



# AFRICA AND INDIA

FROM LONG-STANDING RELATIONS TOWARDS FUTURE CHALLENGES

Klaus Julian VOLL

May 2010

Any further information can be obtained through Ernst Stetter, FEPS Secretary General at [ernst.stetter@feps-europe.eu](mailto:ernst.stetter@feps-europe.eu) or through David KITCHING, FEPS Junior Policy Advisor, at [david.kitching@feps-europe.eu](mailto:david.kitching@feps-europe.eu)

## 1. Looking back

India and Africa share as civilizations historical links. The Swahili distant trade at the East African Coast reached with its products Indian ports and Indian traders operated at the Swahili coast. Indian financiers supported the Sultan of Zanzibar. The African slave trade to America and thereby cheaper forms of production lead in essence to the collapse of India's once prominent cotton trade.

Liberated slaves, the so-called *Bombay Africans*, played an important role as Christian missionaries during the early period of British colonialism in Kenya. Indian work-forces and indentured laborers were employed in plantations and railway construction in various African countries in the 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the other side one should not forget the little peninsula of Janjira south of Bombay, ruled on Indian soil till 1948 by a small African elite originating from Ethiopia.

Mahatma Gandhi's stay in South Africa between 1893 till 1915 contributed to the disobedience movement. India played a prominent role during the heydays of the *Non-Aligned Movement*, when Africa was prominently represented by Nkrumah, Nasser and Nyerere. New Delhi's contribution to isolate internationally the Apartheid regime in South Africa and the colonial regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are some of the more contemporary landmarks in Indo-African relations.

## 2. India as a regional, Asian and increasingly global power

India is interested in a multi-polar international system without the dominance of one or two powers or a coming together of the United States and China (G 2). Shyam Saran advocates that India is *"engaging with all major powers, but aligning with none."*<sup>1</sup> South Asia with precarious states like Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh is currently India's *Achilles Heel*. India can only play a larger role in Asia and in the world if it can improve its neighborhood in South Asia, according to Saran.

On the other hand, after the global financial crisis, *"China saw its trillion dollar surplus as a potent weapon to change the geopolitical pecking order permanently in its favor. Such perceptions also led*

---

<sup>1</sup> Shyam Saran: Geopolitical Consequences of the Global Financial and Economic Crisis - A Reassessment after One Year.

India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, April 26,2010. Shyam Saran, a former Foreign Secretary, did primarily negotiate the US-India Nuclear Deal and had been till earlier in 2010 the Special Envoy of the Prime Minister for Climate Change.

*China to adopt a more muscular and sometimes overbearing, posture vis-à-vis other major powers such as Japan, the European Union and India.”<sup>2</sup>*

India favors a reform of international institutions, especially the UN and aims at the support of African states for its ambition to gain a seat in the Security Council.

Besides the US, Europe and Japan, even China accepts nowadays India, although still somehow grudgingly, as a global factor to reckon with in finding solutions to international challenges, like demonstrated in the field of climate change.<sup>3</sup>

Besides India’s strong bilateral relationship with South Africa as an example of a successful South-South cooperation, the informal trans-continental formations of *India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA)* as well as *Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC)* demonstrate the intention of New Delhi’s foreign policy, to forge globally new groups based on common interests. *“India’s role in BASIC, as also in IBSA and the BRIC, offers opportunities to increase its global leverage and relevance.”<sup>4</sup>*

On June 6, 2003 India and South Africa signed an agreement with [Brazil](#), known as the *Brasilia Declaration*. It established “South-South” cooperation on the premise, that the three nations are major [regional powers](#) of [South Asia](#), [Southern Africa](#) and [South America](#). The declaration called for extensive tripartite cooperation on strategic, commercial and cultural affairs, development of a tripartite [free trade agreement](#) and a united front in negotiating with Western nations in the [World Trade Organization](#) (WTO), calling for [reform of the U.N. Security Council](#) and supporting each other's bid for [permanent membership with veto rights](#). The [IBSA Dialogue Forum](#) was created to promote cooperation and consensus on issues of trade, poverty alleviation, intellectual property rights, social development, agriculture, climate change, culture, defense, education, energy, health-care, information society, science and technology, peaceful [nuclear energy](#), tourism and transport. *“We were able to deflect US and European pressures on climate issues, by forging a coalition with China, Brazil and South Africa and hold our ground successfully.”<sup>5</sup>*

India is certainly not playing in the same league like China. But its sheer size, in a not so distant future with the largest population in the world, its growing internal market with an increasing foreign direct investment of substantial proportions, its own growing exports and investments primarily by its private companies in various foreign countries indicate, that the largest democracy in the world, irrespective of its structural shortcomings, is a major factor to reckon with in the emerging

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Traditionally Beijing, with the help of Pakistan, did try to “cage” India in South Asia

<sup>4</sup> Shyam Saran, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Shyam Saran, ibid.

international system. India's economy is expected to rank as the fourth largest in the world in 2020 and as the third largest in 2050.

Therefore, apart from China and certainly also Japan, India is increasingly seen by many African countries as the other great "Asian Driver". According to officials during the visit of Vice-President Hamid Ansari to three African countries in 2009, Botswana was "appreciative" of India's role in multilateral fora and wanted "us to do more".

### 3. Africa's importance for India

What are India's major political, geopolitical and strategic interests vis-à-vis Africa as a whole respectively with regard to its major regions and countries? How does the "Africa factor" play a role in the Indian Ocean and are India's interests in Africa primarily only directed towards natural resources like oil, gas and uranium? Is India considered as a relevant player in Africa by major African countries, particularly since there are no neo-colonial attitudes or tendencies recognizable in New Delhi's Africa policy? Indian observers recognize lately a rising trends in African votes for India in the UN.

#### 3.1 India's geopolitical considerations

The Indian peninsula has a coastline of 7 517 km. Geo-politically speaking the states of the Eastern coast of Africa are India's neighbors<sup>6</sup>, separated by the Indian Ocean with its vital energy life-lines and its piracy problems. *"Consequently, the area of direct interest to us, which I term as our strategic maritime frontiers, extends from the Persian Gulf, down to the east coast of Africa, and across to the Malacca Street. Anything that happens to this region has a direct or indirect effect on our maritime interests and security and we need to be not only aware of it but must also be capable of responding appropriately, if required."*<sup>7</sup> Yet, the *Indian Ocean Rim Association*, launched in 1996 on India's initiative with the aim to boost cooperation between the various countries adjacent to the Indian Ocean, has been till date a still-born baby without any tangible results.

---

<sup>6</sup> This view had been already expressed by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

<sup>7</sup> Arun Prakash (Admiral, Retd.): From The Crows Nest. A Compendium Of Speeches And Writings On Maritime And Other Issues. National Maritime Foundation, Lancer, New Delhi, 2007, p. 160

About two million people of Indian origin<sup>8</sup>, out of 25 millions worldwide, are living in Africa, half of them alone in South Africa, where many are thorough professionals. *“Many parts of East Africa have a long South Asian diasporic heritage, yet India’s engagement with the region has moved beyond these historic links in recent years. As India increasingly challenges existing architectures of economic and geopolitical power, Africa has become an important and interesting arena for Indian ambitions. The influx of Indian aid, capital and personnel, moreover, has potentially profound developmental consequences for the plethora of East African nations, as well as for their South Asian diasporic communities.”*<sup>9</sup>

The entry of the Chinese Military Navy into the Indian Ocean, supported by a string of port facilities, as for instance in Myanmar (Burma), Sri Lanka and Pakistan, highlights the increasing importance of this Ocean, whose very name is being disputed by China.<sup>10</sup> C. Raja Mohan stated in a recent analysis: *“If China’s quest for access in the eastern Indian Ocean has been focused*

*on Myanmar, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, in the western part of the littoral, Seychelles and Mauritius are of natural interest to Beijing.”*<sup>11</sup>

It will be interesting to observe, if an antagonistic relationship between India and China will evolve in the Indian Ocean or if these two important Asian countries will find after some while a *modus vivendi*. *“Currently, countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius, Seychelles and Comores are friendly and well disposed to us. However their security remains fragile, and we cannot afford to have any hostile or inimical power threatening it.”*<sup>12</sup> At the moment, the Chinese Navy is not considered as a major threat by India.

*“Considering Chinese ambitions, India has to make a sagacious move to regain or retain the traditional influence in Indian Ocean island states.- China’s strengthening relationship with these island states is a replica of its Africa policy. To enhance influence in the western Indian Ocean, New Delhi must realise*

---

<sup>8</sup> Other sources speak of 2.8 millions

<sup>9</sup> Pan-African Voices for Freedom and Justice. Pambazuka News. 2009

<sup>10</sup> Shyam Saran, op. cit.: “The rapid growth of China’s Navy is a case in point. And this is an issue of special relevance to the National Maritime Foundation and its extended fraternity. Other countries in the region are also acquiring substantial military capabilities and there is a risk that the security environment in the region may deteriorate in the absence of a region wide institutional framework to manage and reconcile interstate differences and potential conflicts.”

<sup>11</sup> C Raja Mohan, Circling Mauritius, *Indian Express*, 11 February, 2009. See also, C. Raja Mohan,

Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Western Indian Ocean, ISAS Insight, available at

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24->

[A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=97204.](http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24-A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=97204)

<sup>12</sup> Arun Prakash, op. cit., p. 7

*the importance of strong bonding with neglected east African countries. It is also imperative for India to develop an 'East Africa policy' if it has to have an enduring presence in island states of the western Indian Ocean.*"<sup>13</sup>

A stronger maritime cooperation between India and the US, two major players in the Indian Ocean, but also with South East Asian countries, Japan and Australia, and the further expansion of India's "Blue Water Navy" could be helpful in order to even "potentially squeeze Chinese aspirations"<sup>14</sup> in the Indian Ocean. India intends "to develop its own network of security linkages with the countries of the region"<sup>15</sup> and even with regard to African countries as a whole.

*"As the countries in the region acquire larger economic assets and their security stakes increase, this region will see the deployment of much more significant military capabilities, both within the region itself but also in terms of force projection capabilities to safeguard extra-regional resource assets and transport and communication links."*<sup>16</sup>

### **3.2 India's economic interests**

Analysts project an "obvious synergy of interests" (Ruchita Beri) between India and African countries. India's Africa policy is request based. "To plant ideas which will look like requests. But this growing trend of requests is also a result of India's re-emergence on the world pitch."<sup>17</sup>

One thousand delegates, 600 amongst them from Africa, participated in the first *India Africa Forum Summit* in New Delhi April 2008, which followed the Chinese and French patterns with similar summits. The *Delhi Declaration* emphasized in its political part global issues like trade, climate change and the reform of the UN-system.

The specific *Focus Africa Program* covers relations to governments, institutions and enterprises. India extended to Africa lines of credit of \$ 5.4 bn. for a period of four years. A pan-African E-network with Tele-medicine and distant learning, linked to Indian universities, has been established at the cost of one bn. US \$. A north-south railway corridor, a sharing of India's experience with its *green revolution*,

---

<sup>13</sup> Amit Kumar: China's Island Strategy in the Indian Ocean: Breaching India's Sphere of Influence. Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Syam Saran, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Gurjit Singh, op. cit.

agro-processing, the electrification of rural Africa as well as solar, wind and biogas energy projects are planned.<sup>18</sup> The next Summit will take place 2011 in Africa.

Between 1990-91 Indo-African trade has risen from a meager 967 million US\$ to 25 billion US\$ in 2006-07. India's trade with Africa amounts currently close to 45 bn. US \$, compared to China's with 116 bn US \$. 400 political and business leaders from 34 African countries participated in a conference on *"Developing Synergies: Creating a Vision"* in Delhi in march 2010. They finalized projects worth 9 bn. US \$. The aim is to scale up bi-lateral trade between India and Africa to 70 bn. US \$ in the next five years. The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM) predicts already 55 bn. US \$ in 2012.

Besides the role of the Indian Government and Public Sector enterprises, private Indian companies are investing increasingly in African countries and are trading with them. *"Several Indian pharma and health care companies have invested in Africa like Ranbaxy Laboratories, Cipla Limited, Aurobindo Pharma and Encure Pharmaceuticals."*<sup>19</sup>

Energy security constitutes a vital part of India's foreign policy. India is the fourth largest consumer of oil in the world and the third largest importer. India's economy is extremely energy-hungry and therefore dependent on imports of oil and gas, besides other natural resources like for instance uranium. *"Estimates suggest that by 2020, only about 25 per cent of the total demand will be met internally. Due to stagnating domestic crude production, India imports approximately 70 per cent of its oil. Its dependence is growing rapidly."*<sup>20</sup> Therefore India, most of the time in competition with China with regard to energy supplies, is trying to focus on countries like Sudan, Nigeria, Angola etc. in order to diversify its energy imports.<sup>21</sup> Already 18 % of India's oil imports are coming from North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The traditional partners are Saudi-Arabia, Iran, Russia and to a certain degree

---

<sup>18</sup> V. B. Soni, a former diplomat, heads "Overseas Infrastructure Alliance" with several big projects in various African countries.

<sup>19</sup> Ruchita Beri: India and Africa. Towards an Energy Partnership. In: Ruchita Beri/Uttam Kumar Sinha (Eds.): Africa and Energy Security. Global Issues, Local Responses. Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2009, p. 54

<sup>20</sup> Ruchita Beri, *ibid*, p. 51

<sup>21</sup> Ruchita Beri: India Woos Africa. IDSA, 19. 3. 2008, on-line: *"Indian oil majors like the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited (OVL) have invested in assets in Sudan, Ivory Coast, Libya, Egypt, and Nigeria, Nigeria-Sao Tome Principe Joint Development Area and Gabon. OVL invested US \$750 million to acquire a 25 per cent partnership in the Greater Nile Petroleum Company (GNOP) in Sudan in March 2003. As of now, India gets 3.23 million tons of equity oil from GNOP. Private sector companies like Reliance have also invested in equity oil in Sudan. India recently completed a \$200 million pipeline project that links Khartoum and Port Sudan on the Red sea. It is also negotiating with Chad, Niger and Angola. Recently, in a strategic move to acquire downstream assets abroad, Reliance industries acquired a majority stake in the management and control of an East Africa based oil retail distribution company, Gulf Africa Petroleum Corporation (GAPCO). GAPCO owns storage depots all over East and Central Africa and operates terminals in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda."*

Myanmar. India and South Africa share also an important energy partnership. India imported in 2010 1.4 million tons of South African coal and became thereby its largest purchaser of coal.

Various Indian multinational companies are increasingly active in Africa. The Tata Group is operating in 13 African countries and envisages good market chances for the *Nano*, currently the cheapest car in the world. Reliance Industries, India's biggest private company, is engaged in various oil extraction projects. The Indian telecom company Bharti Airtel acquired for \$ 10.7 billion the Kuwaiti firm Zain Africa mobile services with its operations in 15 countries and a total customer base of over 42 million earlier this year. Zain is the market leader in ten of these countries and ranks second in four countries. Bharti will extend its network, including the Seychelles, to 21 countries.

Bharti CMD Sunil Bharti Mittal, sees the agreement as a landmark for the global telecom industry and as a game changer for his company. *"More importantly, this transaction is a pioneering step towards south-south cooperation and strengthening of ties between India and Africa. With this acquisition, Bharti Airtel will be transformed into a truly global telecom company and fulfilling our vision of building a world-class multinational. We are excited at the growth opportunities in Africa, the continent of hope and opportunity. We believe that the strength of our brand and the historic Indian connect with Africa coupled with our unique business model will allow us to unlock the potential of these emerging markets.*

*We are committed to partnering with the governments in these countries in taking affordable telecom services to the remotest geographies and bridging the digital divide."*<sup>22</sup>

In the field of food security, India is obviously determined to contribute and invest on a larger scale in Africa, *"The African nations have invited Punjab's farmers and agro-industry to join hands to ensure food security and strengthen agriculture production by providing technical know-how, expertise and investment flow in return for use of their land and mineral resources."*<sup>23</sup> India has already identified 350 people to impart training in Sub-Saharan countries and is selecting areas where food processing clusters can be set up for Indian investors.

*"According to ASSOCHAM, 400 Indians have ploughed in investment capital of US \$ 4 billion alone in Ethiopia in mining, floriculture, horticulture, construction, manufacturing, textiles, leather etc."*<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> BHARTI SIGNS \$10.7BN DEAL FOR ZAIN AFRICA OPS. THE TIMES NEW NETWORK, MARCH 31, 2010

<sup>23</sup> "AFRO NATIONS SEEK FARMERS' HELP FOR FOOD SECURITY." TIMES NEW NETWORK, MARCH 27, 2010

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

There is unanimity in Western development policy circles about China's tremendous inroads into Africa during the last years.<sup>25</sup> Till about two years back, African leaderships have been delighted about the amounts of credits, gifts and unconditional agreements offered by China. But this situation has insofar changed, that the Chinese bring their workers along, thereby not generating any worthwhile local employment in African countries.<sup>26</sup>

While India might be eyeing Africa primarily for its oil and gas resources, but also its markets are in certain areas of interest. On their part, Africans would focus vis-a-vis India on pharmaceuticals, technology and education.

*"African countries have been interested in acquiring cost effective and intermediate technology from India. They have expressed special interest in forging partnership in areas such as Information Technology, agriculture, health and pharmaceuticals. Only half a million Africans have access to the internet, and there is thus a pressing need to narrow the "digital divide". African countries want to benefit from India's prowess in the field of IT. African leaders often quote the example of India's green revolution and its attainment of self sufficiency in food production. India's expertise in this sector can help to develop the African potential. The growing spread of diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis and HIV AIDS have made health an important agenda for most African governments. Here, India has the advantage of offering medicines and drugs at substantially lower costs compared to major Western firms. The time is thus ripe for India to forge a mutually beneficial partnership, taking advantage of the goodwill that exists for it in Africa."*<sup>27</sup>

Indian companies are committed that natural resources and agricultural products should be processed in African countries. They are committed to capacity building. Annually 1 bn. US \$ are going to Africa, where India contributed to 19 institutions like Institutes of Technology, Foreign Trade, 10 vocational training centers, five low-cost human settlements and the creation of a Pan-African stock exchange. Bunker Roy's<sup>28</sup> solar projects in Ethiopia are considered as a positive engagement in renewable energies by India in Ethiopia.<sup>29</sup> It is intended, to expand academic

---

<sup>25</sup> These observations have been made by Professor Manfred Schulz, Freie Universitaet Berlin, in an E-Mail communication with the author on 26<sup>th</sup> of April 2010

<sup>26</sup> Allegedly even the quality of infrastructure projects is not up to the mark and cannot compete with the one's financed by the European Union.

<sup>27</sup> Ruchita Beri: India Woos Africa. IDSA, 19. 3. 2008, online

<sup>28</sup> Bunker Roy, the founder of Tilonia in Rajsthan, has earlier experimented with solar projects in the Himalayan regions of India, supported by UNDP.

<sup>29</sup> Gurjit Singh, op. cit.

relations. 300 scholarships are given to African students, who currently number about 15 000 in India.

Indian Africa specialists observe a lot of goodwill for India in Africa, but they fear, that this could be lost if there is insufficient engagement. Concerned Indian experts on Africa are not only asking rhetorically the following questions: *“What are the aspirations of Africans? Can we be sensitive to them. How can the inter-cultural relations be improved and the existing cultural differences overcome?”* They observe that the Indian media are insufficiently reporting about African Affairs and that academics, as represented by the *African Studies Association of India*, should contribute far more to an in-depth knowledge about Africa.

## Perspectives

India and Africa have a common interest to cope with global imbalances and to reduce them. Food- and energy security as well as climate change are common challenges. Anand Sharma, a prominent cabinet minister, opines: *“India can have a robust partnership especially in the area of research and development, human resources development, and managerial best practices.”* Manoj Joshi argues, that *“India needs to invest diplomatic capital in African countries and follow this up with commercial relations.”*<sup>30</sup> Some projections envisage India in ten years time as Africa’s second largest trading partner after China.

India might still lack a specific and long-term strategic vision with regard to Africa, contrary to China with its clear strategic goal, but there is nowadays a more differentiated view in its Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), although a high-ranking official self-critically opined, that *“others take our Africa policy more serious than we do ourselves.”*<sup>31</sup> Three Joint Secretaries dealing with the various regions of Africa and the opening of new embassies particularly in West and Central Africa<sup>32</sup> are part of an attempt, to see Africa not as a monolith and to develop well-designed relations bilaterally, with the economic communities and the African Union.

This *“continent of the future”*<sup>33</sup> leads nowadays to a greater interest in *“India’s strategic calculations.”*<sup>34</sup> India has *strategic partnerships* with Nigeria and South Africa and maintains thirteen

---

<sup>30</sup> Manoj Joshi is editorial consultant of *Mail Today* and one of India’s leading foreign- and security policy analysts with a well-known book on Kashmir.

<sup>31</sup> Gurjit Singh in the National Seminar on “India-Africa Partnership: What the Future Holds?” Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 28. 4. 2010

<sup>32</sup> African countries are opening more and more embassies in New Delhi.

<sup>33</sup> So N. S. Sisodia, Director of the Institute of Defense Studies and Analyses, in the mentioned IDSA-seminar.

ongoing defense co-operations primarily in East and Southern Africa. Several African countries are asking India for capacity building in areas of defense. Currently India supports eight military training camps in African countries but there is no training of multi-lateral forces. There are requests for police training. Indian female police are training in Liberia. Also in the field of counter-terrorism cooperation between African countries and India is improving, since the *Al Qaeda Mahgreb* poses a common threat. India's prominent engagement in peace-keeping operations in Africa is well-known.

But one should also not underestimate India's global influence as an important *soft-power*. Yoga, vegetarian cuisine, spirituality in its diverse forms and contents, as well as the popular *Bollywood* films demonstrate this.

There are two schools of thought with regard to the Indian diaspora in Africa. Some see them as insecure, cut off from their country of origin, with feelings of being let down by the Indian government in times of need and not willing to engage themselves.<sup>35</sup> Ajay Dubey argues, that African elites are not yet ready to accept, that the Indian diaspora could be used as a resource by India for improving relations, although others refer to the African Union and its statement, that the Indian diaspora in anglo-, franco- and luso-phone countries constitutes a strategic asset for bilateral relations.<sup>36</sup>

India's former Minister of State for External Affairs Shashi Tharoor, who resigned from his position in April 2010, is a firm believer in Africa's resurgence: *"A vibrant India and a resurgent Africa are thus witnessing an intensification of relations and a growing convergence of interests in their common quest for sustainable growth and development. Our partnership encompasses priority sectors integral to the developmental goals of Africa in the 21st century,"* he said during his visit to Mauritius in November 2009.

It is perhaps this unique match of India's expertise and African resources that hold limitless possibilities for a truly global partnership, specifically in times, when both India and Africa are themselves undergoing profound internal transformations and the contours of their relationship are changing.

---

<sup>34</sup> Phunchok Stobden, Ambassador designate in Kyrgistan, Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> This position has been expressed by Professor Ajay Dubey from the Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi.

<sup>36</sup> Allegedly 15 000 citizens of Indian origin control 55% of Madagascar's GDP.

## About the author

Dr. Klaus Voll heads India-Europe-Consultancy and is *Advisor on Asia* of the *Foundation for European Progressive Studies* in Brussels. As Honorary Lecturer he taught between 1970-1980 *East African Politics and History* and from 1984 till 2006 *Indian Politics* at the Department of Political Science, Freie Universitaet in Berlin. The former diplomat in the German Embassy in New Delhi and Representative of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in India specializes on Indo-European relations as well as on India's foreign and domestic politics.

He is also author and editor of several books on Indian politics, e. g. *Rising India – Europe's Partner? Foreign and Security Policy, Politics, Economics, Human Rights and Social Issues, Media, Civil Society and Intercultural Dimensions*. Berlin, 2006

From 1980 till 1983 he headed a Pan-African *Political Information System (POLIS)*, based in Dakar/Senegal, with a Newsletter in English and French for African socialist political parties in nearly 15 countries, besides conducting international conferences in Africa. His PhD focused on *Politics and Society during British Colonial Rule in Kenya* (Politik und Gesellschaft waehrend der britischen Kolonialherrschaft in Kenya), Frankfurt am Main, 1995