and Language
By Brenda Cooper; UK, James Currey Publishers; Hardback; £45.



Tracks the journeys undertaken by a new generation of African writers, their protagonists and the solid objects that populate their fiction, to depict the material realities of their multiple worlds and languages. The book explores the uses to which the English language is put in order to understand these worlds. It demonstrates how these writers have contested the dominance of colonising metaphors. The writers' challenge is to find an English that can effectively express their many lives, languages and identities.

■ Human Rights

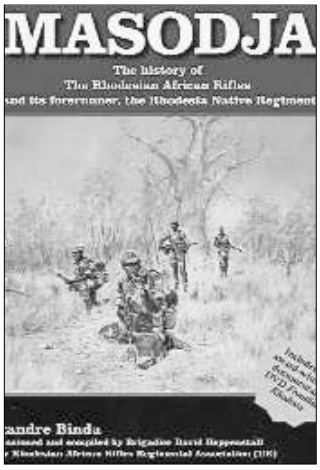
Adult Domestic Workers in Uganda: An Analysis of Human Rights and Social Injustice
By Platform for Labour Action; 160pp; Uganda, Fountain Publishers; Paperback; £18.95.



Highlights the little-examined marginalisation of domestic workers in human rights covenants and other legal instruments, and examines the various ways in which the human rights of most of these workers are infringed. Draws attention to the fact that the circumstances under which most domestic workers perform their tasks, which are crucial to the stability of many urban households, are usually a blatant breach of human rights and often constitute gross social injustice.

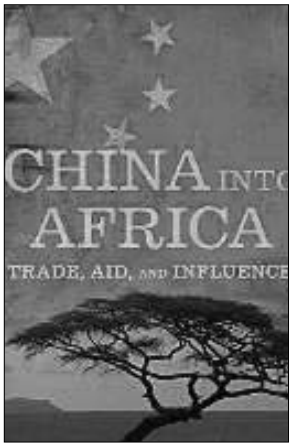
Democratization and Islamic Law: The Sharia Conflict in Nigeria
By Johannes Harnischfeger; 284pp; Germany, Campus Verlag; Paperback; £22.99.

When democracy was introduced to Nigeria in 1999, one-third of its states declared that they would be governed by Islamic law. This book argues that such a break with secular constitutional traditions in a multi-religious country might have disastrous consequences. The efforts by Islamic politicians to assert their own religious laws, Harnischfeger contends, have driven Muslims and Christians to confrontation.



MASODJA: The Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner the Rhodesia Native Regiment
By Alexandre Binda & David Heppenstall; South Africa. 30' South; 480pp; Hardback; £55.

Lavishly illustrated regimental history. Formed in 1916 as The Rhodesia Native Regiment, its Shona and Ndebele troops were blooded in the East African campaign, pitted against General Von Lettow-Vorbeck and his German *askaris*. Disbanded in 1919, the regiment was re-formed in 1940 during World War II as The Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR), seeing action in Egypt and Burma. In the 1950s, the regiment distinguished itself further during the Malayan Emergency. During the 1960s and 1970s, the regiment was at the forefront of hostilities in the bloody guerrilla war, earning a fearsome reputation as counter-insurgency specialists. Ironically, it was after Zimbabwean independence in 1980, that the RAR's finest hour came, when fighting for their erstwhile enemy, Robert Mugabe, the soldiers of the RAR defeated Joshua Nkomo's invading Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) armies at the battles of Entumbane in Bulawayo. Includes a DVD of Nick Downie's 1979 documentary Frontline Rhodesia.

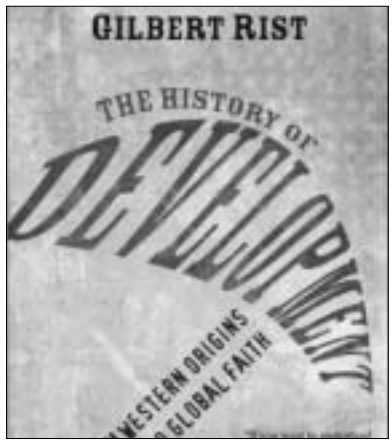


China Into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence
By Robert I. Rotberg (Ed.); USA, Brookings; 339; Paperback; £18.99

Among the specific topics tackled here are China's interest in African oil; military and security relations; the influx and goals of Chinese aid to sub-Saharan Africa; human rights issues; and China's overall strategy in the region. China's insatiable demand for energy and raw materials responds to sub-Saharan Africa's relatively abundant supplies of unprocessed metals, diamonds, and gold, while offering a growing market for Africa's agriculture and light manufactures. Argues that this evolving symbiosis could be the making of Africa, the poorest and most troubled continent, while it further powers China's expansive economic machine.

Cartooning in Africa
By John A. Lent (Ed.); USA Hampton Press; 383pp; Paperback; £27.99.

Originally announced in June 2006, but just published. Documents from historical and contemporary perspectives, the situations, trends and issues of cartooning in a number of African countries, and profiles the individuals, forms and phenomena that stand out. All types of cartooning, , including comic books, comic strips, gag and political cartoons, and humour magazines are covered.



The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith
By Gilbert Rist; UK, Zed Books; 276pp; Paperback; £17.95

Updated third edition. Provides a complete and powerful overview of what the idea of development has meant throughout history. Gilbert Rist traces it from its origins in the Western view of history, through the early stages of the world system, the rise of US hegemony, the supposed triumph of the third world, through to new concerns about the environment and globalisation. In two completely new chapters on the Millennium Development Goals and post-development thinking, Rist brings the book completely up to date. Throughout, he argues persuasively that development has been no more than a collective delusion, which in reality has only resulted in widening market relations, despite the good intentions of its advocates.

The African Press, Civic Cynicism and Democracy
By Minabere Ibalema; UK, Palgrave; 276pp; Hardback; £45.

Argues that civic cynicism in African countries is a major obstacle to the consolidation of democracy, and that the African press should address the problem not just among leaders, but also among the general populace.

Bestsellers in India

Madhu Trehan's forensic study of the imperatives at the root of the Tehelka exposé in 'Tehelka As Metaphor: Prism Me a Lie, Tell Me a Truth' tops the non-fiction list while Vikas Swarup's 'Slumdog Millionaire' remains on top week after week on the fiction list.

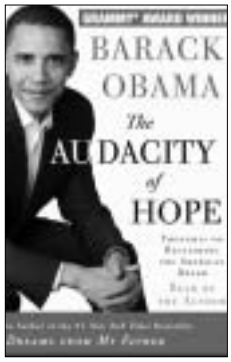
TOP 10: NON-FICTION

1. Tehelka As Metaphor: Prism Me a Lie, Tell Me a Truth

Author: Madhu Trehan
Publisher: Lotus Roli
Price: Rs. 595

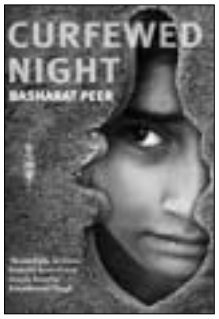
2. The Secret
Author: Rhonda Byrne
Publisher: Simon & Schuster
Price: Rs. 610

3. The Audacity of Hope
Author: Barack Obama
Publisher: Canongate
Price: Rs. 250



4. Dreams From My Father
Author: Barack Obama
Publisher: Canongate
Price: Rs. 395

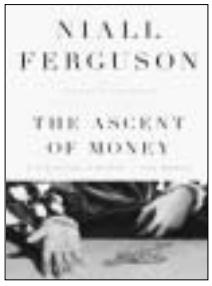
5. China: A Search For Its Soul: Leaves from a Beijing Diary
Author: Poonam Suri
Publisher: Konark
Price: Rs. 800



6. Curfewed Night
Author: Basharat Peer
Publisher: Random House
Price: Rs. 395

7. Imagining India: Ideas for the New Century
Author: Nandan Nilekani
Publisher: Penguin Allen Lane
Price: Rs. 699

8. The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World



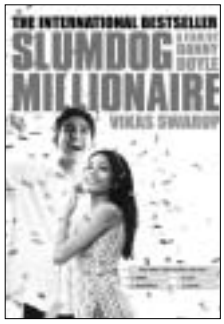
Author: Niall Ferguson
Publisher: Allen Lane
Price: Rs. 595

9. The Decline And Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997
Author: Piers Brendon
Publisher: Knopf
Price: Rs. 1,598

10. Empires of The Indus: The Story of a River
Author: Alice Albinia
Publisher: John Murray
Price: Rs. 550

TOP 10: FICTION

1. Slumdog Millionaire



Author: Vikas Swarup
Publisher: Black Swan
Price: Rs. 246

2. The White Tiger
Author: Aravind Adiga
Publisher: Harper Collins
Price: Rs. 395

3. In Other Rooms, Other Wonders
Author: Daniyal Mueenuddin
Publisher: Random House
Price: Rs. 395

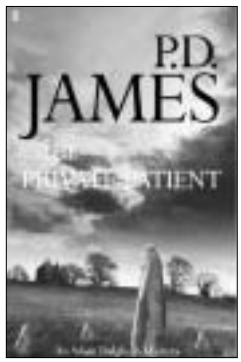
4. Life is Perfect

Author: Himani Dalmia
Publisher: Rupa
Price: Rs. 195

5. The Palace of Illusions
Author: Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni
Publisher: Picador India
Price: Rs. 495

6. The Story of My Assassins
Author: Tarun J Tejpal
Publisher: Harper Collins
Price: Rs. 495

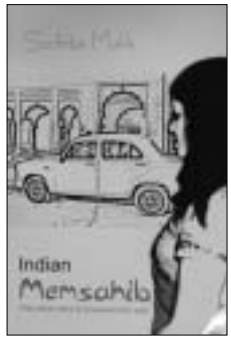
7. The Private Patient: An Adam Dalgliesh Mystery



Author: P. D. James
Publisher: Faber and Faber
Price: Rs. 695

8. Divine Justice
Author: David Baldacci
Publisher: Macmillan
Price: Rs. 421

9. Indian Memsahib



Author: Suchita Malik
Publisher: Rupa
Price: Rs. 195

10. Sea of Poppies
Author: Amitav Ghosh
Publisher: Penguin Viking
Price: Rs. 599

(Source: Bahri Sons, New Delhi, www.booksatbahri.com. All the books listed above are available online)

Address by Pranab Mukherjee, External Affairs Minister, at the India-Africa Business Partnership Summit:

19/01/2009

Any gathering with delegates from Africa is like meeting old friends. I extend a very warm welcome to you all and extend my very best wishes for 2009. May the New Year spread peace, prosperity and goodwill and fulfill all your aspirations.

Excellencies & ladies and gentlemen, it is less than a year since we had the privilege to host the India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi. It was an occasion to celebrate our friendship and renew our commitment to the great continent of Africa. The Delhi Declaration and the Africa-India Framework for Cooperation adopted at the Summit now serve as the contours for a more systematic engagement in the coming years.

India's ties with Africa are historic. Trade across the Indian Ocean has linked us for hundreds of years. We were both victims of colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. We inspired each other in the resolve to resist and defeat the forces of imperialism. Our shared kinship rejoiced every time a blow was struck by the Afro-Asian liberation movement. We have seen and shared a difficult past. It is only natural if we now choose to consolidate national gains and work together towards a prosperous future.

India and Africa are old civilisations. Today, the Indian economy is worth over a trillion dollars with key strengths in the services, manufacturing and agricultural sectors. We have also made some advances in the core areas of health and education. Capacity building and human resources development, in fact, have always been central to our cooperation with Africa since our independence. We have achieved creditable success in enonomic growth and development. That success is, as always, available for sharing with friends in Africa, within the limits of our capabilities. Our commitment to Africa is total and we look forward to a close partnership with Africa in its economic resurgence.

I would like to congratulate Dr. Mitra and his colleagues in FICCI for organising this important business summit. We appreciate our distinguished guests and delegates from Africa for responding so well to this event. I would also like to acknowledge the gracious presence of our very special guest, the President of Rwanda. Friends, a packed programme awaits you. I am pleased to see that sectors at the core of economic development and growth, including railways, road and construction, healthcare and pharma, ICT, power; mining and agriculture, have been carefully identified and selected for this summit.

For this to happen, trade, tariff and investment impediments will have to be done away with in a hurry. In this context, and as announced earlier, our "duty-free preference scheme" for the Least Developed Countries, 34 of which are African countries, covers 94 per cent of India's total tariff lines. It is also our commitment to more than double the amount on Lines of Credit to $5.4 billion for the five-year period beginning 2008-09. Around $500 million will also be provided over the next five to six years for projects in critical areas from the 'Aid to Africa' budget.

Ladies & gentlemen, economic and commercial ties between India and Africa are not new. These exchanges have continued for centuries across the Indian Ocean, and have benefited peoples from both sides. With positive changes and sustained economic development in both India and Africa, this economic and commercial interaction has diversified and deepened since the latter part of the 20th century. Bilateral trade has grown from a small $5 billion in 2001-02 to around $30 billion presently, a six-fold growth. Investment levels have also increased across a wide range of sectors, such as agriculture, small scale industry, mining, ICT, oil pipelines, automotive plants, chemical industry, power generation and transmission. You will agree, however, that these existing trade and investment levels do not reflect the true potential.

Less than 8 per cent of India's exports are meant for Africa. Our imports from Africa are also around the same proportion of our global imports. After Asia, Africa is the second fastest growing region. We have signed trade agreements with almost 30 countries in Africa. I, therefore, call upon Indian and African business partners to deepen their business engagement. Indian companies should accelerate their investments and technical tie-ups with African partners. Cost-effective and intermediate Indian technologies and our large human capital base give us a unique advantage.

The infrastructure needs of Africa are enormous. These also present good opportunities for Indian businesses, as do the growing demands in Africa for new technologies, engineering services and manufacturing capabilities for local value addition. There are millions of young people in Africa who can be employed in the manufacturing and services sectors. The communities of Indian origin in many parts of Africa are also an added advantage.

An important area of cooperation between India and Africa has been agriculture and food security. The India-Africa Forum Summit laid special emphasis on this sector. The Declaration of the India-Africa Framework for Cooperation involves pro-

grammes for agriculture. These include irrigation projects, freeing up new lands for cultivation, exchange of seeds, technology, food processing, livestock development, water management, measures to confront the growing threat of climate change, capacity building and fisheries. Some Indian companies have already begun to explore opportunities in Africa in the production of pulses, cereals and oilseeds. I am confident that more will do so in collaboration with African enterprises and governments. We have already extended a number of Lines of Credit to the agriculture sector. These should provide opportunities to Indian and African partners to undertake projects of direct benefit to farming communities.

We are also exploring possibilities of comprehensive economic cooperation agreements with the Common Market of Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC). We are, therefore, specially delighted and honoured to have among us today President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, who is also the current chairperson of the East African Community.

A draft framework agreement was recently inked in Delhi for a Preferential Trading Arrangement with the South African Customs Union (SACU). With the South African Development Community (SADC), we are developing projects in a number of sectors.

These are fast changing times. In less than six months, a severe global financial crisis has morphed into a global economic meltdown which may not have taken full shape yet. The repercussions are undoubtedly severe. While the crisis began in the West, the developing countries cannot remain unscathed. Estimates are that global growth and trade may grow at the slowest in over two decades. The financial regulatory framework in many countries will change as will economic expectations. It is no surprise that the model of international financial governance has also come into question. The current crisis brings out global interconnectedness. India has over the past few years grown at about 9 per cent annually which gave us the distinction of being the world's second fastest growing major economy of the world. Our economy is also exposed to the global market, and will therefore, experience some slowdown. We are, however, better positioned to withstand the worst. Our economic fundamentals are principally domestic demand, domestic savings and investments. Indeed, India is one of the world's safest markets. We are confident that a 7 per cent growth is not beyond us this year and that it shall not be long before we fully regain our growth momentum. We see our growth and development as an open opportunity for mutual gain with our African associates.

India-Africa relations have always been multi-focused, cutting across many international issues and challenges. It is our desire that on crucial global concerns like climate change, food and energy security, health, terrorism, marine piracy and democratisation of international institutions, we continue to enhance our cooperation and dialogue.

Let me extend my very best wishes for a productive Summit. May the ensuing two-days of deliberations and business engagements give wing to our bilateral commercial ties. I wish the India-Africa Business Partnership Summit all success. ■

Inaugural Address by EAM at Heads of Missions Conference

22/12/2008

It is my pleasure to inaugurate this first conference of all our Heads of Missions. The timing of this conference is most opportune. The world is in the midst of transition covering both political and economic spheres. Political transitions are underway in countries of our neighbourhood as also in the world's leading power. The global economic crisis shows no sign of an ending soon. Issues of energy, environment, food security, and water, to name a few, are becoming more complex. Above all, the effects of the processes of globalisation are throwing up new challenges; but, they also provide opportunities for our national endeavours. We have to ensure that our interests and security are safeguarded and promoted. As a stakeholder in the international system, we need to manage the strategic shifts that are underway to maintain our stability and security and bring prosperity to our people.

Before I share my thoughts with you on how we should play a role in shaping these outcomes, I would like to use this opportunity to mention some of our achievements in the past four and a half years. In this period not only we have had significant diplomatic successes but we have also been able to make good progress in transforming our systems and way of functioning so that we are able to respond better to the global developments. If I were to list out the main achievements these would include: (i) Relations with neighbours: We live in a difficult neighbourhood. Each of our neighbours is undergoing a domestic transition. It is heartening to note that most of these transitions are proceeding smoothly and have led to the spread of democracy. Our relations with each of our neighbours, apart from Pakistan are better than before. Both Nepal and Bhutan have new democratically elected governments and Bangladesh is soon going to hold its national elections. It is also a matter of some satisfaction that we have been a factor for stability and peace in the region and our economic growth is having an impact beyond our borders.

There is a realization among most of our neighbours, of the increased opportunities and the benefits of partnering with us. (ii) Energisation of SAARC: During our chairmanship we have been able to move SAARC from a declaratory phase to an implementation phase and launch several initiatives including the SAARC Food Bank, SDF and the South Asia University. (iii) Relationship with major powers: Today our relations with all the world's major powers are much deeper and stronger than before. We are engaged in establishing strategic partnerships and expanding the scope and depth of our economic and strategic interaction with different countries, groupings and regions – whether it is the US, Russia, China, Japan, EU, South East Asia, Central Asia, IBSA or many others with whom we are developing a fruitful and active dialogue. Our relations with Africa got a major fillip with the first India-Africa Summit this year. The successful completion of the Civil Nuclear Initiative is a major diplomatic achievement.

It is the first time that we have been able to move the international system to change long established rules in our favour. From being a target of the technology denial regimes we are now regarded as a partner. (iv) Passport/Visa services: The Passport Sewa project should result in better and efficient passport services to our fellow citizens in a comfortable environment. By the end of 2009 we should be able to issue new passports in 3 days and do all other miscellaneous services in a day. We have also been able to outsource visa work in 29 missions which has resulted in better use of available manpower and also better service to people. (v) As regards the functioning of the Ministry also there have been several new initiatives and milestones. Cabinet has approved 514 new posts which will be created in a phased manner over the next 10 years. This additional manpower should help us in dealing with our ever increasing responsibilities arising from greater engagement with the world. The real indicator of our success and achievement in diplomacy is the fact India is being called upon to assume an increasingly demanding role on the global stage. I had mentioned in the beginning that the world today is in transition. This is evident in our immediate neighbourhood as well as in the larger global arena.

In our neighbourhood we have continued with our efforts to deepen engagement, either bilaterally or multilaterally and even by assuming a built-in asymmetry in responsibilities. An objective assessment shows that this policy has yielded results except with Pakistan. The recent terrorist attack on Mumbai was unprecedented both in terms of its scale and audacity. This and the series terrorist incidents preceding it including the attack on our embassy in Kabul, where we lost our colleagues indicate that terrorism emanating out of Pakistan is acquiring an increasingly dangerous dimension and continues to threaten peace and stability in this region and beyond. We have so far worked at several levels. At the international level we have sought the support of the international community to put pressure on Pakistan to deal effectively with the terrorism. The terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan is the greatest terrorist danger to peace and security of the entire civilised world. We have so far acted with utmost restraint and are hopeful that international community will use its influence to urge Pakistani Government to take effective action. While we continue to persuade the international community and Pakistan we are also clear that ultimately it is we who have to deal with this problem. We will take all measures necessary as we deem fit to deal with the situation. The challenge for us is to shape a set of policies encompassing both the security and foreign dimension such that we can ensure an external environment conducive to India's transformation and continued development. You have the experience and are well versed in the craft of diplomacy. However, I wish to point out some facets which will require particular attention, given the transitional global political and economic environment that we now find ourselves in.

We have today a multiplicity of actors on the global firmament, including think-tanks, NGOs and the media. These actors are exercising a significant level of influence. During the civil nuclear cooperation discussions, we saw how a concerted effort was made to unsettle negotiations, by portraying a narrow and distorted view of the negotiations. Therefore, even though these actors may exercise varying degrees of influence and hold views which may be antithetical, there is no alternative but to take cognisance and engage with them. This engagement can be at various levels in its intensity and range. In the coming years, the crafting of sound policies will also depend on the influence we are able to bring to bear and the way in which we manage these processes and actors. In this context, our soft-power is an asset we need to utilise with a greater degree of cohesiveness and with an outcome oriented approach. We have scholarships and mid-career training programmes, we offer defence cooperation and related technical programmes. A vast amount of money is spent on these programmes. Unlike some other countries, we have eschewed monetising these programmes. Perhaps, we may now need to conduct a more realistic assessment and undertake an audit of the utility of these programmes, of these tools of soft-power at our disposal. We should capitalise on the existing goodwill, in creative ways, and I expect our Missions to assist in this task.

On the economic dimension, India's economy has proven to be both outward looking, competitive and resilient. Our companies are no longer shy in exploring new opportunities and our manufacturing is setting new standards and earning a healthy reputation. This can be utilised to enhance our reach and effectiveness in other countries. The larger process of globalisation has unintended consequences. There is the accelerated interaction, due to the speed and spread of the electronic media. This has severely compressed the time available for decision-making. We have to be aware of this in our work both in Headquarters and in Missions. We must be clear in our analysis and in our presentation of options. The transitions underway globally also makes it harder for us to arrive at assessments but we should gear ourselves to discerning the different strands, particularly the underlying currents which are influencing policy making. The fluidity of the situation provides us an opportunity, to fashion new frameworks to enhance our interest. We should prepare to play a leading role in shaping the emerging world, by preparing long term strategies as an influential and respected member of the international community.

You will over the next three days consider many aspects of our global interaction. I wish you success in your deliberations and look forward to your conclusions which I will discuss in the concluding session on the 24th. ■

Statement by EAM at the Partnership Summit 2009
19/01/2009

I am pleased to address the Inaugural Plenary of The Partnership Summit 2009, and to share the dais with such a distinguished gathering of speakers. The Partnership Summit over the years has been an outstanding platform for thought-leaders from different walks of life. It has served well as a forum for sharing global perspectives on global concerns as well as issues and challenges facing India. I congratulate CII on the Summit which has achieved the milestone of being 15th in the series. The world is currently experiencing a complex set of

challenges that derives from a number of factors. Globalisation has aided world growth in the past two decades. At the same time, it has also contributed in the West to 'market fundamentalism' characterised by excessive deregulation and speculation. Coupled with a series of misadventures on the part of some financial institutions, this has had a cascading effect on the entire world. While examining the causes, both proximate and removed, we will have to go back quite a number of years. In 1995, when the Partnership Summit was first held, world GDP was $39.4 trillion. Today, world GDP has reached $60 trillion, an increase of 50% during the 14 years. It is interesting to go into the origins of world output. In 1995, high income countries contributed two-thirds of global production, but in 2006, this came down to 59%. East Asia and Pacific region pushed its share up from 9% to 14% while South Asia's share went up from 4% to 6%. The major contributors to the change thus appear to be the two large developing economies of India and China.

In trade as well, growth has been strong. World trade has expanded faster than world output as economies have opened up and have instituted reforms for better integration with each other. In India for example, trade in merchandise and services is over two-fifths of GDP, a big jump from the early 1990s when it was below 15%. India has been one of the beneficiaries of globalisation, bringing up its share in world exports to just over 1%, while becoming the fastest-growing service provider on the strength of its IT sector.

We believe that the gains from the strong period of globalisation, though severely impacted, will not be totally negatived by the global economic crisis. Most countries will find themselves better off despite the downturn than they were a few years ago. The flow of goods, services, funds, people and technology in fact will continue to be the driving factor for future growth. Therefore, the lessons that we learn from the 'economic tsunami' sweeping the world must be to preserve and protect the forces of globalisation that will allow each country to best leverage its comparative advantages for the progress of its citizens without the accompanying abject failure of regulation, supervision and oversight.

Emerging economies need to have a greater role and say in global financial matters to reflect contemporary realities. Accordingly, India has been fully engaged in the global exercise to address and overcome this crisis in an effective and urgent manner. This is also consistent with our commitment to pursue India's rightful place in the comity of nations, be it the UN Security Council or the international financial institutions. 8. India remains committed to playing a prominent role in global negotiations and is seen as the voice for the developing world. We are a participant in the G-20 deliberations on the future of the financial system. We look forward to taking a proactive and constructive part in shaping the contours of the emerging system of global financial governance. The issues of surveillance and monitoring, identification of potential threats, tracking of developments to measure their impact, and stabilisation will have to be addressed. The Bretton Woods institutions have been criticised for their slow response and their failure to raise the red flag. The management of these archaic institutions lies with the developed countries and this may have led to their being part of the problem. These institutions therefore must be made more responsive and more sensitive to the needs of the developing economies. It is evident to all that the international financial institutions are in need of far-reaching and comprehensive reforms by way of democratisation, transparency, etc. for effective surveillance, oversight and regulation. I am confident that the global crisis will trigger fresh thinking on the way the world meets emerging challenges. The institutions constituting the new financial architecture must reflect contemporary realities, with countries like India having their due representation and weight in these institutions. Apart from the financial system, the world will also have to develop new partnerships to address global threats. The expansion of the UN Security Council has been discussed for many years, but needs to move into action. India seeks its rightful place in an expanded Security Council. 10. Terrorism is one threat that affects many of us. India has long faced the scourge of terrorist activities. The attacks on Mumbai shocked the world and focused attention on the challenges faced by India in countering cross-border terrorism. International partnerships by way of sharing and analysis of intelligence are crucial components of anti-terrorist operations. The mechanisms for these operations must be reworked so that all countries have access to sophisticated technology for tackling terror. At the same time, sufficient security must be ensured to prevent such intelligence from falling into the wrong hands. We in India are strengthening and upgrading our anti-terrorist strategies. Our diplomatic efforts to diminish the terrorist threats will continue unabated. We look to build partnerships with our interlocutors on counter-terrorism to root out the menace of terrorism. In practical terms, this means that countries that sponsor or tolerate terrorism must be left with no choice but to dismantle the infrastructure of terrorism. This also implies that countries found wanting in their commitment to zero tolerance for terrorism will be made to pay a heavy price by the international community bound together in a steadfast partnership against terrorism. Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen 11. In conclusion, this Partnership Summit 2009 comes at an opportune and timely moment; its theme 'Building Partnerships in a post-crisis world' is appropriate and topical. I have no doubt that this Partnership Summit forum will, during its deliberations today and tomorrow, seize the opportunities being thrown up by the challenges posed. Far-reaching change is inevitable; the momentum appears unstoppable. The stage is set for a global, inclusive and calibrated response involving comprehensive reforms of the existing institutions as an interim measure in the short run. At the same time, we need to look at devising new institutions to be put in place for a new global financial architecture in the medium term. In this effort, India appears to be well placed, pursuing a positive reform agenda, to be a worthy and meaningful partner in a post-crisis world. 12. I urge the present congregation to deliberate on some of these key challenges and evolve possible solutions. I wish your Partnership Summit 2009 all success. Thank you. ■

Hampi: DREAMS carved in stone

A tourist and pilgrimage destination, the group ruins of Hampi are spread over an area of more than 25 square km. Built on legends, every stone of the ruins has a tale to narrate for those who wish to experience its beauty.

Built around legends and myths, Hampi is at once a tourist destination and a pilgrimage centre. It lies in central Karnataka, about 365 km (218 miles) north of Bangalore, the state capital. Packed with ancient temples, giant palaces, aquatic structures and ancient monuments, the group ruins of Hampi are spread over an area of more than 25 square km. The natural granite beauties relate the various legends of Hampi.

The first legend associated with the place is about the marriage of Virupaksha (name of Shiva at Hampi) and a local maiden Pampa, after whom Hampi is named. Hemakuta Hill marks the spot where Pampa worshipped Shiva with great devotion, thereby attracting the god's attention, who agreed to marry her. The marriage is 'celebrated' today — in the months of March and April — with a lot of gaiety in Hampi and is popularly known as the Car Festival of Hampi, the most eventful festival of the year.

The Virupaksha Temple complex is a sacred pilgrim centre for Shaivites. It is located on the south bank of the Tungabhadra River. This temple has been functioning since its establishment in the 7th century AD, thus making it the oldest functioning temple of India. It had humble beginnings, starting with a few separate shrines and expanded into a large complex with many sub shrines over the centuries. These shrines have beautifully carved pillared halls, towered gateways and a large temple kitchen.

The east-facing tower, with nine storeys and a pair of cow horn like projections on top is the most prominent landmark in Hampi. The lower two tiers of the tower are cov-

ered with stone figures. The temple houses an unusual triple headed Nandi, the bull statue and Shiva's favoured mode of transport. Krishnadeva Raya of the famous Vijayanagara empire was the chief patron of the temple and credit goes to him for its architecture which is principally Dravidian in style.

The temple complex contains the idol of Virupaksha in the form of a lingam (a phallic structure), the shrines of Virupaksha's consorts, Pampa and Bhuvaneswari, the shrine of Pataleswara (a form of Shiva), the shrine of the nine planetary deities (nava grahas) and the shrine of the founder sage of Hampi, Vidyaranya. The richly carved temple is made of local granite. Another exciting feature of this temple is a dark chamber with slits on the wall located near the rear exit. The sunrays passing through this slit form an inverted shadow of the main tower on the wall, a kind of pinhole camera effect created with stonework.

Hampi is also believed to have been the mythical monkey kingdom, 'Kishkindha', ruled by Sugreeva and Vali. According to the myth Sugreeva took refuge on the Matanga Hill when driven out by his brother. Matanga is the highest point in Hampi and is the best spot for an aerial view of the lush beauty of Hampi. Located on the top is the Veerabhadra Temple dedicated to a cult deity associated with Shiva. It is also the best place to view the sunset and sunrise in Hampi.

Rama and Lakshmana who arrived in Kishkindha in search of Sita (Rama's consort) are met by Sugreeva, who shows them some of Sita's jewellery that had fallen off while she was being taken away by Ravana. A cavern on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra is said to be the cave where Sita's jewels were hidden for safety. The Malyavanta Hill on the road to Kampili is believed to be the place where Rama and Lakshmana stayed, while Hanuman went in search of Sita. Malyavanta houses a Raghunath Temple with a large image of Rama. The temple is an important pilgrimage centre. The Anjayaneya Hill across Tungabhadra is believed to be the birthplace of Hanuman. A huge mound of scorious ash in Nimbapuram village, near the Vittala Temple is believed to be the cremated remains of Vali.

The Vittala Temple houses the famous Stone Chariot of Hampi, which is a must see for its beautiful and exquisite stone work. The stone wheels which still work are a spectacular feat of architecture. The temple also houses 56 musical pillars which when struck produce musical notes.

The ruins of Hampi also represent the glorious past of one of the largest Hindu empires — the Vijayanagar Empire. According to folklore, two local chieftains, Harihara and Bukkaraya, under the guidance of Vidyaranya, laid the foundations of this empire. Hampi was the capital of the empire and the largest trading centre in the world of luxury goods, including diamonds. The Hampi Bazaar, as it is called, starts from the foothills of Matanga and stretches up to the east entrance of the Virupaksha temple. Once a thriving market and place for lavish residences of nobles, the ruins now

The Stone Chariot at the Vittala Temple.

house local restaurants, guesthouses, a tourist information office and residences for local hawkers. A walk along this street in the morning hours is advisable, to view the village of Hampi slowly waking up to welcome a new day.

The Vijayanagara kings were lovers of art and architecture and Hampi flourished under their reign. The grandeur of Hampi's architecture reached its peak under Krishnadeva Raya. The Krishna Temple, commissioned by him after his victory over the king of Orissa, boasts of exquisitely carved pillars with images of Yali (a mythical lion). A huge slab inside the temple courtyard tells the tale of the conquest and the story of the temple.

The Hazara Rama Temple was the royal temple. Along the temple walls are carved the epic of Ramayana. Nearby is an underground Shiva temple which was discovered only in the 1980s. Some of the other architectural beauties of Hampi are the Lotus Mahal, summer palace of the erstwhile rulers, the Elephant stables, the King's Balance, where the kings were weighed against grain or gold, which was distributed to the poor, the Queen's Bath (Pushkarni), the Lakshmi Narasimha statue and the Mustard Ganesha, a nine-feet tall statue carved out of a single stone.

Hampi is at her best between October and March, because of the weather and the special events held. The summer heat and the rainy months (July-September) may not be the best seasons to see what Hampi has to offer.

How to get there:

Air: The nearest airstrip is at Tornagallu in Sandur Taluk, which is 32 km from Hospet. The second nearest airport is at Bellary, 74 km from Hospet.

Rail: Hospet is the nearest railway station, 13 km away from Hampi. Hospet is linked by rail to Bangalore, Bijapur, and Hubli.

Road: Hospet is 13 km away and rental cars and buses are available from there. Hampi is 365 km from Bangalore and Karnataka State buses ply to Hampi. ■

Contributors

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Note to Contributors

Africa Quarterly, published since 1961, is devoted to the study and objective analyses of African affairs and issues related to India-Africa relations. Contributions are invited from outstanding writers, experts and specialists in India, Africa and other countries on various political, economic, social-cultural, literary, philosophical and other themes pertaining to African affairs and India-Africa relations. Preference will be given to those articles which deal succinctly with issues that are both important and clearly defined. Articles which are purely narrative and descriptive and lacking in analytical content are not likely to be accepted. Contributions should be in a clear, concise, readable style and written in English.

Articles submitted to *Africa Quarterly* should be original contributions and should not be under consideration by any other publication at the same time. The Editor is responsible for the selection and acceptance of articles, but responsibility for errors of facts and opinions expressed in them rests with authors. Manuscripts submitted should be accompanied with a statement that the same has not been submitted/accepted for publication elsewhere. Copyright of articles published in the *Africa Quarterly* will be retained by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR).

Manuscripts submitted to *Africa Quarterly* should be typed double space on one side of the paper and two copies should be sent. A diskette (3 ½") MS-Dos compatible, and e-mail as an attachment should be sent along with the two hard copies. Authors should clearly indicate their full name, address, e-mail, academic status and current institutional affiliation. A brief biographical note (one paragraph) about the writer may also be sent.

The length of the article should not normally exceed 7,000 to 8,000 words, or 20 to 25 (A-4 size) typed pages in manuscript. Titles should be kept as brief as possible.

Footnote numbering should be clearly marked and consecutively numbered in the text and notes placed at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the relevant page. Tables (including graphs, maps, figures) must be submitted in a form suitable for reproduction on a separate sheet of paper and not within the text. Each table should have a clear descriptive title and mention where it is to be placed in the article. Place all footnotes in a table at the end of the article. Reference numbers within the text should be placed after the punctuation mark.

Footnote style: In the case of books, the author, title of the book, place of publication, publisher, date of publication and page numbers should be given in that order, e.g. Basil Davidson, 'The Blackman's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State', London, James Curry, 1992, pp. 15-22.

In the case of articles, the author, title of article, name of the journal, volume and issue number in brackets, the year and the page numbers should be given in that order.

In addition to major articles and research papers, *Africa Quarterly* also publishes short articles in the section titled News & Events. They may not exceed 2,000 words in length. Contributions of short stories and poems are also welcome.

Contributors to *Africa Quarterly* are entitled to two copies of the issue in which their article appears in addition to a modest honorarium. Contributors of major articles accepted for publication will receive up to a maximum of Rs. 4,000.

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