

concepts such as the 'Native Republic' and 'colonialism of a special type', which often baffle students of South African radical politics.

Lodge attempts to resolve – or at least provide the best-known information on – several historical controversies, such as the Comintern's actual impact on the Party and Mandela's membership. He offers a balanced and complex analysis of the Party's oscillation between class-based struggle (with a focus on white workers) and its engagement in the national liberation movement (with an emphasis on cooperation with non-white nationalist organizations), also demonstrating how racialism sometimes played a role in the early Party. He delicately dissects the Party's relations and influence within the ANC, brilliantly indicating that, despite the communist over-representation within the ANC's upper echelons, South African communists should not be treated as a unified group, as 'their personal loyalties and their political intentions were probably more complicated' (p. 429).

The SACP-ANC intimate alliance is detailed with the finest nuance. Yet I believe that here lies the main lacuna in this otherwise extremely impressive project. The alliance is exceptional, not least because it has endured for seven decades and virtually turned the SACP into an auxiliary force within the ANC. This alliance is well described by Lodge, but its exceptionality is not explained sufficiently. What brought the SACP to decide to virtually minimize its separate identity for so long – indeed, until the present day? Why is it so tightly and piously linked to the ANC, despite the latter's changing forms and South Africa's shifting realities? Were there, after 1950, other alternative routes the Party might have taken? It reads almost as if this tight ANC-SACP alliance was inevitable. Lodge explains well how, by the 1950s, the communists came to prefer anti-colonial nationalism over class struggle, but this ideological decision – as well as the camaraderie during the anti-apartheid struggle in exile – does not fully explain why relations with the ANC became so exceptional and so long-lasting, even long into the post-apartheid era.

Nevertheless, Lodge has produced a historical masterpiece that presents the ultimate authoritative word on the history of communism in South Africa. The bookshelves of anyone interested in South African history or the global history of communism would not be complete without this work.

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doi: [10.1017/S0001972023000281](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972023000281)

Kenneth King and Meera Venkatachalam (eds), *India's Development Diplomacy and Soft Power in Africa*. Woodbridge and Rochester NY: James Currey (pb £25/US\$36.95 – 978 1 84701 274 6). 2021, v + 219 pp.

Kenneth King and Meera Venkatachalam helm this effort at exploring different aspects of India's development diplomacy towards the African continent. Although India and China are said to be competing for influence on the continent, the state

of academic research on Africa from these two Asian countries mirrors the state of their respective strategic ties. China's relationship with the African continent, powered by its economic muscle, is considerably more extensive than India's (despite the latter's historical diasporic advantage). And this is also the case for academic work. Scholarship on 'China in Africa' dwarfs what is produced on 'India in Africa'. In addition, much of the India in Africa literature tends to be painfully descriptive, sometimes a straight reproduction of what Indian government ministries put up on their webpages. Fine-grained analytical takes – not to speak of theoretical efforts – are few and far between.

Considering this background, *India's Development and Soft Power Diplomacy in Africa* is a remarkable effort. The merits of the book are many. The volume brings together scholars from several disciplines – anthropology, area studies (multiple regions), development studies, geography, history, sociology, defence studies, political science and international relations. This lavish cocktail allows the reader to appreciate a multidisciplinary perspective. Each contribution is crisp and well researched, and although similar themes are explored in various articles, repetitions are minimal. Some chapters are description-heavy – valuable, undoubtedly, for some audiences, but relatively dry in prose and content for readers such as this reviewer. But there are several thoughtful questions addressed throughout the text. One such question is: how is Africa imagined in the Hindutva worldview? The book centres Hindutva as the new ideology of the Indian government and distils how a Hindutva-inflected world vision shapes the contours of India's foreign policy towards the African continent. The answers are perhaps not yet sufficiently clear; but this is less the fault of the researchers and more an issue with 'Hindutva' ideology as a slowly unleashing catastrophe.

In nine chapters, spread over four thematic sections, the book covers a range of significant issues and themes on India's soft power, such as technology training and human resource development, vaccine diplomacy, statues, the Pan-African e-network and business efforts. The last section on African entrepreneurs and African students zooms in on the problem of Indian racism – a recurring issue throughout the book. The revelations of how Africans face extreme racism at the hands of Indians are poignantly hard-hitting – and sadly not shocking any more. Despite widespread knowledge about the treatment of Africans by Indians in both India and Africa, little action has been taken by either the Indian government or Indian communities. In addition to the chapters, the editors' introduction and the conclusion are valuable from the point of view of summarizing past scholarship and highlighting possible future avenues for scholarship on India in Africa.

No book, however, is perfect. Interestingly, one might assume that cultural and developmentalist perspectives would be marginal within scholarship dealing with diplomacy. But in the case of India–Africa, it is 'diplomacy' scholarship – in the conventional sense, one that deals with political interactions among actors – that is largely non-existent. As the editors also emphasize, there is a lot of self-celebratory literature from India that refers to the country's contributions to decolonizing and development efforts in Africa, but rarely in their particulars. There is little work that zooms in on the diplomatic and political engagements between India and African countries. Indeed, there is not a single book-length study on how India assisted the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, perhaps the most explored African

country in Indian scholarship. It is politics, rather than culture, that is understudied. This contrasts with the Indian international relations and political science scholarship on North America, Europe and East Asia. Although this is a book about 'developmental policy' and not diplomacy per se, archive-based analyses of diplomatic and political engagements on developmental assistance would have added factual substance to the usual ululations about India's great support of Africa – or would have assisted with moderating those claims.

Furthermore, as important as this book is, it focuses heavily on a relatively well-studied region of the continent: Eastern Africa. Other African regions are marginalized in the discussion. Partly, this is a function of the nature of Indian developmental assistance and diaspora politics, which have a long lineage in Eastern Africa. But surprisingly, even Southern Africa, which otherwise acquires considerable real estate in scholarship on India in Africa, gets little mention. From an Indian strategic point of view, Western Africa, an important region, also remains curiously absent from the book.

All in all, this is an insightful and timely intervention that will be an invaluable resource for African studies scholarship in India and elsewhere.

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doi: [10.1017/S0001972023000293](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972023000293)

Nicky Falkof, *Worrier State: Risk, Anxiety and Moral Panic in South Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (hb £80 – 978 1 5261 6402 5). 2022, 244 pp.

In June 1976, I was a teenage pupil at an all-white girls' boarding school in a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg. As anti-apartheid protests spread from Soweto to other Black townships in the city, we whispered to each other in the dormitory after lights-out, expressing fear and anxiety about what might happen. Would the residents of nearby Alexandra township invade the school grounds and attack us in our beds as we slept? Would the Black staff who lived in designated quarters on the school grounds slip poison into our food? Was this the beginning of a wider uprising? And what did that mean for our own white security and privilege?

Although the Soweto uprising was swiftly and violently put down by the apartheid police and state security apparatus, it did mark the 'beginning of the end' of formal apartheid. Yet racialized anxieties have persisted in the post-1994 era, if in modified forms. As Falkof shows in this compelling and important book, cultures of fear and anxiety emerge from deep socio-economic inequalities that continue to characterize South Africa today, on intersecting bases of race, class, gender and citizenship. To live in, and make sense of, this climate of risk, she suggests, South Africans construct sensationalized collective narratives of crime, deviance and folk devils.

Falkof, a media studies professor at Wits University in Johannesburg, draws on a mix of methods, disciplines and theoretical approaches in constructing her