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Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust in partnership with Wits University Press and Book Lounge

14 June 2011

Cape Town

Topic:

**SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA: IMPERIALISM AND /
OR CO- OPERATION IN THE INDIA OCEAN ARENA?**

Speakers:

Ari Sitas
Isabel Hofmeyr
Michelle Williams

The aim of these dialogues is to create a space for open and informed dialogue and debate around key local and global political, social and economic issues facing South Africa.

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Wits University Press, Book Lounge and the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust Panel discussion: 14 June 2011

South Africa and India: Shaping the Global South. Edited by Isabel Hofmeyr and Michelle Williams

Mr. Mervyn Sloman of the Wits University Press, Book Lounge welcomed everyone and introduced the speakers.

Discussants: **Isabel Hofmeyr** is Professor of African Literature at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Until last year she was acting director of the Centre of Indian Studies in Africa. **Michelle Williams** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Moderator: **Ari Sitas**, Sociology Professor at the University of Cape Town; in conversation with editors **Isabel Hofmeyr** and **Michelle Williams**.

Dr. Lionel Louw: Ladies and Gentleman very briefly we do monthly events and it is always a joy for us to partner with others because it strengthens what we do and what others do. And so for tonight we are very pleased to be partnering with The Book Lounge for this event. But more particularly because Michelle is the person who coordinates the activities for the Wolpe Trust in Johannesburg and so we are very delighted to have her in Cape Town and also so that we can co host this evening. And then Ari Sitas helps us to the shape the programme for Cape Town and so we are very pleased that two out of three are directly associated with the Wolpe Trust this evening as well.

We are very happy that you are here this evening so that we can co-host you again.

MODERATOR: I understand this book to be the beginning of a very serious conversation between South Africans and Indians. We want to move beyond economic ties where we are all busy rewiring the world economic system, and India and South Africa are the big girls in the block at the moment. Also to start to move towards ways of thinking, comparing, and try to be intelligent for a change about prospects in the South and about a scholarship that perhaps never existed, a scholarship that in a sense we are only beginning to start.

For me reading the remarkable Economic Historian Ashista Gupta 15th – 18th Century. He studies the marine and mercantile patterns of Indian fleets from the 15th to the 18th Century and apparently were bigger than the West, but anyway. He writes after discovering Dutch sources, after years and years, 20 years, he says well right, European presence in India all those years spectacular, yes; significant for the wrong societies, yes; dominant, no; not until they started beating up the Natives. Perhaps we have to start from this Native question, how Natives were beaten up both in Africa and in India, in order to construct what they understand in our text as modernity, perhaps. Increasingly historiography is telling us how much more important India, China, the various silk roads, not one silk road that went to Venus were important in terms of economics and so on like at the end of the world. And how up to the late 18th Century those were hubs of economic social creative aesthetic activities that are not to be found in our texts, the texts we studied when we were students and the texts we started using when we were teachers. It is exciting. Perhaps, we have to learn from each other about the ways of classifying people. The way both nature and people were classified historically as this or that in order to understand what might be common because it changes significantly from the 17th to the 18th Century. Perhaps we have to start and understand public order and how public order was created, and how compliance was created in all our societies by certain powers that were impossible to ignore or resist in the final instance. But this need and so on creates one of the most deep connections between India and South Africa because it is precisely the Indian experiment that created the way to which custom, tradition, and so on were shaped on the African continent, both with their mistakes and their successes of the British Empire from the one place and then exported to the other.

So there are a lot to learn about this and the Lugardian scheme has its precise experimental ground lessons in the India of the 1760's to the 1850's where the final penal code was established in India and the tribes were classified, and casts were reorganized, and criminal casts were created, and so on and so forth and forces of assimilation with violence failed and therefore comes our friend Lugard who keeps on haunting us. But there is even a tighter

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connection because of the Imperial connectivities, the Travillian's the Ghandi's, the indentured labourers and was very touching role that Condit Cherry [name: 10:58:9] and Lugard to look at what the call the Lazarettos. Where they gathered and we saw workers that were going to be exported and we saw graveyards outside and we asked what are the graveyards? Well those are the ones who would not make it to the ships. That is where the surplus people were sorted out. There was Lazarettos in Durban to receive the shackle that was coming in. So there was a lot of these and therefore I feel that you are tempted to look at three things; the historical connections; politics, travel and circulate between the two societies in how comparisons can start happening [11:42:9]

It is too early in this literature to raise, criticize, condemn. We need to debate these issues in their detail in their demographical accuracy, but I am not interested in, to start with two broad questions.

The first question is for you two, who spend a lot of time trying to discipline your voices in this volume; for you two what is exciting about this adventure that you were beginning to enter without many precedence? Secondly, what do you think in terms of this volume can you tell South African Scholars of what ought to be done, or ought not to be done, or is important to be done? So, a broad question, what is it?

PROF HOFMEYR: I think there is enormous amounts that is extremely exciting as you say it is this huge vast field which in some senses the more you work on it the more you understand how enormous it is. If I may just pay tribute to [name: 13:04:5] Ma Dumestre who really is the pioneer and we follow in her footsteps want to thank her for opening up all of these paths. I think the really interested thing about thinking about South Africa and the Indian Ocean is that you are forced to think in a huge deep historical archive. Because the transoceanic trade networks of the Indian Ocean are the oldest so you cannot think simply in a model, in an anti colonial or Third World discourse because that is a discourse that a post independent provision, that is necessarily important and that played a huge and important intellectual role. And I think increasingly it has been outstripped by the world so if you face a situation where suddenly the global South is a powerful factor in the global imagination, but we have poor or few ways of thinking about the global South beyond an old Third Worldist model. So the old Third Worldist

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model was the global South belongs together because we were all previously colonised countries and it is a narrative of shoulder-to-shoulder solidarity. Now the global South is now so derogated, and so diverse and so internally contradictory that that narrative simply does not make sense. And I think it is very interesting that you use the Indian Ocean as a long perspective of the Indian Ocean to think about those sorts of issues.

MS WILLIAMS: I agree obviously on everything that Isabel has just said and especially one of the things that we really thought about as we drew these people, this collection, was the idea to rethink the global South, not as something to be mediated by the North somehow. And scholarships are often by Northern scholars who then come and look at this kind of project. For us it was really trying to re imagine a new way of thinking about South-South relations that transcends what Isabel has just talked about. But I think another think another interesting and really excited thing was both places; India and South Africa had very strong vibrant, extra ordinary academies. They had strong scholarships and they were impressive and extra ordinary in their own ways, both places. But both places had often focused on their own countries and their internal boundaries and not looked elsewhere. And when they do look elsewhere it is often to the North. So for us it was really exciting to look to scholars who are transcending boundaries and try to look beyond their own local boundaries and looking to other Southern countries. So the volume, for us is exciting in that it is two countries of the South with extra ordinary strong scholarships in their own right but somewhat parochial in their boundaries that has now tried to transcend and look to each other, both these scholars, South Africa and India; and you can tell from my accent that I am actually from California but I live here now.

The other thing for us that was very exciting is its inter disciplinarity as we said it's historical connections, circulations and socio-political comparisons. And as we reflect on Isabel's own background and to bring these scholars together we were looking at different types of questions but all around India and South Africa and their commonalities and differences. I think for us it was very much exciting and intellectual experience.

MODERATOR: So in terms of pin pointing to an audience who is out here what are the important cultural and circulations that you identified; what would they be and what is the importance of them?

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PROF HOFMEYR: The book is divided into two sections; the first is called historical connections and I think what that seeks to do is both build on the kinds of forms of circulation that are relatively well known like for example Gandhi, the background of indentured labour that sort of narratives that people have some knowledge and to extend this into domains that are less known so that to enrich and help us get a more textured and complicated and dense sense of the kinds of interactions that happened. There is a piece in the book called 'Gandhi's Printing Press'; and draws on very fascinating research which is really trying to understand the Indian Ocean as a set of linked port cities. Lots of the scholarships says if you look at the Colonial Indian Ocean all around the port cities of the Indian Ocean you have groups of intellectuals; some of them diasporic, some quite indigenous and all of these groups were often small groups with big plans. Plan Islam, Imperial Citizenship, and then there is also socialism and communism, Hindu reformism and Buddhism. There is a lot of interesting work that asks us to think about the Indian Ocean as the sight of a series of universalisms, so people thinking about big projects to which many people can belong. And these Indian Ocean projects of universalism often being pursued by jointly by these people in the port cities. So there were newspapers, activists, [inaudible: 19:34:5] missionaries, pilgrims, moving around and sharing ideas, sharing print culture, sharing equipment and supporting each other. So the Indian Ocean in some ways becomes a kind of quilting circle. It functions in some sense as a public sphere, so I think that is one important thing.

There is a completely fabulous piece in the book by a historian P. K. Datta from Delhi University on the way in which the Anglo-Boer war was understood in India. And it is completely fabulous and it really makes you rethink the Anglo-Boer war quite dramatically. It looks at the Maharajas and the princely states who generally supported the British and sends out crates of biscuits, and cigars and tents and horses and then of course most anti colonial activists supported Boers. So there is a wonderful piece also in the book by lascars who are the Black or South Asian sailors who also gives you a very interesting sense of the whole Indian Ocean world and the ships moving around it and it is trying to invite us to think about the unknown and the very dense and rich sense of historical connections that connects us.

MS WILLIAMS: There is also another interesting chapter in the book that looks to Gandhi and the way in which Gandhi could help to influence our understandings today in the South
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African political discourse and move us away from the dichotomy between 'Western modernity' versus 'Wishful Nativism', the romanticizing 'Pure Africanists'. A Gandhian type of understanding that is a total different logic and transcends the logical domination. So I think that would be another way in which circulations of political analogy also transcends these boundaries.

MODERATOR: And on the aesthetic front circulations that needs to be researched and or ought to be researched because for any profound musician who sits in Mali and listens to laments from Cashmere and immediately picks up that it makes sense on that quorum and in search of a history that has never been written about the traveling of musical forms. Are we encountering similar type of surprises in the field in between Africa, South Africa and India?

PROF HOFMEYR: I think there is a very rich and wonderful work that yet remains to be done. Some of it I think quite unexpected, and it is about I think the complexity of transnationalism within the global South. It is not thinking about the normal kinds of social settings we are use to thinking, you know the kind of colonial North/South circles. Say for example you get a wonderful examples of Gutchirati [23:00:2] romances about Africa. So they pull out very much a formula of a colonial romance novel but they are written from the perspective of Gutchirati characters set in Zanzibar and it seems to me that is a really interesting aesthetic use of the Indian Ocean which sets things off beam. It kind of completely disorients you in some ways and makes you rethink all of the kind of categories that you normally take for granted.

MODERATOR: And the socio-political comparisons apart from lets say that there is no Mandela in India at the moment and no Nero in South Africa; what do you think travels between the two societies, and what do you think ought to be looked at or has been looked at?

MS WILLIAMS: For the comparisons there is a really interesting chapter in the book that talks about the democratic consolidation and deepening. And in this chapter Patrick Heller he shows how both places, in South Africa and India they have experienced extra ordinary democratic consolidation but they have actually not experienced democratic deepening. Basically what he is arguing is that people struggled to practise democracy in both places, and

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why is that? What he looks at within a context with different places and then says that a lot of it has to do with the vertical and horizontal logics of state institutions that is in some ways apathetical to democratic deepening. These are institutions that are very democratic in consolidation but not in democratic deepening. And he says that basically that the balance of power within civil society in his statement he thinks do not help you; one that is good for democratic consolidation is not good for democratic deepening. And I think in his comparison if you would just look at the one model that seems like an idiosyncratic situation of South Africa or India and only when you look at the comparisons between the two there is actually an appreciation or maybe there is something more going on about the ways in which institutions are formed, the role of institutions in these processes. There is also an interesting piece by someone who looks at migrants and shows how there is different histories of migration. Both places have stories extra ordinary labour migrations. But in the South African case as everyone here would know there was a lot of institutional coherion among migrancy whether people got to stay in urban areas or got sent back to stay rural areas. And there was a very different logic happening in the Indian case, and there was much stronger encouragement in maintaining this mix between the urban and the rural. The migrancy itself has not necessarily always been a migrancy the urban but it has also been a migrancy back to the rural. And when you look at comparisons the whole point of a comparative project is to try to take what might seem as exceptional experience in one location and when you look at it comparatively you see that there is actually extra ordinarily similarities and differences and you learn more about each one through that comparison.

MODERATOR: And what were the biggest challenges in putting the material together? What haunts you?

MS WILLIAMS: Authors. We had one colleague we adore but for about six months he would see us in the passageways and run the other way. He avoided us.

PROF HOFMEYR: A book like this always produces a feeling of intellectual vertigo because it such a huge field and it is so exciting and one is trying to cross this chasm with kind of couple of flimsy pieces of paper and you are so aware of the enormity of the field and that you are trying to capture that but you can also only include very few pieces; I think it is kind of what is

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not there, what is left out and what is yet to be reviewed?

MODERATOR: Before we pass the microphone that side, what is volume two?

PROF HOFMEYR: I think volume two would be a wonderful thing on 'the role of Africa and India in each other's imaginations'. And I am picking up from comments earlier there is so much inter penetration once you start to look at ideas on race and cast. There is this idea that South Africa has race and India has cast. Africa has slavery and India produces an indentured labourer.

But of course those categories are constructed in and through others Indian and African nationalism, that are deeply implicated in each other, Gandhi for example uses the idea of Africa as the boundary of his imagination with India. We've just been doing some very interesting research on during the Anglo Boer War and there were Boer prisoners, 9000 Boer prisoners in India, and they spent their time in these internal camps discussing the idea of the Boer Republic; what should it be, what might it have been, what could it be in future? And the boundary that they take of the Boer Republic are the Indian servants who have been given to them because they are deemed to be White men but they are in captivity but they are innocent. So you have this interesting sense of interactions and the whole, how looking at the Indian Ocean it upsets deeply these categories where you have to think what does Indian slavery mean and what does African indenture mean and who is a Settler?

MODERATOR: And would you be part of that vision?

MS WILLIAMS: I think I probably will be. I think I should actually say that this whole project began with Isabel starting this study in Wits on India and South Africa and I had just arrived at Wits and she would incorporate me into this. And it is an extra ordinary intellectual environment just a very mix of people who study India and South Africa. Isabel came up with the idea that they were doing a new volume together and we had this first workshop and we just put together people who are working on this. There was an extra ordinary to see because I am Sociologist and she does African Literature and to bring these very inter disciplinary workshop together and it just worked. But as Isabel said there were so many more excluded so we can easily start a volume and include a lot more.

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MODERATOR: Questions.

PARTICIPANT: Thank you. I only read bits and pieces of the book but I've read a great deal of the scholarships around it and the point that I find the most exciting about the work that takes on board circulations, traveling, looking at India and South Africa together is not so much the comparative, which I think is fantastic and I think that mutual implications are extra ordinary. But I think that you've moved us, you and others who work in a similar dimension, somewhere where I haven't been because I have been aware of the weight of the scholarship, which is asking to think about nationalism, or asked me to think about imaginative communities. And I have recognized that this scholarship position us in another space in which we are looking at the millions of people who lives in a institution states or lives a stance to those major identities and that they are numerous and have not found a naming of themselves yet in our scholarship. I think these perspectives are now allowing us to see that there is so much that is not captured by being South African or being Indian or being any of these things but in motion or mobile and in some ways the only word that I can find for it is slightly a stance from what the category have imagined you to be and I think for me that is very exciting and set for me a research agenda for our imagined decades.

PROF HOFMEYR: To add to that I think what this book also tries to do is to make the argument that it is no longer possible to really look at one diaspora in isolation and that we have to think about cross cutting diasporas. Cross cutting diaspora could mean in relations to societies through which they flow. Because previously to look at one diaspora and there huge amount of work for example on the South Asia diaspora or the Chinese diaspora is actually to reproduce the categories of empire. So it is part of a much bigger kind of intellectual trend which is trying to say we have to look at these cross cutting diasporas and I think the really important thing here is to think about how they do or don't intercept with African society and that you have to have a lens that grasp all of those at the same time.

PARTICIPANT: I have not read the book so I don't know what sort of time frames you were looking at but I wonder do you have any thoughts on the emergence South-South groupings that are cropping up here and there, like the basic countries which is Brazil, South Africa, India and China, wonderful two of your countries, and the BRICS sort of grouping and just do you have any thoughts on that?

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MS WILLIAMS: None of the chapters in the book actually covers that but it a little in the introduction where we talk about and we conclude on the idea the global South, what Isabel was talking about that the old Third World discourses of the past are no longer; the collapse of the Soviet Union, [inaudible: 34:26:8] rethinking the world order and the Post American domination where these Southern Alliances are becoming much more prominent. So we concluded on a new way of thinking about the global South and it is about these South-South. I think none of the chapters deal directly with it, but what you asking is inspiration behind it is in the book in the first place.

PROF HOFMEYR: Can I just add something to that I think that put in terribly simple terms we are moving from a bilateral order to a multilateral order? It think particularly for people in South Africa are quite bad about thinking about multi national orders because we live with an over determination of bi-literalism, the imperialism, the colonialism, anti apartheid the cold war it is almost as if we can't think outside those kind of epic categories. We are moving into this kind of unpredictable and multilateral world and all these different kinds of focus-isms. And I think what is going to be interesting is the strangeness and bazaarness of that world. And if I could just use an example that are often used and it was in the Cape Times today; 'that one of South Africa's most successful exports to India is the films of Leon Schuster. Now, if you have told me that 20 years ago that this was going to happen, it is unthinkable. And I think that is the really interesting area to watch; is to scan the cultural horizon for these really unexpected and bazaar things that are going to take shape and I think that understanding the new world through that is important. Also for example we now in the Indian Ocean routinely have South-South spying. So again the discourse normally of the South was a very morally innovative shoulder-to-shoulder discourse and now suddenly how does one make sense of South-South slapstick and South-South spying?

PARTICIPANT: My question is similar to that and again I have not read the book. But as experts in South Africa India relations if you like, we both framed off our Colonial Masters if you like and yet India is growing at this huge wave and South Africa is hopping along. I would like to know what happened, why these differences?

MS WILLIAMS: To a degree we problematise it like that in the collection as well. India is growing much faster than South Africa but South Africa has a higher tertiary education rate; it has a higher Internet usage rate and there are all sorts of other indicators that actually far

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outstrip India; and what we are saying is that they are complex societies. Neither one of is perfect, neither one is [inaudible: 37:44:6] entirely problematic. I don't think you can simply explain either case in isolation of all these other contradictory processes and matters that are actually coming into it as well. Even if you look at the inequalities that are greater here, poverty, the actual percentage of the bottom 20% of the population in India they get about 8.1% of the world where here they get 3.7% and that is worse. But yet there is more people who don't have access to health care in India and don't have access to other things that we now consider part of the human developments so it is really complex.

PARTICIPANT: I just wondered the great affinity between Communist Party in India and the ANC and looking at the similarities of where those two parties emerge from; does your book in any way touch on the seeming divergence in the present day ANC now suddenly turning toward China and not looking at the democratic experience in India. Do you at all touch upon that in your book?

MS WILLIAMS: Well the simple answer is no, but it is interesting. There is one chapter in the book - it does not look at the ANC, Communist Party, it looks at the SACP and the CBIM Communist Party and Indian Marxist and looking at the ideological convergence of the 1990's but they have very different practices in power I would say. It is very interesting because the book to China modern industry, especially for the ANC, is influenced by the SACP's links to China. The South African Communist Party has had many delegations almost every single year that goes to China and they have very, very firm relationships. So I think to look at the ANC's relationship to China is very strongly influenced by the South African Communist Party. At the same time it has some links to India but they are not nearly as strong and rich I would say. But I think the histories are very interesting because the history of the ANC and SACP people in their 40's and 50's they've got a lot of linkages with India, and people were visiting. A tremendous amount of people went to India and were very influenced by the politics that was going on there as well, and that kind of legacy I don't think is continuing today.

PARCIPANT: Why has that happened?

MS WILLIAM: Why has that happened and why are they no longer looking to each other? Well it is interesting, I am more familiar with the Congress Party than I am with the Congress Party in India and why they don't have such a strong.... The Congress Party of India

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are Marxist and they have very strong leanings towards the South African Communist Party. I think they are somewhat disappointed to see what has happened to the SACP and I think they would have wanted a much stronger relationships I think but there is a complicated history between India and China and South Africa has gone that way. For the Communist Party it is not going to compete; I know I am not answering the question, I know it is very complex.

MODERATOR: Three more.

PARTICIPANT: I also have not read the book and cannot ask a question about it content, but understand it is a mission. The first thing you do when you pick up a new book is you look at the back cover. What I see on the back cover is the Western Hemisphere. Indian Ocean Studies are of course covered over the past 20 years and this book makes a valuable contribution but it's Sub title 'Shaping the Global South' is of course not the Indian Ocean. So I need to know why you have the Western Hemisphere and particularly lacking America why Scholarship has been so silent on this regard. We have a shared history in nation making, in empires, what can we learn from cultural studies between Southern America and Africa.

PROF HOFMEYR: I think that is our next volume. The front of the book is India and South Africa. It is interesting I have not really noticed the back of the book.

PARTICIPANT: I have not read the book but I plan to buy it right now. Being a recent [inaudible: 43:36:7] from India to South Africa ... Thinking about South Africa and India the first I remembered not as a Sociologist from UCT but as an Indian, is the play I watched while I was in Delhi was the 'Coolie Odyssey' and it was being played at a very big theater in Delhi. And unfortunately or fortunately the only token Black African man in it was playing the role of a monkey. And all the audience started laughing, as soon as he came on stage, and which made me realize that it was in South Africa. One of the things I remembered when I came to South Africa was that everyone I met had this very nuanced political everyday understanding of race, while people I interact with including me when I was in India there is almost like this denial of race; there is no race discourse. I have not read the book but I am wondering if there is somebody or you two have written about it or talked about it; the difference in race discourse between South Africa and India.

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PROF HOFMEYR: Thank you. I think that is a critical and key question because I think especially as the society of the global South takes hold it is precisely these sorts of issues that are going to become the most pressing. I remember when I also first went to India sometime back, I remember I was incredibly naïve of course, you don't have to go very far in India before you completely find this view of Africa as the dark Continent. It was almost routine and people started looking at me rather pitifully because I came from Africa. And almost followed very quickly by a diasporic idea that now where do you originally come from and when are you going back? That was the sort of mindset and I think that it is completely and critical area that as you say is unspoken about and extremely uneasy and there is very important work starting to be done by Antoinette Burger who is a major post colonial historian of the British Empire. And she is starting to look at issues of Africans in India, and the communities of the East African students; soccer players, Nigerian soccer players in Bengal, and also I think it is really important to start uncovering the history of African groups in India. Political exiles, travelers, or that, but also to start dealing with that to surface the kinds of thinking about Africa and race that do exist in India that are completely unspoken about. I think that work is starting to be done and of course it is also an extremely complicated and interesting history because it is going back to what Ari said at the beginning it also about the inner penetrating histories of race and caste, which are actually often constructed in relation to each other. Ideas of tribe also circulated throughout the British Empire and are used in different ways to construct tribes and that discourse circulates. I think it is an absolute key issue that you raised.

PARTICIPANT: I was interested in what you said about the South Africa and India in terms of imagination. I am picking up from what you asked about aesthetic visions. I am just trying to think are there any writers that you encountered in this project who have done justice to this? I was reading [48:15:2] what an amazing book that is looking at the links between the people in Cairo and India. And I was just thinking from a South African side I mean when it comes to mind about failure; are there any writers you encountered from the Indian Sub Continent who are doing some kind of justice to these crossings. Secondly, a skeptical or even a kind of cynical question, the kind of idea about emerging India and the relations between South Africa and India is something that you could also read on the front page of 'The Economist' or the Department of Trade. So how do you go about disentangling the kind dimension of excitement that you are talking about here from that kind of peri-economistic vocabulary which seems to have to blaze the trail.

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PROF HOFMEYR: In terms of the specifics that you are asking which is there an Indian writer talking about Africa, in a gosh kind of way? I have not really encountered anybody. There is a novel done in the 50's about African students in Delhi and there those sorts of.... I think there is a very important project to be done on the genealogies of African studies in India because African Studies is a discipline in India and exist only as International Relations or Security Studies, which is an interesting trend. It is not about South Africa but I think if you are interested in 'The Gosh' there are really fantastic writers in [inaudible: 50:15:5] who looks at the [inaudible: 50:19:7] from Yemen and is a very influential voice in thinking about the Indian Ocean. And it makes an important point that the Indian Ocean is not primarily a site of the interaction of colonizer and colonized of the powerful and the powerless rather it is often the old diasporas in the Indian Ocean encountering the imperial diasporas, which empires are diasporas backed by state. He looks at the encounter of the drama of these various European imperialism that comes in and because the drama is so huge they have a very ambitious religious programme, which is as ambitious as for example British Imperialism.

MS WILLIAMS: I just want to answer the more cynical question. It is very interesting because we started out saying as you read any news paper today you will come up with India and that is exactly what you are saying; The Economist, and anyone of these will highlight these linkages but what we were saying in this book is usually not comment on points. We don't look at the iconic readers or the just the many liberation movements in the two places, we look at the less commonly known things. We were talking about the Lascars, The Gandhian Printing Press, The Communist Parties, the democratic deepening; all these things that are often over looked by the mainstream understanding and 'Bollyhood' films, and I that is one of the cultures of circulation. We talked about Schuster in India, Bollyhood in S.A. those awesome and extra ordinary views. It is that kind of area that did not feature here but could feature.

PROF HOFMEYR: The importance of this project is about trying to profile Africa in the Indian Ocean because it is a very old and rich and venerable tradition of scholarships on the Indian Ocean but they almost always rely on Africa. And I think the really important thing is how intellectually do we project serious questions about Africa into that arena?

MODERATOR: Thank you very much, thank you for your questions. It is the beginning of a conversation and there will be many more. Let me point to three that need perhaps further exploration. I spent an inordinate amount of time in New Delhi and all the people of my

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generation; academics and so on speak about how they learnt about SA in the 60's and 70's through history books and how important that was in terms of their own political formation. Can you imagine though the picture that was painted of SA and with degrees of discrimination; and right there I thought history books might be very interesting when looking at the construction of what is happening.

Secondly, the answers to those questions are there; they have not been asked? The archives are there, and it is amazing how more and more stuff emerges – what are the questions – ask. Okay it is very difficult and I see some of the kind of degree of negotiation for the old archives to be opened that needs to happen in various spaces in India, but they are there.

Thirdly, there have been movements on this continent quite vast in numbers, even if we go back to Oxford history or Cambridge history of Africa they have this thing on movements of slaves and it stops. The so-called Mountain people in Carola tried and defined by their Colonial Administration have song and oral structures that are very similar to Mozambique. So they ran away towards the mountains because of whatever was going on. So it is just asking the right questions, supposed. The conversation is vitally important in the waiting for Volume II, III, IV, V. Thank you and enjoy the book.

End of lecture: 55:01