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Africa Major Highlights

Election in South Africa

African National Congress (ANC) leader Jacob Zuma became President of South Africa, when the party registered a massive win in country's general election, the fourth since the end of apartheid in 1994, held on April 24, 2009. ANC has received 65.9% of the 17.6-million valid votes cast, securing 264 of the 400 seats in South Africa's National Assembly, followed by the Democratic Alliance (DA) with 16.6% of the vote (67 seats in Parliament) and the recently established Congress of the People (Cope) with 7.4% (30 seats). On the other hand, Inkatha Freedom Party secured 18 seats in Parliament, while the United Democratic Movement, Freedom Front Plus and Independent Democrats secured four seats each..



The African Christian Democratic Party got three seats in Parliament, the United Christian Democratic Party got two, and the Azanian People's Organisation,

Azanian People's Convention, Minority Front and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania got one seat each.

In the provincial elections, the ANC won with outright majorities in eight of South Africa's nine provinces, including Kwa Zulu-Natal, where the Inkatha Freedom Party saw its share of the vote falling to 22% compared to the ANC's 64%. The exception was the Western Cape, where Helen Zille's DA received 52% of the vote, followed by the ANC with 33% and Cope with 7%.



According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), 77.3% of South Africa's 23.18-million registered voters cast their ballots in the poll – one of the highest voter turnouts in the world. The huge turnout caused long queues and a shortage of voting material at some voting stations, which saw presiding officers scrambling to supply voting material where it was needed. South Africa's election had been conducted "in

a free, fair, transparent and credible manner,” an African Union (AU) observer mission said. The vibrancy of the electorate had done honour not only

only to the people of South Africa but to Africa as a whole,” said the mission’s leader, Salim Ahmed Salim.

Piracy in Somalia

Piracy in Somalia is not a new phenomenon but it had started since the beginning of Somalia’s civil war in the 1990s. Piracy provides funds that feed the vicious war in Somalia and could potentially become a weapon of international terrorism or a cause of environmental disaster. For long piracy has been a problem mostly associated with the Malacca straits between Indonesia and Malaysia, but it is now a growing issue for fragile African states. Some 16,000 ships a year pass through Gulf of Aden, carrying oil from West Asia and goods from Asia to Europe and North America. So one of the most important trade routes is now threatened by chronic instability in Somalia.

Organisations like International Maritime Organisation and World Food Programme have expressed their concern over the increasing cases of piracy off the coast of Somalia since 2005. According to Kenyan Foreign Minister, Somali pirates have received over US \$150 million during the 12 months prior to November 2008. There

have been reports of clashes between the Somalia’s Islamist fighters and the pirates. The dramatic rise in piracy off the Somali coast in 2008 – 200% up from the previous year 2007- drew the world’s attention and now there are warships from Russia, China, India and other countries all working in coordination with the EU taskforce to patrol the Western Indian Ocean. In August 2008, Combined Task Force 150, a multinational coalition task force, established a Maritime Security Patrol Area within the Gulf of Aden to fight the Somali pirates.



In September 2008, Russia announced that it will soon join international efforts to combat piracy and on October 23, 2008 Indian Navy also deployed a warship in the region. On October 7, 2008 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution calling on nations with vessels in the area to apply military force to repress the acts of piracy and in November 2008 the Somali pirates began hijacking ships outside the Gulf of Aden.

Some pirates are former fishermen who argue that foreign ships are threatening their livelihood by illegally fishing in the Somali waters. After seeing the profitability of piracy, they usually pay ransoms to the warlords who also facilitate pirate activities, getting their shares in the ransom. The attackers generally do not harm their prisoners but they hold them hostage in wait for the big payday when they have a pompous celebration on the shores of Somalia.

The Transitional Federal Government has made some efforts to combat piracy, by allowing some foreign naval vessels to enter the Somali territorial waters. On November, 21, 2009 *BBC* reported that the Indian naval vessel had received UN's approval to enter the Somali waters to combat piracy. On April 8, 2009, four Somali pirates seized the Maersk Alabama, southeast of the Somalia port

city of Eyl. The ship was carrying 17000 metric tones of cargo, of which 5000 metric tones were relief supplies bound for Somali, Uganda and Kenya. On April 12, 2009 US navy SEALs snipers killed the three pirates that were holding Captain Richard Phillips hostage aboard a lifeboat from the Maersk Alabama after determining that his life was in immediate danger.

On April 20, 2009, the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton commented on the capture and release of seven Somali pirates by the Dutch naval forces, which were on a NATO mission. After an attack on the *Handytankers Magic*, they followed the pirates back to its mother ship and captured them. The pirates weapons were captured and 20 Yemeni fishermen were also found whom the pirates has kidnapped and who have been forced to sail the pirate mother ship. But, since the Dutch Naval Forces were part of NATO and not EU they were not authorized to keep the pirates so they released them.

On April 23, 2009 international donors have pledged over \$250 million for Somalia which includes \$134 million to increase the African Union Peacekeeping mission from the current 4350 to 8000 troops and \$34 million for Somali security forces alone. UN Secretary General Ban-

Ki Moon said at a UN sponsored conference that “Piracy is a symptom of anarchy and security on the ground” and that “more security on the ground will make less piracy on the seas”. The Somali President Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed said the “It is our duty to pursue these criminals not only on high seas but also on terra firma”. He also added that the Somali government has not gone after these pirates because they have more power than the government. Since piracy is a multi-million dollar business, Somali pirates cannot afford to be patient. With more than a million square miles of ocean to patrol, no-one is expecting instant results. Whatever the international community decides to do it must not be at the expense of efforts to

secure a political situation inside Somalia. The most powerful weapon against piracy will be peace and opportunity in Somalia coupled with an effective and reliable police force and judiciary. Piracy is a grave threat to seafarers, the shipping industry, the environment, international trade and sometimes Somalia and Somalis. The international community should at least formulate a plan to ensure that the food aid to Somalia should not be interrupted. Organising shipping into a safe lane as is being done by Maritime Security Patrol Area (MSPA) would be a helpful measure to keep the situation under control. In addition to this, a large naval presence in the area would also be helpful in curbing the attacks.

Obama Effect on Africa

Barack Obama has become the first African-American and bi-racial President of the United States when he gets elected as the 44th American President in the most publicized election held on November 4, 2008. Africans appear to be the happiest with Obama’s victory. Kenya, his father’s homeland, declared a national holiday to celebrate it. The celebration carried a very optimistic connotation with “Barack” in Arabic and Swahili languages meaning “blessed”.

The election of a man of African descent to the most powerful position in the world is immeasurably symbolic for African youth, who projected their own aspirations onto Obama, and cherished a strong hope of overcoming all odds, rising above a humble background, and achieving greatness without betraying their identity.

On his campaign trail, Obama talked about starting a new aid programme “Add Value to Initiative Program” aimed

at boosting African agricultural output. He announced for the trillion dollar aid package for the continent to arrest the economic meltdown, and insisted on free trade to block protectionist tendencies. He pledged to double foreign assistance to \$50 billion by the end of his first term. In a September 2008 speech on Obama's Africa policy, Obama adviser Witney W. Schneidman said Obama would establish an agriculture research initiative, expand U.S.-Africa trade by strengthening the African Growth and Opportunity Act, and create a Global Education Fund. Reports indicate that Obama would engage the Chinese to work at common purpose for enhancing economic



On security front, Obama endorsed his predecessor's plans for setting up the U.S. military command for Africa known as the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), a project that is viewed by most African states as part of George Bush's neocon agenda for the world. Obama along with Vice-President Joseph Biden have been votaries of a proactive policy against Sudan by supporting the call for the establishment

of a no-fly zone over Darfur, unilaterally if necessary. They have described casualties that have occurred there in the past six years of fighting as genocide. Obama appointed Susan Rice, an advocate of "dramatic action" on Darfur and former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in her testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 19, 2009 said, "In Africa, the foreign policy objectives of the Obama administration are rooted in security, political, economic, and humanitarian interests, including combating al-Qaeda's efforts to seek safe havens in failed states in the Horn of Africa, helping African nations to conserve their natural resources and reaping fair benefits from them, stopping war in Congo, ending autocracy in Zimbabwe and human devastation in Darfur. But we also intend to support the African democracies like South Africa and Ghana, which just had its second change of power in democratic election. We must work hard with our African friends to reach the Millennium Development Goals in health education and economic opportunity." Clinton made a clear point to emphasize that the Obama administration would take "a 'bottom-up' approach to ensuring that America remains a positive force in the world."

India- Africa: Major Events

Indian Navy and Piracy in Somalia

India has been leading the fight against the Somali pirates in the Gulf of Aden. The Japanese ship *MT Stolt Valor* was hijacked in the Gulf of Aden on September 15, 2008 and was later released on November 16, 2008. This had alerted the Indian Maritime Bureau as out of the 22 crew members, 18 were Indians including the ship's captain. In response to this incident which gained a lot of media attention the Indian government deployed the *INS Tabar*, which is the third of the Talwar-class frigates of the Indian Navy, to the area. She arrived to patrol the Gulf of Aden on November 2, 2008.

On November 11, 2008 *INS Tabar* was called into action to fight a pirate attack on an Indian ship, *Jag Amav* and a Saudi registered vessel, *MV Timaha*. The Indian Navy spokesperson said they had sent an attack helicopter carrying commandos which opened fire while the pirates were making attempts to board the Saudi ship. While all this was on, the Indian cargo ship was attacked within the next 30 minutes. A *chetak* helicopter carrying a team of MARCOS (Indian Navy Marine Commandos) was sent to *Jag Amav*. During November 2-19, 2008 the Indian Navy carried 35 successful operations

in the area. On November 19, 2008 another pirate mother ship that opened fire on the Indian vessel sunk after an explosion it caused it to sink.

As the global community copes with the mounting pirate threat, India has taken a leading role in the fight against piracy. With nearly \$100 billion worth of cargo passing through the pirate-laden Gulf of Aden each month, India cannot afford to let the threat go unchecked. Plus, it also puts the emerging Indian navy front and centre on the world stage. An Indian Navy expert, Uday Bhaskar says "The pirates have become audacious lately, venturing out into deep waters to attack foreign ships. This action by the Indian Navy will send out a strong message that cannot get away with this". The warships from at least eight different countries, including India, have been deployed in the Gulf of Aden to combat piracy, an issue that has immense concern for India. Indian companies say they are losing \$450,000 a month on cost overruns and delays due to piracy. "India cannot wait to take action until the Somali pirates hit the coast of Mumbai" says Uday Bhaskar adding, "they must be quarantined in their own

waters before they cause more damage". Additionally, as Indian Military has recently been working to project its strength. Ashok Mehta, a retired Indian Army general, says this is the first time the Indian Navy has independently carried out an attack this far away from its own shores. It is also the first time India's Navy, the fifth largest in the world, has received authorization from the government to act autonomously, he mentions. In the past, ships had to wait for orders from New Delhi before carrying out preventive as well as deterrent attacks, adds Mehta.

Apart from the US Navy, the Indian Navy has emerged as the most formidable maritime force in the Indian Ocean, he says. India is also in the process of expanding its Navy in the area.

But when it comes to piracy threat, there is a need for a concerted and multinational naval effort to rein in the Somali marauders. Apart from the military action against the pirates, the international community also needs to develop a plan of persecuting the pirates who would be apprehended in a successful counter-piracy operation.

Indian Vice-President's Visit to South Africa

Indian Vice-President Hamid Ansari represented the Government of India in the swearing-in ceremony of South Africa's fourth democratically elected President Jacob Zuma held in Pretoria on May 10, 2009. Despite the shadow cast by the world global financial crises that have hit all most all the countries including South Africa hard, India is continuing to expand its economic ties, said senior Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) officials accompanying the Vice-President. Secretary (West) in the MEA Nalin Surie has said, "The most significant relationship we have with sou-

-th Africa.

Through South Africa we will be reaching out to the rest of Africa. Indian companies are also using South Africa as the base to extend operations in the continent." Mr. Ansari utilised the visit to consolidate ties with other African countries. He met Presidents of Seychelles, Congo, Gambia, Comoros and Tanzania besides the legendry African leader and former President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda. Apart from the historical context that includes the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and the presence of a large number of people

relationship is fuelled by the very active business linkage between two countries.

“There is also sustained cultural interaction,” said Indian High Commissioner Rajiv Bhatia. Two-way investments are estimated at \$2.5 to 3 billion covering a large number of sectors. Approximately 40 Indian companies, including big names such as the Tatas, Mahindra & Mahindra and Ranbaxy, are operating in South Africa. Two-way trade in 2007-08 was at \$6.2 billion and in the first six months of the.

2008-09 financial year grew by 11 per cent. But the global meltdown is having its impact on the bilateral trade between India and South Africa. Indian exports. during this period fell by 14 per cent due to contraction of the South African economy. As against growth of four per cent in the last fiscal, it is expected to contract by 0.5 per cent in the 2008-09 financial year. Both countries have broken new ground in the minerals and energy sectors with the formation of two working groups on hydrocarbons and coal sectors.

Joint Press Conference of Foreign Ministers of India and Mozambique

The joint press conference of the Minister of State for External Affairs of Government of India Mr. Anand Sharma and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Mozambique Mr. Oldemiro Baloi was held at Hyderabad House in New Delhi on February 19, 2009. It was second Joint Commission between India and Mozambique. Mr. Anand Sharma spoke about India’s consistent support and solidarity and an abiding commitment to be a true friend and partner in fulfilling, or helping to fulfill the developmental aspirations of Mozambique and its people.



The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique , Oldemiro Baloi, meeting the Minister of State for Information & Broadcasting and External Affairs, Anand Sharma.

The Minister mentioned various areas of engagement ranging from agriculture to energy, to rail and coal sector, infrastructure, capacity building and human resource development thr-

ough the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) scholarships of India. Anand Sharma has also highlighted the April 2008 first India-Africa Summit, where a Framework Cooperation Agreement was adopted opening new pathways of cooperation between India and Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa. Mr. Anand Sharma quoted Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh making some major announcements in the India-Africa Summit and one of the announcements was on the duty-free and tariff preference access to Indian markets for fifty least-developed countries, which include Mozambique, giving access to the huge Indian market for the products manufactured in Mozambique. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of republic of

Mozambique Mr. Oldemiro Baloi said for Mozambique, India is among the strategic partners. He mentioned that we are used to learn from India how to liberate a country from the oppressors, how to move from poverty to development, how to extend friendship and solidarity towards friends, and openness towards the non-friends. So, all those experiences of India are a source of inspiration for Mozambique, he added. The Minister has also said they are happy with the cooperation with India because it meets the four pillars that are focused in addressing the issue of eliminating poverty: infrastructure building, human resource development, encouragement of private sector and promotion and attraction of foreign investment. India has put emphasis on these four pillars, the Minister noted.

Indian Hi-Tech Medical Link-Up in Africa

India has launched a hi-tech project for providing medical education and better health care in Africa. It was launched by Indian External Affairs Minister Pranav Mukherjee in New Delhi in February 2009. The project will at first connect 11 African countries with India. The services will include virtual classes for medical staff and online medical consu-

tations. India is highly conscious of China's involvement in Africa and has announced a number of joint projects. Mr. Pranav Mukherjee described the project as bridging the digital divide between India and Africa. Patients in parts of rural Africa will soon be able to seek medical advice from Indian doctors via satellite and fibre-optic link ups.

Nurses will get training and virtual classrooms will help around 10,000 African students annually get specialised degrees from universities.

Online medical consultations will be provided every day for one hour to isolated hospitals. To start with, 11 African countries including Ethiopia, Senegal, Nigeria and Ghana will be connected with India. Subsequently, eight more countries will be covered and eventually the offices of 53 African heads of state will be linked.

The Indian funded project to link up African Union (AU) countries with Indian hospitals and universities through satellite is set to be expanded to Nigeria by June 2009 following a successful pilot project in Ethiopia. The project, costing more than US\$100 million, aims to connect universities and hospitals of all 53 AU member countries with Indian counterparts for telemedicine and teleeducation activities. It uses video conferencing and Voice over Internet Protocol services such as Skype for communication.

Satellite ground stations are being installed at universities and hospitals in Cameroon, Egypt, Malawi and Niger. Botswana, Burundi, Djibouti, Mozambique and Uganda are scheduled

to join the network in the later part of the year 2009, with the Comoros islands, Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanzania, Togo and Zambia following by the end of 2009.

According to the statement from the Indian side, Ethiopia which was the first African state to accept to participate in the pilot project was successful with increased interaction and networking between hospitals and universities between the two states. The project uses video conferencing and voice over Internet Protocol services such as Skype for communication. Reports indicate that students and teachers at Addis Ababa University and Haramaya University in Alemaya, Ethiopia, have been working through the satellite with the New Delhi-based Indira Gandhi National Open University since Ethiopia's US\$ 2.12 million pilot project was launched in Addis Ababa in July 2007. Reports have said Ethiopia's Black Lion Hospital in Addis Ababa and the rural Nekempte Hospital have reportedly been consulting with Indian heart specialists at the CARE hospital in Hyderabad and the Narayana Hrudayalaya Hospital chain stating that the technology can also allow share of experiences by the doctors.

CII- EXIM Bank Conclave on India-Africa Project Partnership

The 5th Confederation of India Industries (CII)-Export and Import (EXIM) Bank Conclave on India-Africa Project Partnership was held in New Delhi on March 22-24, 2009. India has called for doubling the India-Africa bilateral trade to the level of \$70 billion over the next five years, continuing the growth trajectory that began in 2000-01 when trade was a mere \$3 billion and shot up to \$36 billion in 2007-08. In April 2008, India had announced duty free tariff preferential scheme for 49 least developed countries (LDCs) which has benefited 33 African countries.

Delivering the keynote address at a special plenary of the conclave, the Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said, "Given the concrete opportunities that exist between the two sides, India-Africa trade could easily be doubled to \$70 billion over the next five years. I would urge this conclave to accept this challenge and plan out strategies to achieve it." He also urged for supplementing government's effort with those from the industry, civil society and private institutions in order to widen and deepen the foundation of India's growing partnership with the African continent. He also said, "Today, both

India and Africa have emerged as strong and dependable partners, who are well positioned to confront the growing challenges facing humanity, be it combating the scourge of international terrorism, eradicating hunger and poverty, tackling global warming, or evolving new frameworks for international institutions."

India's relationship with Africa, he said, is based on the solid foundation of "our steadfast commitment for the rapid growth and progress of Africa. The formalisation of an institutional mechanism for the India-Africa dialogue in the form of the India-Africa Forum Summit is a reflection of India's commitment to work with the continent to fulfil its aspirations". He used the occasion to urge LDCs of which 33 are from the African continent to use India's Duty Free Tariff Preference Scheme (DFTP), which was introduced in April 2008, to further their development. He also announced that in 2008 the Ministry of External Affairs has designed special courses for experts from Africa in the field of mining and new and renewable energy resources.

According to Mukherjee, "Over the next five to six years India will also undertake in Africa, on a grant basis, projects in cri-

-tical areas such as higher and vocational education, science, IT, agriculture and renewable energy”. He also said that the Government of India’s Pan-African e-Network Project was another shining example of the India-Africa partnership. It was a project aimed at linking major universities in

different regions of Africa with major Indian universities and centres of excellence on the one hand, and also major hospitals in Africa with super-specialty hospitals in India on the other. It was also a matter of satisfaction to note that India-Africa.

Seminars and Symposium

International Seminar on “India and North Africa under Globalisation” at ATWS, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi on February 18-19, 2009

The Academy of Third World Studies (ATWS) of the Jamia Millia Islamia in collaboration with the ASA organized a two day international seminar on “India and North Africa under Globalisation” at Ho Chi Minh Conference Hall of the ATWS in New Delhi on February 18-19, 2009. The seminar was addressed by the African Ambassadors along with former Foreign Secretary of the Government of India Ambassador Shashank, who is currently the Chairman of the ASA. The faculty members and research scholars from the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Jamia Millia Islamia, University of Delhi, University of Mumbai, Jadavpur University (Kolkata), Aligarh Muslim University (AMU), University of London, Rajiv Gandhi Central University (Arun-



-achal Pradesh) and Institute for Defense Studies Analysis (IDSA), presented papers on the issues concerning interface between India and North Africa: Historical Ties, Strategic and Economic Cooperation, Literature, Culture and Diaspora, and Opportunities and Challenges under Globalisation.

Concept Note: Despite the geographical separation by desert and sea, India and North African states have had very close ties since ages. In the ancient period the famous traveler from Morocco Ibn Batuta came to India and wrote about his Indian experiences. The cultural and literary influence of countries like Egypt on Indian scholars is well known and continues even today. During colonial period India supported various liberation movements in North African states. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru was ardent supporter of decolonization in Africa and sided with struggle for freedom in the region. In post independence phase, both India and North Africa stood for decolonization, anti-racialism, democracy and Non-Alignment. India and Egypt were founding members of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Globally both sides supported global peace, disarmament, and sustainable development.

In the 21st century both India and Maghreb countries are looking beyond anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle. Co operations in the fields of trade, energy and agriculture have been already prioritized. The current cooperation is being built on the principles of partnership to share the fruits of each other's development and resources in all fields. With fast growing economy and as

an emerging major economic power, India has become an attractive partner for economic engagement for outside world. Similarly the French initiatives to launch a Mediterranean Community and bring North Africa in close interaction with the European Union also throw new opportunity for countries like India. On restructuring of UN, war against terror and Climate Changes both sides work together.

From sectoral perspective the foremost areas where two sides can cooperate is the energy security area. Africa's possession of vast quantities of energy and natural resources has been a great attraction for foreign powers. The Nile region has emerged as one of the major producers of hydrocarbons. India has successful collaboration in Sudan in this sector. But is Indian engagement with these countries helping them in their respective priority areas? Are these priorities people centered or regime centered? Is Indian engagement with the region in anyway different from other Asian countries like China? In gaining access to resources from Africa, India should strike a careful balance between its needs and Africa's own development priorities and environmental concerns.

Most recently, through projects such as Pan African e-network India is demonstr-

-ating its willingness to share its progress in the knowledge sector and in helping to bridge the digital divide in Africa. Trade between India and North African countries has been constantly rising. Indian exports to these countries are railway rolling stocks, iron, pharmaceutical, machinery etc. The main import item to India from this region is oil, petroleum pro-

-ducts and other primary commodities. .Almost all Maghreb countries have favourable trade balance with India. But is India emerging as supplier of value added products and importer of raw materials? How is this cooperation different from North Africa Relations with developed countries?

Interactive Session with a Delegation of Journalists from Anglophone Africa at Sapru House, New Delhi on April 20, 2009

The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) in collaboration with the ASA organized an interactive session with a seven member delegation from Anglophone Africa at Sapru House in New Delhi on April 20, 2009. The African delegation consisted of journalists from Nigeria, Ghana, Namibia, Sudan, Lesotho, Zambia and Uganda. The faculty members from the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Jamia Millia Islamia, University of Delhi and ICWA as well as members of the ASA India represented the host country in the conference. The theme of the discussion was focused on *India-Africa Engagement*. The session was chaired by Ambassador S.D. Devare, Director General of ICWA.

The chairman of the session welcomed the African delegates by saying that Africa has always assumed prime atte-



-tion in course of India's engagement with external world right from the time of its independence. Recalling efforts made by the pioneers from the Sapru House for building Afro-Asian solidarity, Ambassador Devare pledged that one of the main endeavours of the ICWA in the future would be to promote African studies and to strengthen the academic cooperation with Africa at a greater pace than before. Being currently part of their visit to various institutions/think tanks in India to strengthen the India-Africa

relations, the eminent journalists and editors from Africa were of the view that in the current geo-political scenario India should take the leadership and reorient its African policy within the wider dynamics of 21st century.

Mr. Rajah Munamava, Chief Editor of New Era, Namibia, initiated the discussion from African side by observing about lesser assimilation of Indian Diasporas in their countries of adoption in Africa. Responding to such observation, Prof. Ajay Dubey ascribed the correctly perceived notion of lesser assimilation of Indian Diasporas in Africa to the legacy of British Colonial policy of divide and rule as well as endogamous nature of Indian community as such. Prof. Dubey justified his explanation by saying that Indian Diasporas were relatively more assimilated in the Francophone Africa due to the policy of direct cultural integration adopted by the erstwhile French Colonial Master. Ambassador Shashank further substantiated the point when he explained that Indian Diasporas have undergone greater level of integration in USA by entering into marital relations with both the White and Afro-American communities because of liberal policy of non-intervention by the host government.

Dr. (Ms.) Veena Sharma reaffirmed the colonial factor underlying lesser assimilation of Indian community in African society. Nevertheless, she strongly believed that Indian Diasporas by virtue of retaining their uniqueness have infact enriched plural character of the African society. While Prof. S.N. Malakar tried to explain his perception about diverse pattern of assimilation of Indian Diasporas in Africa through hierarchy based behavioural differentiation in Indian society, Dr. Bijay Ketan Pratihari stated that sense of insecurity along with colonial legacy have contributed to the current level of lesser assimilation of Indian community in African society.

Ms. Barbara Kaija, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of The New Vision, Uganda noted that the divide and rule policies of the colonizers have created certain amount of ill feeling between the Indian immigrants and the local population and it still lingers to some extent. She was of the opinion that joint academic projects should be initiated between India and African countries to discover more about each other and to consolidate the relations.

Mr. Mohammed-Mohmood Hassan, Deputy General Manager, Africa Independent TV, Nigeria, recalled the

contributions made by Indian leaders in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa, and affirmed African expectation about India's crucial role in the region. At the same time, he posited that despite similar historical experiences, India and China have adopted the similar policies of competitive acquisition (*New Scramble*) like the Western Power when it comes to partnership and engagement with Africa.

Prof Ajay Dubey responded to such comment by explaining the qualitative change that the present resource regime has undergone. To him, participation of China and India has created avenues for African countries to undertake resource negotiation on terms that are commercially much more favourable to them. He also stressed that India with its changing economic profile could play a vital role in the development of Africa, and India-African Summit held in April 2008 was a stepping stone towards this new journey.

Meanwhile, Prof. Dubey expected that India-Africa engagement should move beyond politics and commerce. Mr. Alfred Logune Taban, Editor-in-Chief of Khartoum Monitor (English Daily), Sudan, suggested that India should encourage, if not export, values and practices like democracy in African countries while undertaking meaningful partnerships with them. Ambassador Shashank observed that issues like anti-colonial struggles, ethnic diversity and south-south cooperation have strengthened mutual trust and cooperation between India and Africa. The African delegates emphasised that the India-Africa relations should be based on mutual respect and shared values and should not be built along a "class of donor and recipient countries". The participants urged the governments to encourage people to people contacts and Track II diplomacy to enhance mutual trust and confidence among the Africans and Indians.

Interactive Session with Delegation of Journalists from Anglophone Africa at CWAAS, SIS, JNU, New Delhi on April 21, 2009

The Centre for West Asian and African Studies (CWAAS) in collaboration with the ASA organized an interactive session with the seven

member delegation from Anglophone Africa at SIS in JNU on April 21, 2009. The research scholars of the Sub-Saharan Africa division introduce-

-d their topics of research to the delegates. Subsequently, a vibrant discussion was held on several issues: Status of Research on African Affairs in India, Indian Diaspora in Africa, Engagement of India, China and the West with Africa and so on so forth.



Announcements

International Seminar on Asian Countries and Sudan: Political and Economic Relations to be Organised by ASA in New Delhi on November 10-11, 2009

Concept Note: Sudan is uniquely situated as it stands at the crossroads of the Occident–Orient corridor along the Red Sea on the one hand while on the other acts as a bridge between Negroid African and the Arab world. It has, as a consequence, experienced many different historical processes and movements. Culturally Sudan is a rich mosaic of diversity with plural linguistic and cultural ethos and a host of different tariqas (Sufi sects) not always living in harmony.

Sudan is now emerging from the shadow and developing into a vibrant economy and society. Though it gained independence nearly fifty year ago it has only recently begun negotiations for WTO membership in real earnest. The long internal civil strife and the difficulties of state formation and nation building are s-

-ome of the constraints to development and growth. However after the discovery of oil these social conflicts have got complicated and accentuated.

On the other hand the Sudanese government has embarked on a fast paced industrialisation and development using its oil industry and revenue. It has achieved a projected GDP growth rate of 8.5 % in 2008 and is expected to sustain it in 2009. Although Sudan has been producer of oil and gas for a number of years it is considered to be vastly under-explored. The majority of proven reserves are located in the south in the Muglad and Melut basins. Due to civil conflict, oil exploration has been concentrated in the central and south-central regions of the country. According to the 2008 BP Statistical Energy surve-

-y Survey, Sudan had proved oil reserves of 6.614 billion barrels at the end of 2007 or 0.53 % of the world's reserves. Sudan produced an average of 457 thousand barrels of crude oil per day in 2007, 0.57% of the world total and a change of 38 % compared to 2006. The country is also rich in natural gas with reserves estimated at 3 trillion cubic feet (tcf). The emergence of Sudan has coincided with a boom in international oil prices followed by the world economic crisis. Currently most major western economies are in recession and contracting.

There are appearances of significant trends of shifting of global order and the evolution of a new global order on a more balanced and broadened basis. In this context the approach adopted by Sudan with regard to developing its economic ties is unique and significant. Sudan had consciously avoided developing very close ties with the West and gave preference to Asian countries especially with regard to the oil sector.

The ties of Sudan with Asian countries th-

-ugh a long-standing friendship were primarily limited to formal and routine issues. However, along with the emergence of Sudan and growth of its oil industry there is a parallel strengthening of ties with different Asian countries such as China, India and Malaysia under the banner of south-south cooperation. These ties are expanding fast especially in the different sectors of the economy and are being broad based. Is the current global economic crisis making such emerging south-south partnerships portent of new world architecture? On the other hand, are such ties just combinations of different factors playing out at the same time without significant ramifications in the future?

There is however very little academic scrutiny and study of this phenomenon. Whatever work is being done is primarily in understanding the bilateral relationships between Asian countries and Sudan. There is, thus, a need to try to understand the emerging relationship between Sudan and Asian Countries in the broader and larger political and economic context.

International Conference on South Africa under Globalisation: Issues in Foreign Policy and Development to be Organised by ASA in New Delhi on November 11-12, 2009

The conference will focus on the sub-themes: External Engagement of South Africa under Globalization, Economic Development and Issues of Equity, - Issues

in Governance and Empowerment, Security Issues in South Africa under Globalization, and Diaspora, Culture and Identity Issues.

International Conference on “India and SADC: Role & Importance of South Africa” to be Organised by ASA in Patiala on October 9-10, 2009

Publications

Prof. Ajay Dubey (eds) (2009), **France and Africa: An Indian Perspective**, New Delhi: Kalinga

Prof. Ajay Dubey (eds) (2009), **India and Francophone Africa under Globalisation**, New Delhi: Kalinga

Research Scholar Columns

Sudan’s Oil Diplomacy (Sandipani Dash)

Oil has become a major foreign policy instrument for Sudan to negotiate with the external world. Sudan is one of the upcoming oil producing countries in the world. It is in fact the third largest oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa that is located in the expanded supply zone of the world oil regime. The exploration and subsequent production of its oil resources is largely undertaken by facilitating participation of foreign oil firms. The oil production through transnational partnership has opened up a new channel of export earnings to sustain Sudan’s foreign trade. The country’s oil sector accounts for 70 percent of total export revenues.

The oil industry has consequently become very critical for its economy. The domestic priority for modernising oil industry has got reflected in Sudan’s foreign policy preferences in terms of making calibrated engagement for transnational production partnership. Sudan initiated its oil production activity by facilitating the entry of western players equipped with effective exploration and production technology. The multinational oil firms from North America and West Europe undertook exploration participated in the oil production, extended their involvement and development of the oil fields,

- in the building of oil infrastructure, and moreover performed retailing function of the oil business in Sudan. The rise in oil production gradually enabled Sudan to begin oil exports in the year 1999. Thus, Sudan in due course of its oil production got integrated with the expanded world oil regime as an upcoming oil producer by forging partnership with Western oil firms. The oil industry became very critical for the economy by contributing maximum share of export revenues to the country's exchequer. The expansion of Sudan's oil sector, however, occurred in the midst of resurging politico armed conflict in the 1980s. The revival of intra-State territorial fight has placed Sudan in an adverse position vis. a. vis. the Western powers. They have accused the regime in Khartoum of using oil revenues for strengthening its security apparatus against the rebels who have been allegedly dispossessed of their homelands in south due to oil production. The change in political relations led to the withdrawal of major Western oil firms from Sudan's oil industry thereby making the way for Asian oil majors to fill the vacuum.

There is a coincidence in the expansion of Sudanese oil industry with rising Asian interest in African oil. Asian powers have over the years acquired extensive

knowledge and experience in domestic oil production; yet that failed to meet their constantly rising energy demands triggered by economic globalisation. The increasing external dependence compelled these countries to enter into transnational oil ventures. The 9/11 terrorist attack has further propelled the oil-seeking countries to diversify their supply lines by drifting away from West Asia and getting closer to Africa. Asian quest for African equity oil has provided a concrete ground for the Afro-Asian interdependence that has evolved in the post cold war economic world order in terms of trade and investment partnership.

As an extension of Afro-Asian economic complementarity, the current regime in Sudan has diversified the pattern of its transnational production linkage through consolidation of multiple Asian participations in its oil sector. Asian oil majors are currently the active players in the upstream as well as downstream segments of Sudanese oil industry. Participation of China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), Malaysian Petronas and Indian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) has sustained and carried forward the oil business that has been initiated through Sudan's partnership with major Western oil firms.

The shift that Sudan's foreign oil policy behavior has undergone is due to the withdrawal of Western oil major. The underlying rationale for such approach, therefore, lies in the intents to ensure that Sudan's oil production remains less dependent on the partnership with West, and at the same time to foreclose an eventuality where any single Asian player does monopolise its oil sector. Asian orientation has consequently become the dominant trajectory of the transnational production partnership that Sudan is currently forging for its oil industry. Sudanese oil sector on the process has created another context for Sino-Indian competitive cooperative engagement that is perceived to be a dynamic aspect of the wider process of globalisation of oil. Sudan's adoption of block system in the year 1992 is found to be important for comprehending its approach towards its oil industry. Adoption of block system – division of land surface enveloping oil reserves into 17 blocks for facilitating the competitive bidding by national and transnational actors- are indicative of certain new nuances of the Government's oil policy behaviour. First, it is a break with the earlier policy of granting large concessions to Western oil majors for carrying out exploration and development exercises across the country. Second, it

demonstrates the self confidence and self assurance on the part of the State to have possessed proven and potential oil reserves at their disposal. Finally, it indicates the Government's move of circumscribing each individual oil firm's area of operation and, more importantly, diversifying as well as fragmenting the process of oil production through formation of multiple consortia and joint ventures over several oil blocks. As of beginning 2007, some 11 consortia are operating in oil exploration and development in the country.

The diversification of oil production partnership that has gained prominence with the adoption of block system has reached another landmark when the ONGC has participated in a strategically crucial oil project in Greater Nile Valley in the year 2003. The entry of the Indian oil major in Greater Nile Valley, in fact, reaffirms the shift that Sudan's external oil policy behaviour has already undergone for 'Asian Orientation', and also indicates its trajectory towards further diversification by means of forging multiple Asian partnerships in its oil sector.

The domestic priority for modernising oil industry, thus, gets clearly reflected in Sudan's foreign policy preference in terms of making calibrated engagement

for transnational production partnership. The Sudan Government indeed uses oil as a major instrument of external negotiation to pursue its foreign policy objectives that are based on the military, economic and politico-diplomatic interests of its regime. First, the military component of Sudan's foreign policy calculus indicates the external procurement of arms to strengthen the security apparatus in the midst of prolonged civil war. Second, the economic aspect refers to receiving financial credit and assistance on favourable terms at a time when the country's economy is severely affected due to massive war expenditure and American sanction. Third, politico-diplomatic interests of the regime imply evoking support for Sudan in the international platforms on the controversial issues of territorial conflict and human rights violation. These regime interests have in fact become subjects of negotiation during the bargains for oil production partnership.

Asian orientation of its oil production partnership has enabled Sudan to deepen its engagement with the concerned partners in the wider domain of military linkage, economic exchange and politico-diplomatic relations. The diversification of oil production

partnership through multiple Asian participation has consequently become a matter of conscious foreign policy decision of the Sudan Government to pursue the military, economic and politico-diplomatic interests of the current regime. The underlying rationale for such approach lies in the intents to ensure that Sudan's oil production remains less dependent on the partnership with West, and at the same time to avoid a situation where any single Asian player does monopolise its oil sector. Asian partnership has, however, not completely replaced Sudan's linkage with the Western players which have still retained their direct as well as indirect participation in its oil production. In other words, the Sudanese oil industry is yet to be free from Western partnership thereby retaining elements of vulnerability to the 'dependency syndrome'.

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Historicizing Somalia through Literary Narrative: The Fiction of Nuruddin Farah (G. Geetha)

Paucity of archival material, rigid censorship during the totalitarian regime of Siad Barre that lasted for 21 years (1969-91), a ravaging civil war that destroyed several documents, lack of an official orthography until '72, and the state collapse of '92 have left Somalia powerless and speechless as well. Lack of a state-apparatus for speaking to the outside world, or the impossibility of 'a two-sided dialogue' at the moment in Somalia has put her in a very messy and pathetic state. The conflicts within Somalia are of a varied nature and incomprehensible to an outsider who lacks an in-depth knowledge of the complexities within Somali political history.

Lack of proper information compounds the problems and makes it extremely difficult for outside agencies to intervene. The failed humanitarian intervention was criticized mainly for the lack of understanding of the problem on the part of policy analysts. Perhaps, this is the reason why the exiled Somali author, Nuruddin Farah, has dedicated his lifetime to being a writer and that too a writer intensely preoccupied with the contemporary political history of Somalia.

Nuruddin Farah's novels have provided a multifaceted perspective of Somali po-

-litical history to a Third World scholar like me researching on a country that I never had access to. I agree with Richard Slotkin's position on writing fiction for the sake of imparting historical knowledge. Historical knowledge is vital for understanding a country like Somalia with its ongoing turmoil since its governmental collapse in 1992 till date. The failed attempts of the UN Intervention in Somalia in 1992, the US backed 'Transitional Federal Government' (TFG) in 2004 and the Ethiopian backed 'Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia' (ALS) set up in 2005 are all evidences of the fact that the political chaos in Somalia is so intense that reconstruction of a viable civil state needs tremendous efforts. It is against such a background that Farah's novels with their blend of contemporary history and fictional embellishments serve as important source materials comprehending the problematic situation in Somalia. Therefore, this thesis locates Farah as his country's national historian, and reads his position as a deliberate choice of an exile pining for his country and wanting to be one of its spokespersons. However, this thesis also raises questions on the limitations of Farah's depiction of history in his fiction.

Farah's novels are literary manifestations of reality. What distinguishes the fictional from the historical is the content. In historical narratives, events are real and in literary narratives, events are imaginary. But Farah uses the raw materials of history to build his creative blueprints, thus bridging the gap between the two disciplines, history and literature. Farah makes use of historic facts and figures, but the manner in which they are reordered and refashioned in his novels becomes the focal point of this thesis. Several levels of encodation are required to decipher the historical reality embedded in the novels of Farah through artistic constructs like plot, metaphorical language and narrative devices. In *Sweet and Sour Milk* (1978) the twins Soyaan and Loyaan make attempts to demystify politics. There is much gender consciousness in *Sardines* (1981) where women like Medina rebel against societal and familial oppression and the family becomes the metaphor for the state. Islam, the centrifugal force in recent Somali politics, is foregrounded in *Close Sesame* (1983) where he mirrors the full play of the tensions in political Islam and its inherent weaknesses in day-to-day governance. The elderly protagonist Deeriye in *Close Sesame* is akin to the historic figure Sayyid Muhammad Abdulle

Hassan, one of the pivotal Somali nationalists who resisted British, Italian and Ethiopian forces and saw them as infidels. Saadia Touval, Professor in International Relations at Johns Hopkins University finds it difficult to categorise Sayyid's rebellion either as nationalism or religious fanaticism. During an assassination attempt on the General, Deeriye a diehard Sayyidist, is killed and is found dead with his gun entangled with the prayer beads. Literary devices serve as historical pointers, a subtle departure to the Sayyid era in Somali history.

In *Maps* (1986), Askar, the protagonist is a cartographer out to understand the colonialist and imperialist implications of map-drawing. In *Gifts* (1991), the insertion of newspaper clips on Africa's repeated pleas to the international community for aid reflects Farah's artistic manoeuvring to depict Somalia as a mere satellite of the West. In *Secrets* (1998), Farah uses sexual tropes to depict the violence of the pre civil war Somalia. Violation of sexual and cultural taboos in the narrative is only to project the irrational behaviour of the Somalis obsessed with the ancestral descent. Anti-social behaviour in *Secrets*, (a characteristic feature of Yoruba art as well) like incest, drinking of menstrual blood, witchcraft and sorcery are ways

and means by which Farah critiques contemporary society. In *Links*, (2004), Farah uses a lot of documentation on the UN Intervention in Somalia in 1992 to view the war from various angles and perspectives against the stereotyped image 'provided' in the film *Black Hawk Down*. *Links* raises serious questions on how 'authentic' or 'inauthentic' history can be especially when performed in front of T.V. cameras. Thus we get 'truncated' or 'mythologised' versions of history in this era of information.

While *Links* is a bleak book of disillusionment, decay and debris, Farah's latest novel *Knots* (2007), radiates hope. A reading of the book suggests that there are significant changes in the intensity of the conflicts in Somalia which have become more localized. The Council of Somali Islamic Courts have begun to play a more prominent role and a return to war at this state could bring in "the same horrific famine conditions that precipitated a U.S military intervention 14 years ago, and damage rather than advance U.S. counter terrorism objectives in a vulnerable region" as suggested by John Prendergast, Senior Advisor and Colin Thomas-Jensen, Africa Advocacy and Research Manager at the International Crisis Group (December 27, 2007,

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China's Engagement with Zambia (Sushmita Rajwar Research Scholar, JNU)

China's growing public presence in Africa has captured the world's imagination today. The recent foray of Beijing is characterized not by ideological consideration but by a singular focus on resource acquisition. Two way trade which stood at less than US\$10 billion in 2000 had surged to more than US\$50 billion by 2007, making China the continent's third largest trading partner after the United States and France. Nothing symbolized Africa's importance to the Chinese economy as succinctly as Angola becoming China's largest foreign supplier of oil passing Saudi Arabia in 2006.

At the core of China's rapid entry into Africa is its most important policy of 'no

political strings' that complimented with Beijing's belief that there are 'no rogue states' and no 'axes of evil' in Africa has proved to be tremendously appealing to the African leaders. Chinese officials quietly talk of unrealistic targets set for delivery and location of projects and say they lack the expertise in Beijing to make effective appraisals of risks and projects. For instance, in Angola it was seen that during a period of high commodity prices it can be very choosy before entering into partnerships. Thus, in March 2007, the state oil company Sonangol cancelled plans by Sinopec to invest \$3.5 billion in an oil refinery in Lobito. Sonangol's Vice President said the company decided to carry out the

project on its own. Another Sonangol official criticized the Chinese in the media, claiming that “we cannot construct a refinery just to make products for China”. This was some resistance on the part of the Africans to locking in supplies through long-term contracts, which China has applied elsewhere- for example, with iron ore in Gabon.

There are also possibilities of China facing problems with its investments in Nigeria. The head of Nigeria’s Bureau of Public Enterprises said in March 2007 that it was trying to stop a \$ 2 billion deal that gives China preferential rights to acquire a stake in a refinery in Kaduna. The navy had ordered Chinese patrol boats for the oil rich Niger delta but the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta has threatened Chinese interests and nationals following the signing of new oil and gas deals during President Hu’s April 2006 visit to Nigeria. But apart from all these instances, the controversy surrounding Chinese investments in Zambia is unique as it highlights the pitfalls facing Chinese involvement in Africa and the potential costs to Beijing of its deepening engagement in continental affairs. Thus, in this research I have taken up the case of Zambia, a weak democracy with a commodity based economy. In fact,

though relations between the two countries became severely strained in 2006, local perceptions of China were quite positive in the initial stages of its new engagement. This was primarily based on the Chinese decision to build the TanZam railway, in response to a request by Kenneth Kaunda directly to Mao Zedong in late 1960s, which offered the landlocked country an alternative route for its trade to that of going through the Rhodesian regime to the South. Another highly touted project was the Mulungushi textile plant established in the late 1970s, which became the biggest textile mill in the country, winning international awards for the quality of its products. In return, Zambia supported Beijing’s “One China” policy upon receiving its independence and co-sponsored the UN General Assembly resolution in 1971 to restore China’s seat on the Security Council.

The new wave of investment in Zambia came in the wake of the decade-long structural adjustment programme, which among other measures, reprivatized the mining sector (which had been nationalized under Kenneth Kaunda). President Levy Mwanawasa eagerly welcomed the Chinese entrepreneurs and went so far as to provide state assets at concessional rates to these investors,

as well as giving them special treatment relative to other foreigners. In 1998, the China Non-Ferrous Metal Mining Group paid US\$20 million for the dilapidated Chambishi copper mine located in the North-West and proceeded to rehabilitate it. After the US\$100 million had been put into the mine, it started production again in 2001, hundreds of new jobs were created and, for a community that had not seen a major employment opportunity for a decade, it provided some hope of prosperity.

Along with the focus on mining came the decision to rehabilitate a textile complex 140 kilometers north of Lusaka which had fallen into disuse. In the wake of privatisation, ownership of the complex changed to a joint venture with a Chinese company called Qingdao General Textiles Corporation and a name changed to Zambia-China Mulungushi Textiles Joint Venture Limited. However, the company is besieged with several problems and is currently not operational. The majority of the work force (about 1,000 workers) has been laid off, leaving a skeleton caretaker staff of 10 workers. In 2006, Chinese explosive manufacturing company exploded in Luanshya killing all 46 Zambian workers on site. The problem was attributed to lack of adherence to safety standards,

yet again pointing a figure at lack of enforcement of the relevant rules and regulations by the authorities.

A Chinese firm Qingdao New Textiles Industry has established a company called Chipata Cotton Company in the Eastern Province of Zambia for the purpose of producing cotton, cotton seed and other related products. The Chinese investment in the sector is yet to yield positive results. However, positive results are expected with respect to the control of tropical disease. Besides, Chinese investment in the construction sector is the most visible one. The thrust of Chinese investment is in communications, roads and buildings.

However, this doesn't mean that things are going on really smooth in Zambia as related to the Chinese investment. In Zambia problems came up when the local Zambian employees began to complain about the low wages of US\$65 a month and poor safety standards at the Chambishi mine. Trade unions, with the apparent assent of the government in Lusaka, had been banned from recruiting or operating at the mine. An explosion at the munitions factory serving Chambishi in April 2005, which killed 46 Zambian workers, provoked outrage among the rest of the workforce. Strike action over wages and conditions intensified and an

agreement to allow unionization was finally reached in July 2005 allowing for up to US\$500 in back pay. On July 24, 2005, workers stormed the management's offices after hearing that the money would not be forthcoming and five of them were reportedly shot by a frightened Chinese manager. Since the incident happened in the run up to elections, it sparked a national debate over the conduct of the Chinese in the country and the failure of the Mwanawasa government to uphold either Zambian law or the interests of the people.

Exploiting the growing disquiet at all levels of Zambian society over the 'China Question'; the opposition candidate, Michael Sata, built much of his campaign for presidency around the anti-Chinese sentiment. Zambia he declared 'is becoming a province-no a district-of China'. He made contact with Taiwanese Representatives during a visit to neighbouring Malawi (which still has diplomatic relations with Taipei), where he reportedly committed himself allegedly- after receiving funding support- to switching recognition back to Taipei should he win the elections. This sparked a furious response from Beijing's ambassador, Li Baodong, who threatened to withdraw Chinese

investment should Sata be elected. Clearly, the Chinese commitment to non-interference in the domestic affairs had been violated and 'strings were indeed attached' to its policy. Alarm was sounded in other African capitals as the conduct of Chinese business and diplomacy came under the spotlight. In the end, though Sata's Patriotic Front won only 28% of the votes, it won key seats and control of Lusaka and other municipalities in the mining areas, making it a political force to be reckoned with. A series of national apologies were made subsequently by the incumbent president and his ministers, to the Chinese government, aimed at assuaging Beijing's sensitivities.

However, opposition is still growing among a segment of the Zambian population which suggests that Chinese activities in the country will continue to fuel political debate in the years to come. What remains to be seen now is how China will deal with this growing opposition and criticism, and the coming up of labor unions and non-governmental activist groups which can make life uncomfortable for those in powerful positions, both domestic and foreign. China can expect growing criticism from these groups if Chinese companies, such as the operators of the Chambishi mine,

fail to address the legitimate grievances of their workers. Likewise, if small Chinese traders and unskilled workers continue to multiply and ply their wares and services in African markets, local resentment can be expected to grow.

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India-Madagascar Relations (Lhunkhothang Guite, Research Scholar, University of Delhi)

The recorded history of Madagascar began in the 7th century when Arabs established trading parts along the North-West coast of the island. It is a land of contrast with diverse social and ethnic groups making the Malagasy nation. Madagascar's pre-history began when the first human settlers arrived, which included a large component from South-East Asia. The Malagasy language is believed to be derived from language also ancestral to Maanyan of Borneo. At present Malagasy French and English (which had been introduced since April 2007) are the three main official languages.

Madagascar was known to Europeans after the Age of Discovery. From the 17th century through the scramble for Africa, the British and French colonial empires competed for influence in Madagascar.

After a brief de-facto protectorate period

beginning in 1885, the island became a full formal French Protectorate in 1890, then a colony in 1896, and gain full independence from France in 1960 in the wake of decolonization.

Indians in Madagascar descend mostly from traders who arrived in the newly independent nation looking for better opportunities. The majority of them came from the West-Coast of Indian known as Karana (Muslim) and Banian (Hindu). Although it is difficult to give an exact precise date for the presence of Indians in Islamic trading posts, but there is an established Indian Community in Madagascar since 1900 onward with the arrival of the Gujarat's from Saurashtra. Initial arrivals were mainly Muslim Khojas, Ismalis and

Daoudi Bohras, who were followed by some Hindus.

By 1950s, the community had spread to practically every nook and corner of the country. The majority speaks Hindi or Gujarati, and though few others speak some Indian dialects. Nowadays the younger generations speak atleast three languages, including French or English, Gujarati and Malagasy. A large number of the Indians in Madagascar have high level of education, particularly the younger education, which attempt to contribute their knowledge to the development of Madagascar.

The late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century witnessed a steady increase in the number of persons from India in Madagascar, and persons of Indian origin began to play a significant role in business.

It was in 1954 that India opened a consulate General in Antananarivo. It was upgraded to an Embassy after gaining freedom in 1960. So far bilateral relationships have been cordial and smooth. There have been two presidential visits from Madagascar in the 1980s and a visit by Foreign Minister Lila Hanitra Ratsifandrihamanana in April 2001. Also, in March 2005, the current Foreign Minister Marcel Ranjeva visited

India and held bi-lateral discussions with his Indian counterpart. A Malagasy parliamentary delegation visited India in 2000. A high level delegation headed by Chief of Staff to the President visited India in the last week of February, 2006. Visitors from India have included the Minister of State for Commerce P.A. Sangma in 1985 and External Affairs Minister Hari Kishan Singh in 1990.

It was in July 2007 that Malagasy Minister for Agriculture Morius Ratolojanahasy visited New Delhi for four days official visit and met India's Minister of Food and Agriculture. In March 2008 two ministers of Government of Madagascar, Minister for Economy, Commerce and Industry Ivohasina Razafimahefa and Minister for Agriculture, visited New Delhi to take part in India Africa Project Partnership Conclave organised by the Conference of Indian Industries (CII) from March 19-21, 2008.

There is a good initiative taken by the Government of India, as a mark of growing bilateral relationship between India and Madagascar, which lifted the ban for export of 50,000 tons of non-basmati rice to Madagascar to help them in tiding over food scarcity that faced Malagasy people. The exemption was granted in January 2008 and first

shipment of 23500 tons of Indian rice reached Toamasina Port first week of August 2008. With the gradual improvement in investment climate in Madagascar, a number of leading Indian business enterprises from the private sector have been making exploratory visits to this country to plan their long

term investment strategies. India has committed to install an Intranet Project, entirely at its cost, linking the Malagasy Presidency with all the ministries and departments of the Government in Antananarivo. A Memorandum of Understanding for implementation of this prestigious Project, estimated to cost more than US\$ 6 million at current rates, was signed on September 18, 2008 by Ambassador of India to Madagascar on India's behalf and Malagasy Minister for Telecommunications on behalf of Madagascar.

Government of India has also offered a concessional credit of US \$25 million to Madagascar for development of agriculture sector. Malagasy Minister of Agriculture signed an agreement in this regard in New Delhi on November 14, 2008 with EXIM Bank of India.

India's Navy Ship INS "Mumbai" paid a four day goodwill visit to Port Toamasina on September 9-12, 2006. Indian Coast Guard Ship ICGS "Samar" visited Diego Suarez Port in August 2007.

Again INS "Talwar" was in Diego Suarez for four days on August 24- 28, 2008.

It is a well-known and welcome step that both the countries have taken bilateral agreement on various sectors like - Culture & Scientific Cooperation, 1997; Air Services Agreement, 2000 and Protocol on Mutual Consultations at Foreign Office Level, April 2001. In recent summit of Pravasi Bharatiya Samman (PBS) held in Chennai in 2009, Mr. Ylias Akbaraly, a businessman from Madagascar, had been awarded PBS award for the year 2009.

India's relation with Madagascar may be relatively less viable and sound compared to its relations with other African Countries. But there is considerable and commendable progress in small scale engineering products, rice and pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, technical and economic cooperation, resulting in high hopes for mutual benefits of both the countries in the near future.