

PART-A

1 CHAPTER

India and Africa Policy—Key Drivers

After reading the chapter, the reader will be able to develop an analytical understanding on the following:

- Historical Background of India and Africa Diplomacy
- Significance of Africa for India
- Key drivers of India's Africa Policy
- India and Africa Trade diplomacy
- Diplomatic issues related to Security and Piracy
- Diplomatic policy of China in Africa
- Future policy of India

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

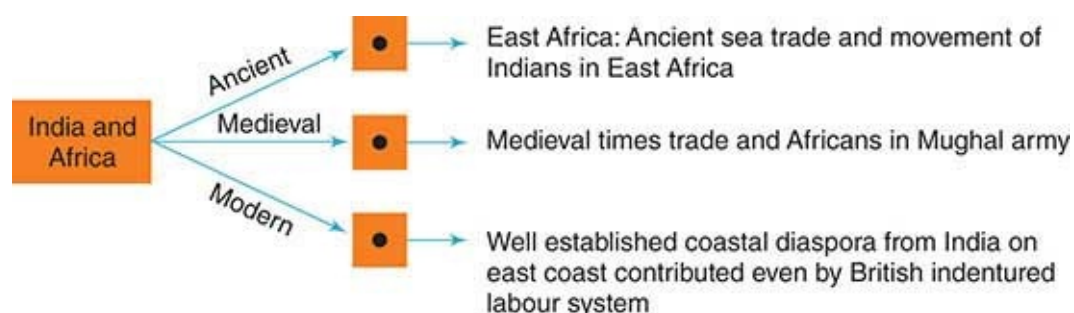
The relations between India and Africa owe their origin to the monsoon winds. Sailors from India sailed in South East monsoonal winds to reach Africa (from June to September) and used the North Eastern monsoonal winds (from December to March) to sail back. In the ancient times, India had developed considerable marine and naval technologies. Reference of maritime strength of India is found in the *Rig Veda*. A glimpse of India's natural convergence with West Asia and Africa is found in a guide book for sailors called *the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a Greco-Roman text attributed to different dates between the 1st and 3rd centuries BCE, which aptly summaries India's ancient sea links with Zanj Coast and Egypt. During ancient sea trade, Indians used to trade rice and wheat cloth with incense, palm oil, ivory and gold from Africa. The sea trade with East African Coast also facilitated the movement of Indian traders into south and central African territories. Due to the flourishing trade, a lot of Indians also began to migrate to Africa. At any point of time in Africa, we had some form of Indian presence. In 1497, when Vasco de Gama reached Malindi, he also noted the presence of Indians in Mombasa/Khilwa etc. If the ancient time was marked by trade, it opened up people-to-people contacts, which, in medieval times, saw one of its manifestations during the Mughal rule when Africans were placed in the Mughal army and they were mainly the Siddis (people who are descendents of Bantu tribes). They were also found in the army of Mohamed Bin Qasim.

After the commencement of the imperial age in Europe, Africa became a colonial battleground. The British, French and Portuguese were the leaders in this race for

colonisation. The 17th century period saw slave trade beginning in Africa. Slaves were taken from Africa along with resources to sustain the Industrial Revolution back home in Europe. The presence of European powers in Africa also created more opportunities in Africa. For examples, as the French colonised Mauritius and Reunion, there was a need of masons, blacksmiths and carpenters and so on. Perceiving these as opportunities, the Indian traders in Africa also brought skilled persons who fit the job descriptions from various parts of the west coast of India. A lot of Indians began to settle down to these jobs in Mauritius, Reunion and other East African States. Gradually, the British also emerged on the African scene. In 1833, slavery was abolished in Britain. After this, a new system called indentured labour system, was evolved. The British now brought bonded labour from India to work on sugar plantations and cotton plantations. Bonded labour from India also worked on railway establishment in Africa. Free passengers were those people who had money, were willing you pay for transport to Africa and were driven by the spirit of entrepreneurship.

Thus, during this time also we see a continued link with Africa which had begun with ancient time maritime trade.

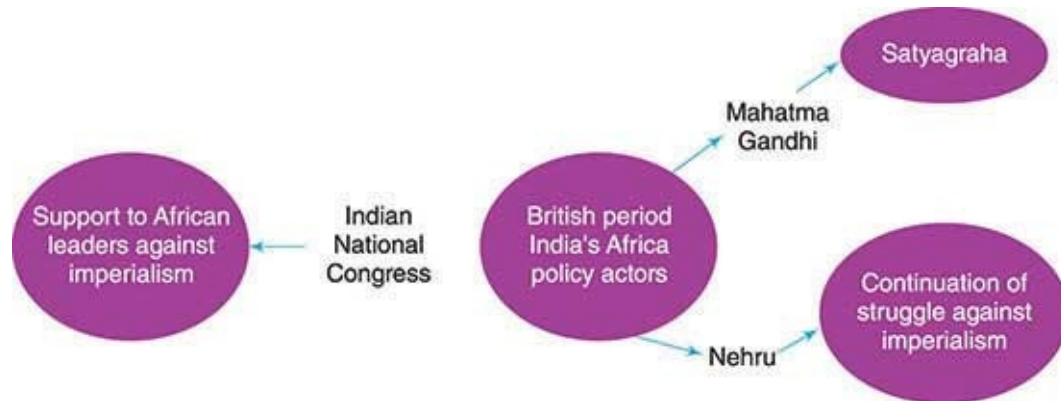
The following diagram represents the ancient sea trade and movement of Indians in East Africa:



During British colonial rule in India, three important actors in our relation with Africa were Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress. The Congress, since its inception, showed support to and solidarity with the African cause. In 1890, the British sent Indian soldiers to fight to Sudan—a move that the Indian National Congress opposed vehemently as Indian soldiers in Sudan and Ethiopia did not fight for any cause that ultimately had any benefit for India. Rather, they were used by the British to suppress the natives. In 1893, Gandhi went on an assignment to Africa. During his study in Africa, he witnessed severe racial discrimination. During his stay in Africa till 1913–14, he evolved and practised the concept of Satyagraha, which eventually emerged as a technique of mass mobilisation. The success of Satyagraha in Africa affirmed its utility as a tool of non-violence and it went on to be later used as one of the core tools of Indian National Movement.

During early 20th century, when the Indian National Movement gained momentum, India did not lose touch with Africa. India always felt that Africa, like India, had also been a victim of imperialism and that India needed to assist Africa in its fight against imperial powers. In 1927, the Indian National Congress (INC), at its Calcutta session, took a decision to open offices overseas. Offices by INC were opened in Africa to assist Africans. In 1927, Nehru had already participated in the Brussels Conference of oppressed Nationalities and had advanced an idea of India being a kingpin in the process of

liberating the world from imperial powers. The conference moulded our foreign policy thought from 1928 onwards as far as Africa was concerned—we began to link our freedom struggle with the imperial struggle of Africa. India evolved a thought that its own freedom struggle and Africa's struggle against imperial powers as well as its fight against apartheid was in natural continuation with the idea of one world, free of imperialism and oppression. This Afro–Asian solidarity also moulded our foreign policy which after independence emerged as the policy of Non Alignment.

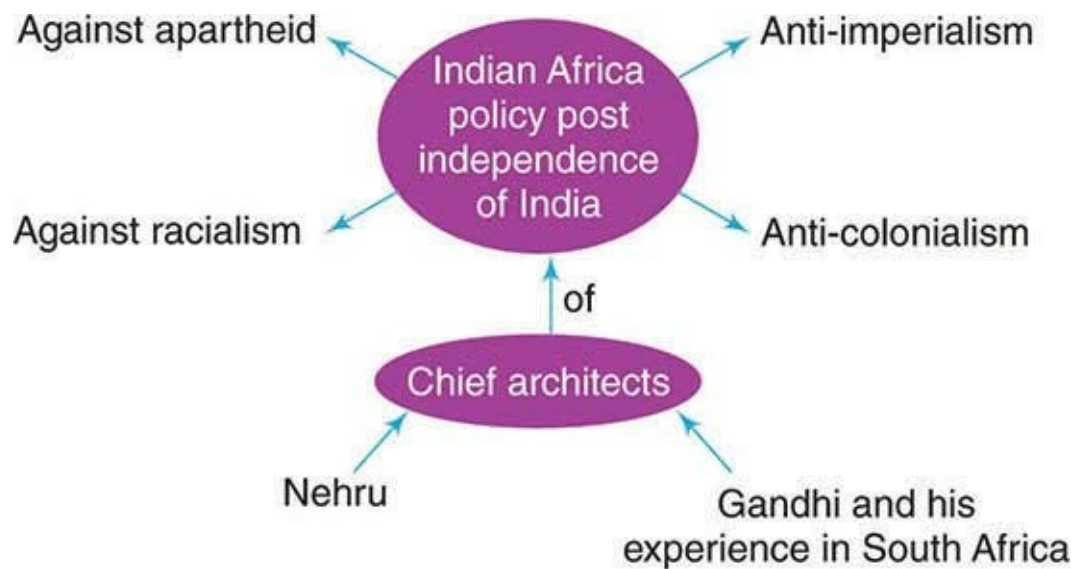


The first phase of India's relations with African nations from 1950s to 1970s was a period marked by tremendous improvement. Indian policy with regard to Africa evolved in support of African independence. India assisted the process of decolonisation in Africa. India's success in having attained independence through peaceful and non-violent mechanisms also encouraged the Africans to look for support from India. The legacy of Gandhi in Africa and his experimentation of Satyagraha and its resultant success for India strengthened this bond. Nehru played a critical role in fostering close ties and gave open support to Africans against colonisation. Moreover, Africa was also one part of the world which had not fallen into the ideological divisions occasioned by the Cold War, and became, for India, a region to assert power politics through NAM.



India and Its Attitude Against Racism

South Africa was an important trading partner to India during the times of the British Raj. In 1946, South Africa came out with a Ghetto Act which aimed to aggregate resistant colonies in South Africa as per racial differences. This move irked India, and in 1946 itself, the interim Prime Minister of India, Nehru, took up the issue of the Ghetto Act in the UN by invoking article 10 and 14 of the UN Charter. Despite flourishing trade, India decided to cut ties with South Africa after its insistence on maintaining status quo. India not only broke off its diplomatic ties with South Africa but also did not revive the same till 1994, when apartheid in South Africa officially ended.



The case of South Africa provided the necessary ammunition to India to build a constructive Indian foreign policy towards Africa based on its opposition to all other racial regimes in that continent. Thus, Indian policy in Africa introduced anti-racialism as a new tool along with anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. India taking up the fight against apartheid in the UN in 1964 also resonated well amongst Africans, all the while India's intense and sole focus being on non-violent modes of protest.

India advanced support to Africa against colonialism but it did not insist on fixing a date to end colonialism in Africa. This upset many African leaders as they deemed that India may not be serious about supporting the African struggle against colonialism. Things began to change for India domestically after the 1962 war. Firstly, after the war, India became busier to counter an aggressive China at every forum. In contrast to the precepts of non-violence championed by India, China, on the other hand, preached armed struggle amongst Africans. This appealed more to some African leaders who were not happy with the results that the slow approach advocated by India brought about. For instance, Algeria, a French Colony in Africa, resorted to an armed struggle against France. Due to all these reasons, support for India gradually began to decline amongst the African nations. The decline was visible prominently after the death of Nehru. Support for China began to grow and China began to make inroads into the African territory. The two case studies ahead aptly summarise the decline of support for India.



The NAM Summit fiasco (Cairo, 1964)

After the death of Nehru, the NAM summit held in Cairo, Egypt was led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. During the Summit, India wanted a resolution by members urging China on renouncing the use of force. There was hardly any support from African nations for this cause.

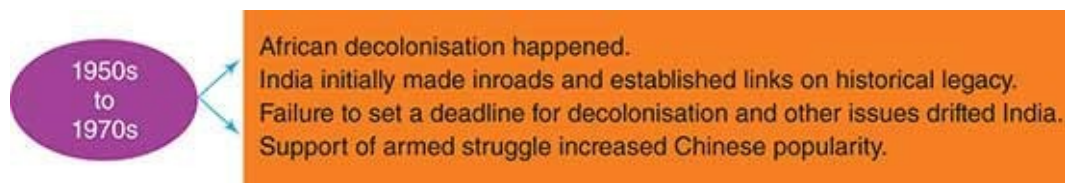
Similarly towards the end of the Summit, India wanted a resolution compelling China not to take the nuclear route. India thought that, due to its disarmament credentials, there would be support for it from the African states, but initially only Cyprus supported it. This clearly signalled a situation of declining support for India amongst the African nations.

India and East Africa

East Africa was one such area where there was a sizeable presence of the Indian diaspora. India always had close relations with this part of the continent. Nehru wanted to support East Africa against colonialism and sent his trusted aide, Apa Saheb Bala Saheb Pant, a respected Gandhian, writer, freedom fighter and diplomat, as India's ambassador to East Africa. His home had become a nerve centre for all efforts coordinated against colonialism. The British were alarmed upon seeing this. They pressurised Nehru to recall Apa Saheb Pant. Nehru was forced to recall Pant, leaving the East Africans disillusioned. This again created a strain on India's relations with East Africa.

The next phase (1970's to 1990's) began with India opening its relations with Africa due to its historical connect, bolstered by a common colonial legacy. However certain circumstances and issues ended up in creating a strain for India's relationship.

The decline in Indian popularity encouraged China to make inroads. As the African decolonisation was completed, the African nations were looking for a role model for development. India made strategies to regain the lost path, using NAM as a tool to rework its relationship with Africa. To seize the new opportunity in Africa, from 1970s, NAM became economy-oriented and India was in a place where it could flex its muscle because domestically things were in better order. The Green Revolution had succeeded in improving the food security situation. A military conflict with Pakistan succeeded in India's favour in 1971. India, then, decided to become economically assertive in Africa. The most important policy, however, was with respect to the Indian diaspora. During the Nehruvian era, Nehru insisted that the diaspora of India in Africa should place interests of the host nations they reside in over and above their own interests. More so, due to strategic concerns of the NAM, India gave less preference to the needs of the diaspora at that time.

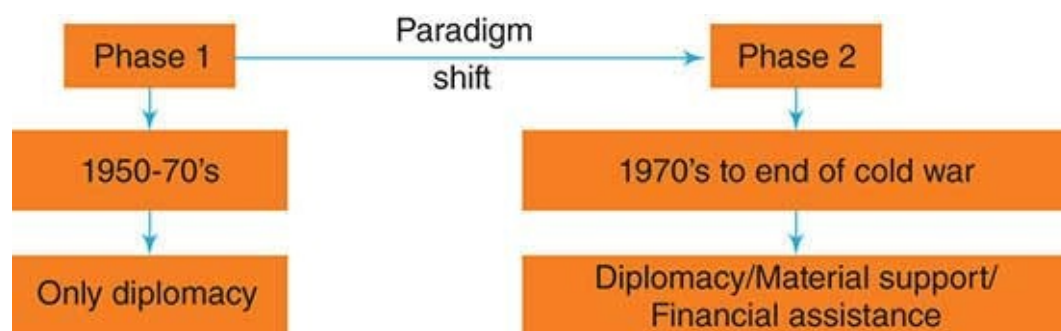


During the second phase of reconnect (1970s till the end of the Cold War), the importance of the Indian diaspora increased. The success of India's Peaceful Nuclear Explosion in 1974 also contributed to the rise of India's international image from 1970s. India began to use NAM Summits to economically integrate diplomacy with Africa and focussed on strengthening the South-South Cooperation (SSC). In 1970, at the NAM Conference in Lusaka, India outlined its new approach for Africa. India encouraged Africa to undertake vigorous domestic growth and pledged technological and economic support in this endeavour to strengthen the idea of SSC. India encouraged its Heads of Missions in Africa to focus on economic assistance to Africa and told the diplomats to promote economic engagement. A special role for the diaspora was envisaged in this by the new relationship as Indira Gandhi called upon the Indian Diaspora to act as ambassadors of India.

Reconnecting to the Diaspora and Kenya

With a renewed focus on the diaspora from the 1970s, India and Kenya, in 1990, established the Africa–India Development Association. Apart from boosting bilateral economic engagement, the association aimed at integrating the Indian diaspora in the economic life of Kenya. This reflects the new importance attached to the diaspora acting as a bridge in the relations between the two nations.

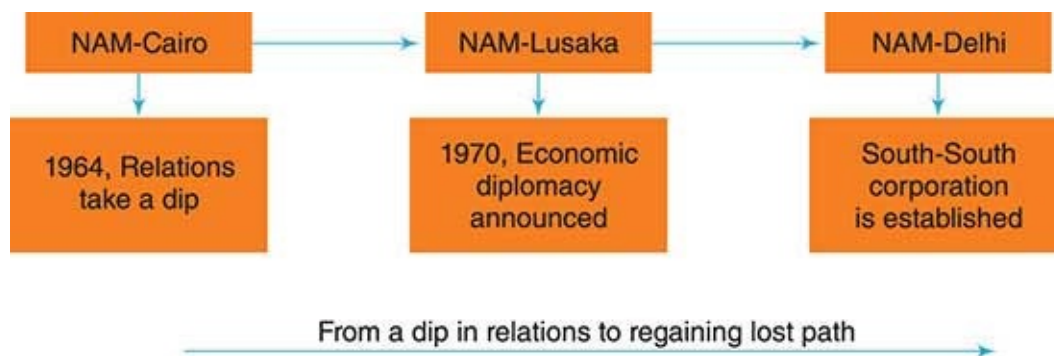
This renewed thrust gave India an opportunity to re-establish its link with Africa. Its economic diplomacy, however, was certainly not as aggressive as that of Western powers. Whatever assistance India gave was limited but had a positive impact in the African thought process as all assistance was provided without any conditionality, and driven with an intention of helping Africans grow.



India and SWAPO Diplomacy

The Namibian territory was under the control of South Africa. The South Africans continued their illegal rule. When the matter of the illegal rule of South Africa in Namibia reached the International Court of Justice in 1972, the court deferred the decision of ending or termination of South Africa rule. In 1982, after enormous deliberation, India proposed a global level meeting and accorded full diplomatic status to South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), while also providing it monetary and material assistance. In 1990, Namibia gained independence, which opened up diplomatic relations again.

In 1986, India, at the NAM summit in Harare, established the AFRICA fund which acted as material assistance by India in the fight against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. The economic engagement continued with Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Ghana re-established its ties more aggressively with Africa and continued to deepen the engagement in the post-Cold War period.



India's engagement in the post-Cold War period owes its base to its Cold War engagement where energy concerns dominated. Economic diplomacy pushed the relationship. India realised the importance of Africa to ensure energy security in the future. In 2017, India organised the Fourth India-Africa Hydrocarbons Conference. The conference again provided India an opportunity to showcase its expertise in oil exploration, oil refining and drilling technology. The new strategy of India's engagement with Africa is rightly called as ABBA- Africa for Bharat and Bharat for Africa.



SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICA AND KEY DRIVERS OF INDIA'S AFRICA POLICY

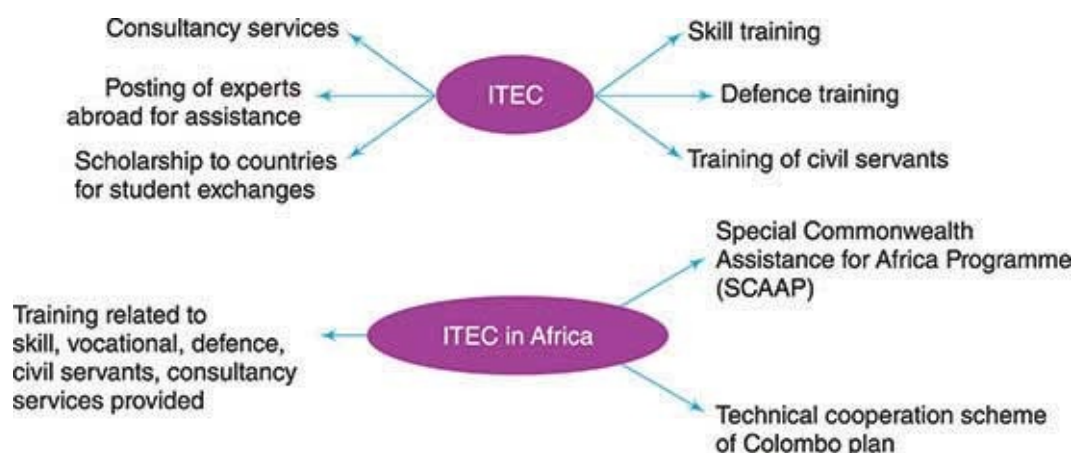
The significance of Africa for India can be summed up in one word—OIL where O stands for oil, I for investment and L for Location.

All the three factors above, that have garnered significance in Indian Foreign Policy after the Cold War, shall be elaborated upon in the sections related to trade and piracy. The time that the Cold War ended was also the time when Indian economy made a transition to an open economy. To sustain the open economy, India needed oil, which it already had from its supply from the Middle East. Over a period of time, as India diversified its import basket, Africa came in the picture. India began to forge oil based relations in Africa for energy security. India intends to obtain ownership in oil blocks in Africa. This strategy of going for equity oil is any day better than buying oil from open spot market because ownership in an oil block gives India a very deep exposure of the African markets. For India, Africa is a rising continent and offers multiple opportunities for our private sector, which can help bring India and Africa closer to each other. The location of Africa is strategic as it helps India to connect to Central and South Americas through the Cape of Good Hope and to West Asia through the African Maghreb.

There are many drivers to India's Africa Policy. First, we need to understand that India's intention is not only limited to harnessing African resources but goes much beyond. India has always kept it clear that due to our historical relations with Africa, it is in our interests to assist the entire African block in overall development. While assisting the African development process, India does not follow the white man's burden approach, but rather intends to share its own knowledge and developmental experiences with Africa.

for the mutual benefit of both. Since the time of Nehru till the present, India has initiated multiple programmes in its bid to aid to African development. A brief mention of the programmes will ease our understanding of India's foreign policy towards Africa.

(1) I.T.E.C programme: The acronym stands for Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation. The Nehruvian foreign policy envisaged the idea of 'one world,' which envisaged an interdependent world where countries cooperate in socio-economic and development well-being. After independence, India received tremendous assistance from international agencies and forums (for example India played an important role in UNCTAD) in its developmental endeavour. India thereby reached an understanding that it would be important for India to share the development lessons and its experiences with other nations. Nehru had this dream of ensuring that other developing countries learn from India's own learning. This envisaged India to position itself as a trainer for the developmental need of other Third World Countries (TWC).



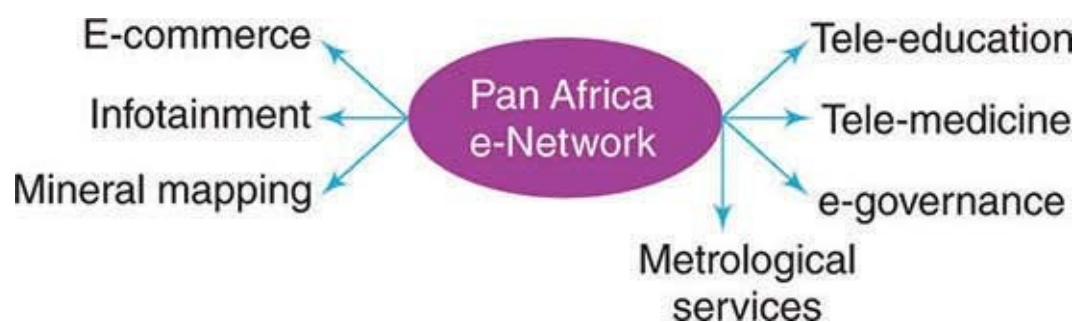
Keeping this in mind, on 15th September 1964, India launched this bilateral initiative for Africa called ITEC. India envisaged giving training to other countries for their overall development. For Africa, ITEC had two parts. As of now, ITEC as a programme continues to be one of the most important diplomatic tools for India abroad. Second, ITEC is now multilateral in nature and is linked to initiatives under the ASEAN. Third, the ITEC is managed by the Development Partnership Administration Division, a division in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA).

(2) South–South Cooperation (SSC): We have already mentioned SSC and India's economic diplomacy earlier. Let us develop an insight on SSC in this section, as it stands slightly outside the purview of economic diplomacy. The origin of SSC goes back to Bandung Conference in 1955. In the conference, the African nations decided to initiate a partnership with each other at the development level. Since 1961, this partnership became a part of the NAM. Initially it had two components, namely, technical cooperation amongst developing countries and economic cooperation amongst developing countries. The idea was that the participating countries shall undertake developmental cooperation which would involve multiple stakeholders including national governments, civil societies, public–private partnerships and individuals. It envisaged the sharing of knowledge, developmental experiences, technical assistance and so forth. India always believed that North–South

Cooperation is important and it would act as a supplement to South–South Cooperation. India approached SSC without any conditionality, and with full respect for the sovereignty of the other participating countries. In contrast, economic diplomacy is an economic engagement by countries for self-benefit through trade. In fact, SSC is also different from North–South Cooperation as SSC is a demand-driven, voluntary, horizontal programme with no conditions attached. In the 21st century, India, under SSC, promotes sustainable development, inclusive growth, infrastructure and energy as goals. India assists Africa in SSC in all the parameters above.



(3) Pan Africa e-Network Project: Since 1990s, India has made tremendous progress in providing education and health in remote areas through developments in the ICT. In 2004, APJ Abdul Kalam, while addressing the Pan African Parliament, envisioned satellite based connectivity with all African nations to assist them in health and education. The Indian government used the idea to initiate Pan Africa e-Network Project. The government established a huge network to provide services in consultations with Telecom Consultants India limited. The project was officially inaugurated in 2010.



(4) TEAM-9 Initiative: In 2004, the Indian government launched the Techno-Economic Approach for Africa India Movement. This is a regional initiative exclusively meant for eight West African States. India feels the need to establish a connect with West Africa as it's a resource-rich region. India, through TEAM–9, intends to help development in this resource-rich but underdeveloped region with assistance for infrastructure and low-cost technology. The aim here is to provide assistance to specific projects and give a thrust to the private sector of India so as to promote trade. India has earmarked 500 million dollars line of credit here. The West African region does not have large Indian diaspora but the Gulf of Guinea is certainly a new hotspot of oil in Africa.

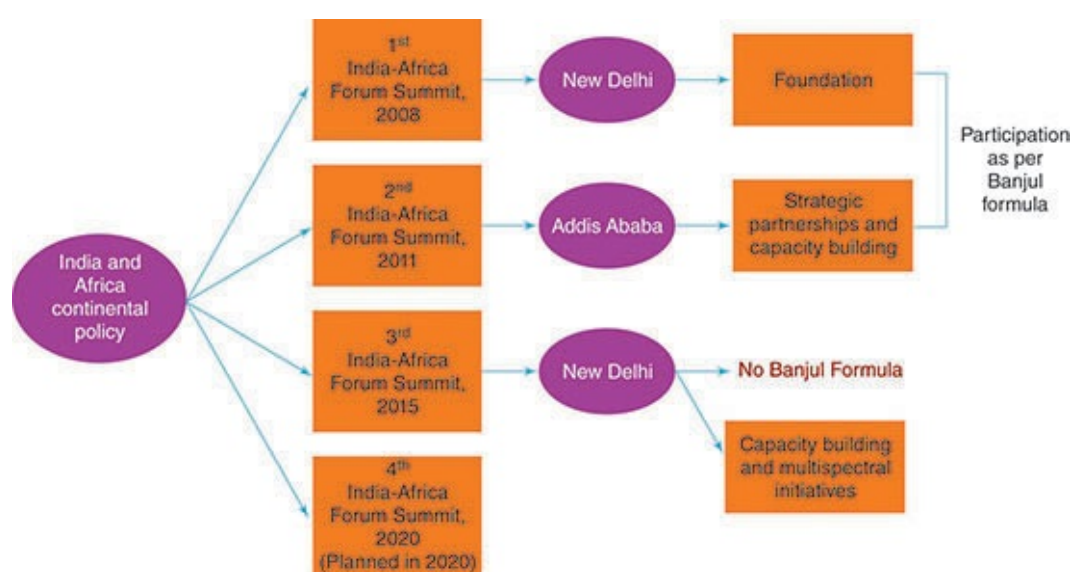
(5) India–Africa Forum Summit (IAFS): Continental level engagements with Africa is not new for India. The origin of such interactions go back to 1993, when Japan initiated the first ever Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). This was followed by China initiating the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). On similar lines, to open up continental level engagement, India launched its first ever IAFS in 2008 in New Delhi. The forum concluded with the New Delhi Declaration which reaffirmed the shared vision of vibrancy and resurgence in India–Africa relations. The declaration set an agenda for India and Africa to collaborate on sustainable development, climate change and UN reforms. Subsequently, a second such summit was organised in 2011. The second IAFS was held in the Ethiopian Capital, Addis Ababa in 2011. The Addis Ababa Declaration adopted anew cooperative framework based on capacity building, peace and security. India envisaged the creation of institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology and the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade in Africa. In the second IAFS, India also committed to creating a two-million-dollar fund for the African Union Mission in Somalia to curb piracy. The third IAFS was held from 25th to 28th October in 2015. The third IAFS is unique in multiple aspects.

The first aspect is the issue of participation in the IAFS. This is because, in 2006, the African Union (AU) in the city of Banjul (capital of Gambia) announced the Banjul Formula. According to the Banjul Formula, (adopted in 2006), India would extend an invitation to 15 African Head of the States to participate in the India-Africa Forum Summit which would include five participating states of NEPAD (New Economic Partnership for African Development—A programme of African Union to seek global support for the development of Africa) programme, 8 member states to be identified from Regional Economic Communities of African Union and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission. These 15 nations would participate in IAFS. In the First IAFS, there was a participation by 14 states, while in the Second IAFS, there were 11 states that participated. In IAFS-3, India decided to do away with limited participation (as per the Banjul Formula) and invited all 54 Head of the States from Africa. This was done because India had decided to launch the ‘Outreach to Africa Programme’ in the third session of the IAFS. Second, the IAFS–3 opened up on the cultural note. The opening ceremony of the summit saw India showcasing Bhangra and Yoga. The two showcased India’s soft power export and asserted India’s emergence on the global scene and signified a resurgent Africa. For the first time in the history succeeding the Cold War, India organised a successful event, hosting 54 Nations at one place. The IAFS–3 concluded with the Delhi Declaration – 2015, which articulated the India–Africa relationship as ‘Partners in Progress’ and pledged to work ‘towards a dynamic and transformative development agreement’. India officially pledged support to the African Agenda 2063 and committed resources to Africa to help achieve goals of the Agenda. India also announced 10 billion dollar line of credit for projects, along with thirty thousand scholarships. What also makes the Delhi Declaration 2015 unique is that the areas in which Africa and India are going to collaborate were broadened to now incorporate solar technology, food security, blue economy, rural housing, skill development, use of social networks to enhance people-to-people cooperation and sustainable development. Delhi Declaration has also adopted a monitoring mechanism to implement the agendas

envisaged. They have also adopted the India–Africa framework for strategic cooperation. The next summit that is IAFS–4 is planned after 5 years (that is in 2020).

Western Sahara, Morocco and IAFS–3 in 2015

The region of Western Sahara was under the colonial control of Spain till 1975. Spain liberated Western Sahara in 1975. Immediately after this, Morocco and Mauritania began to claim West Sahara as it is a region rich in phosphate and has the largest phosphate reserves in the world. Over a period of time, Mauritania gradually went out of the picture but Morocco did not. In 1976, Sahrawi formed Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic and established it as a sovereign state under the Polisario Front. In 1985, India gave recognition to Saharavi Republic as it thought Polisario Front was fighting a struggle for self-determination. However, as the UN took over efforts to resolve the issue, India, in 2000, withdrew its recognition. This recognition of SADR by India had created a deep resentment in Morocco–India relations as Morocco considered SADR a part of its territory. In IAFS–3, India had invited 54 African nations including Morocco with no representation officially from SADR/Western Sahara.

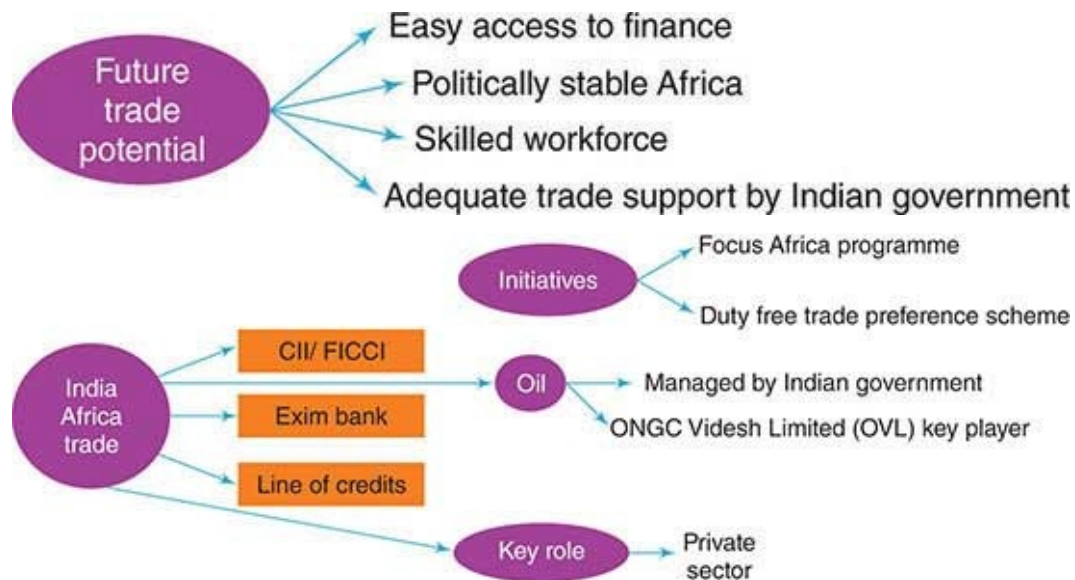


India Honed Diplomatic Skills at the 3rd IAFS

The strategy of India at the 3rd IAFS was very unique. Firstly, in order to invite all 54 African states, India designed personal invitations and extended them to African Head of States. Indian Ministers travelled all over to African states and extended the invitation to the leaders to invite them for the 3rd IAFS on behalf of people of India. At the summit, it was the suave diplomat who managed it all. India decided to use the 3rd IAFS as a platform to train its young IFS officers with invaluable training on hosting the massive event. The MEA decided to pull all young IFS officers from all over the globe for providing a mega on the job training. The event gave many young IFS officers an invaluable experience of a lifetime.

INDIA–AFRICA TRADE AND COMMERCE

Africa is a land of resources. As per estimates, Africa is endowed with 10% of the world's oil and 40% of the world's gold. Different regions of Africa have different resources and the continent, in totality, is beneficial for India in multiple aspects. As the economy of Africa grows, there will be new demand for projects and goods. Indian private sector, in this regard, intends to play a key role in meeting African needs. Before we study the trade dynamics, it is important to briefly have a look at different regions in Africa.



Name of the region	Important commercial centres for India	Core competencies of the commercial centre and region	Miscellaneous information
Western Africa	Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory coast	Crude oil	Piracy Problem
Southern Africa	Angola and South Africa	Crude oil (Angola only) Non-oil like Gold, Diamonds, Steel	Market access is absent
Northern Africa	Egypt, Tunisia	Oil, Chemicals and fertilisers	Arab spring and political instability
Eastern Africa	Kenya, Mozambique, Mauritius, Seychelles	Leather products, bags and islands are strategic importance	Need to augment skill and technics
Central Africa	Chad, Congo, Uganda, Malawi, Rwanda	Vegetables and coffee	Transport and reach is an issue

Global Economic Crisis and India–Africa Trade Scenarios Beyond 2017-18

The US crisis of 2008 and EU crisis of 2011 have affected the entire global economy. Africa has been one of the important suppliers of oil internationally. Due to the crises at the global level, the demand for oil has decreased. As the demand abroad declined,

African economies had also been affected. However, many African nations have used the crises as opportunities. In order to ensure that domestic employment is not affected, many African nations have opened up sectors for cooperation with foreign players. It is with this regard that India stands to play a role. For instance, Kenya, Ghana, Ivory Coast and other nations have decided to invite investments in small and medium Enterprises, infrastructure, modernisation of agriculture and alternative energy. All these sectors present umpteen opportunities for India. As learned previously, India, in the third IAFS (2015) has committed assistance to Africa for solar technology, food security, rural housing and skill development. Even at the bilateral level, with the visits of Indian President and Vice President to Namibia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Tunisia, India has committed to continued support.

In order to promote trade, India has used instruments like lines of credit, Focus Africa programme and Duty Free Trade Preference Systems. The CII and FICCI from India also play an important role in this regard. They regularly organise platforms in consultation with African forums, giving India an opportunity to leverage its private sector. The private sector appropriately uses these forums to create business in Africa. A brief mention here of the Duty Free Quota Free (DF QF) market access; the Focus Africa Programme and Indian firms in Africa will aid our understanding.

The Doha round of negotiations in 2001 for the first time envisaged DFQF market access to Least Developed Countries (LDC). It was only in 2005, in the Ministerial Conference (of WTO) in Hong Kong, that the decision was taken that the developed countries would be allowed to undertake DFQF market access to LDCs. On the sidelines of the first IAFS in 2008, India went on to formally initiate Duty Free Trade Preference Scheme (DFTPS), designed to boost bilateral trade. The scheme has got further impetus in its effort to boost trade after its modification in 2014. The measures by India have further strengthened South–South cooperation.

In 2002–2003, India also launched its Focus Africa Programme (FAP). This programme is underway in select twenty-four African nations. Within this programme, heads of the Indian Missions in these 24 nations act as commercial sales agents. The diplomatic machinery does extensive research and outlines opportunities available for Indian exporters. The Indian exporters then undertake market access and market development. This helps India to boost its exports in Africa and opens up opportunities for the private sector of India.

A lot of Indian companies are doing tremendous business in Africa. The role of private sector is analysed better when we study bilateral relations but broadly the picture is as below:



52nd African Development Bank (AfDB) Summit—Gandhinagar-2017

In the section above, we have argued that India and Africa have witnessed deep economic interaction in the recent times. India is playing a catalytic role in African development by partnering with AfDB. India decided to hold the 52nd AfDB Summit in 2017 in India. As per the projection of IMF, Indian economy is going to grow at 7.7% in 2018-19 due to some bold initiatives like demonetization, GST and opening up of Pharmacy and Defense sectors. Africa is a 2.2 Trillion Dollar market offering India tremendous opportunities in transport and infrastructure sectors. India in the Summit in 2017 has decided to work with Africa in these two sectors. This will give India an opportunity to enhance its overall exports. India has initiated a Namaskar Africa programme to showcase its domestic strengths in the sectors where it can assist Africa. The core idea of the Namaskar Africa programme is to assist Africa in achieving integrated open markets. The health and infrastructure are likely to get a boost due to Asia-Africa Growth Corridor envisaged. In the Summit, India and Africa have decided to identify High-5 areas of cooperation. They include Energy, Agriculture, E-Governance, Industrialisation and Health and pharmaceuticals.

Education Diplomacy as Future India–Africa Connector

Africa has been receiving tremendous support from UN for its Millennium Development Goals and Education for All initiative. The focus of both is on universalisation of primary education and reduction of poverty and gender disparities. Due to special attention, Africa has made progress in school education but is struggling to arrange gainful employment for its school passouts since Africa lacks institutions for skill development and higher education. It is in this context that India steps in. India has been focussing on skill development and scholarships in Africa. The prime interest of India is to skill the youth of Africa and enable them to play an aggressive role in the future development of the continent. In the second IAFS, in 2011, India entered the fray on continuous skill development through capacity building initiatives by building IIT and IIFT. India had, by 2015, provided more than 20,000 scholarships for higher education. The third IAFS, in 2015, has envisaged 30,000 scholarships for the future. Considering India has made noticeable

advancement and tapped the skill and higher education market, it would be imminent for India at this stage to enhance this effort to become a global leader. The MEA needs to make this area its special focus and announce a properly planned HRD policy for African markets. India has decided to play a special role in enhancing the educational skill set of the Africans. India has not only invited African students to India for higher education but also offers courses with a special focus on skilling the African youth through vocational training. To ensure that India is able to attract the global student community, India needs to focus upon four things:

1. Enhance the university curriculum capabilities to support cultural diversity in university campuses.
2. At the diplomatic level, enhance academic partnerships.
3. Ensure that the African students who come to India get hands on training in Small and Medium Enterprises in India as part of academic partnerships.
4. Design special curriculams on climate change for African students



Climate Change as Future India–Africa Connector

The climate problems are not restricted by national boundaries but are global in nature. The solution to such problems also needs must be transnational. The situation of Africa is that of being one of lowest contributors of pollutants but one of the biggest sufferers of climate change. As Africa is resource-rich, the depletion of natural resources causes the continent immense anxiety. Degradation of land and environment has been at the core of a majority of the conflicts seen in Chad, Sudan-Darfur and Ethiopia. The drying up of the Nile, Orange, Zambezi and Kunene has sparked violent clashes amongst groups. If the sea levels raise, Lagos and Banjul, along with Seychelles, Mauritius, Reunion and Madagascar would be threatened. Climate change offers India a lot of opportunities to assist Africa in mitigating these challenges and helping the peace process. India has committed to the development of solar technology in IAFS–3 (2015). India may, in future, also plan assistance in wind and tidal energy. This can help the private sector of India to fetch more opportunities. Due to fluctuations related to climate change in India and the rise in demand for agricultural commodities in 2015–16, a lot of private firms have started purchasing land in Africa. The land in Africa is under state control and is far cheaper than land in India. The private sector has undertaken mechanisation of agriculture in Africa to tide over climate change and supply agriculture commodities. From June 2016, the Government of India has undertaken cultivation in Africa to mitigate domestic food shortages.



Technology Transfers and Impact

The discussions about trade and history enabled us to learn that India's economic footprint in Africa has increased since the Cold War. India has adequately shared technology with Africa leading to growth in the continent. The Pan- Africa E-Network project is one of the most important contributors to its development. At the

level of health, Apollo hospital in New Delhi is now fully connected with the International and Medical and Technical University as also the Military hospital in Dar-es-Salaam. Airtel has already launched its telecom service in Africa and is one of the biggest telecom service providers in South Africa. Technology, coupled with the skill development initiatives undertaken by India, has left its unique mark in the African continent.

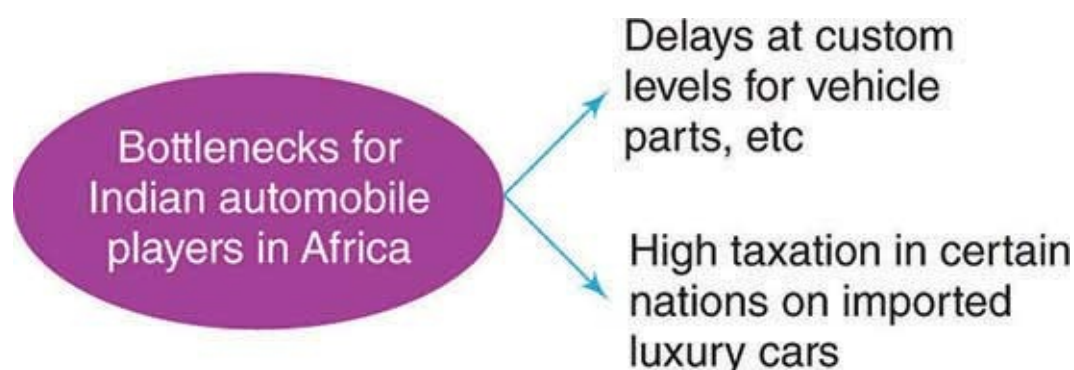
Despite various kinds of developmental assistance provided by India, some of the key obstacles in enhancing trade with Africa are as follows:

- Political instability in Africa and absence of stable regimes and rule of law.
- Corruption in African governments acting as a deterrent for private firms.
- Lack of regulatory framework and regime architecture.
- Lack of access to institutional finance to promote trade.
- Logistical concerns and poor connectivity in the hinterland.

India and Africa can explore future relationships in trade, especially in healthcare and automobile. Africa presents numerous opportunities for cooperation in healthcare due to presence of widespread diseases like HIV, TB and Malaria, and so on. Africa not only lacks effective healthcare delivery but also has scarce public resources. The Indian pharmacy sector has recorded vibrant growth. It has not only shown noticeable progress in generic drugs but also quality medicines for TB, Malaria, and so forth. This is one area where India pharma sector can envisage a future market.



As the economy of Africa improves and people have more income, the demand for automobiles will increase. Maruti, Tata and Mahindra are already household names in Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. This is yet another area where, if certain bottlenecks are removed, India can emerge as an important player.



DIPLOMATIC ISSUES RELATED TO SECURITY AND PIRACY

Since independence, India has been consistent in sending Peace keeping Forces (PKF) to assist the UN in the process of decolonisation. The decisions of participation in UN

activities through the PKF not only helps India achieve its foreign policy goal of maintaining peace but also increases India's prestige. In a very strategic sense, India does not achieve any goals related to national interest in the purest sense, as the PKF undertakes no combat roles on the ground. The PKF is primarily responsible for peace keeping. The participation gives Indian agencies exposure to the different kinds of conflict, which provides important lessons for logistics and military diplomacy. The participation of the PKF is overall in sync with Article 51 of our Constitution which aims to promote peace and security at the international level. There is a Permanent Mission of India (PMI) in New York at the UN office. An officer of the rank of colonel in the Indian army receives requests by the UN for the PKF. The PMI forwards the application to the MEA. The file is then forwarded after clearance at MEA to the Ministry of Defence. A tri-services board under the Director General of Staff reviews the request, takes the necessary decision and hands the file back to the MEA. The file is then presented by the MEA to the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) and after approval, the MEA announces the decision to send forces in the Parliament. Thus, the decision to send the PKF is at the sole discretion of the Union Executive. Till date, India has sent PKFs in Namibia, Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Congo and Sudan. In Africa, the PKF focuses primarily on peace and humanitarian assistance. For example, in Congo, our officials have provided medical treatment in the UN hospitals. One of the most important contributions of Indian PKF in Africa has been the promotion of gender equality. In 2004, India stationed its first ever full women's battalion of 125 (RPF) officers in Liberia.



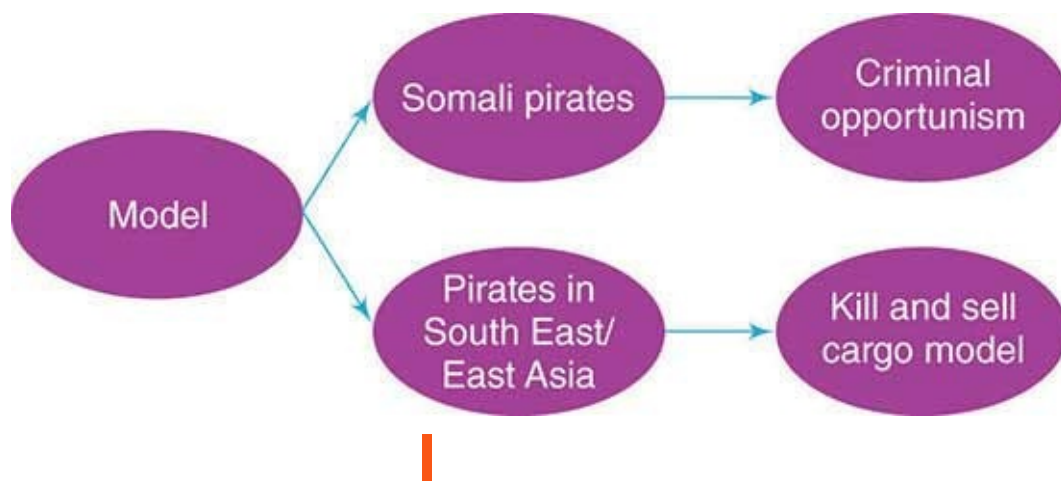
Future of Peace Keeping Mission (PKM)

As argued above, India is a key contributor to PKM in Africa. In the recent times there is a debate if the Peace Keeping model, funded by the West and manned by the states of Asia is sustainable or not? Questions are arising if India gains anything out of such a model or not? The PKM model is becoming unsustainable because African countries that have manpower to protect themselves are not consulted in the process of designing a PKM and are deprived of an opportunity to use their own manpower. The Asian state that is getting the responsibility for the mission is also not consulted by the Western power in the mission design. The Western powers design the missions and prescribe the missions to Asian states. In this scenario, India can set up a new forum with Africa to discuss issues related to high level defense diplomacy. Under a new India-Africa Defense dialogue, India can enhance the military preparedness of the African continent by training African manpower. This kind of training by India, that has considerable skills and expertise in problems like terrorism, civil unrest and insurgency etc, can open a new chapter in the India and Africa relationship.

Piracy as an exercise has been flourishing in the Horn of Africa region. It is primarily

based in Somalia from where it spreads out in the seas affecting many nations in the Indian Ocean. Somalia is an easy base for piracy due to the absence of a stable government in the country. The US office of naval intelligence has undertaken a deep study to understand the modus operandi of Somali pirates. The office is of the view that Somali pirates undertake piracy mainly for ransom money. The pirates have a well-established system of informers in foreign ports. When the ship passes through the Horn of Africa, the pirates, through well-established, specialised teams on ground and sea, launch pirate attacks. The pirate teams on the sea have in-depth knowledge of the sea and possess other maritime skills. As the pirates in Somalia have established a good network with terrorist groups operating in the Maghreb region, availability of arms is not a difficult task. Unlike pirates in the seas of South East Asia who also loot the goods from the merchant vessel and sell it in black markets, Somali pirates are only interested in taking ships hostage and demanding ransom. The merchant firms operating vessels in the region pay ransom money to get the ships released and this emboldens the pirates.

At times, Somali pirates disguise themselves as coast guard and naval agencies and are able to fool the merchant vessels.



Why is Piracy Rampant in Somalia?

In the early modern times, the territory of Somaliland was occupied by three colonial players. One part was occupied by British, the second by Italy and the third by the French. The part occupied by the French became a new state called Djibouti. The rest of Somaliland gained independence in 1960. In 1960, there was a coup by Siad Barre wherein took over the control of the state. Opposition rebels began to fight against Siad Barre. Two prominent opposition groups emerged, namely, the Somalia National Movement (SNM) and the United Somalia Congress (USC). The two parties, SNM and USC, started controlling the northern and southern territories and succeeded in ousting Siad Barre in 1991. Despite the ousting of Barre, no united government emerged as factionalism grew to the extent where tribal warlords began to assert control over their clans, creating a situation of complete anarchy. The tribal clans turned to piracy to sustain themselves. Absence of a stable centralised government since 1991 has aggravated stability issues making Somalia politically fragile.

Due to rise in piracy, the cost of transporting goods has increased. The ships have started circumventing the area in favour of a longer route in deep sea to avoid piracy. Shipping firms have increased security on board of ships. The insurance firms have hiked

the premiums. All this have led to an increase in the cost of trade. Nations have resorted to resolutions at the UN level. These UN level resolutions have legalised naval presence in Somali water. Countries have stationed their navies to protect the sea lanes of communication.

India has also likewise increased its naval presence in the Horn of Africa. India has urged the UN to track the ransom money being paid by help of international agencies like Interpol. India has been advocating that all Joint Anti-Piracy Operations (JAPO) be brought under the UN ambit and domestically, all nations create laws to criminalise piracy. Indian Navy has been protecting sea lines of communication since 2008. The Indian coast guard has established new district head offices in Kavarati and in Minicoy. Through naval presence in Mauritius, Seychelles and Maldives, India has been able to keep the pirates in check. India has also clarified in an annual report released by the Ministry of Defence that the Indian Ocean region is central to Indian interests and piracy in the region is a cause of serious concern, to combat which the Indian Navy is ready to play a critical role in the region.

The long-term solution lies in international collaboration to criminalise ransom payment and undertake adequate social engineering to create a unified society in Somalia. A stable government, skills to the population and creation of jobs in the fishing industry can help in a big way in future.

DIPLOMATIC POLICY OF CHINA IN AFRICA

One of India's main competitors in Africa is China. Our aim in this part is to analyse Chinese presence in Africa and scrutinise the Chinese approach in the continent.

Chinese presence in Africa goes back to the Cold War times. It was during Mao's era that the Chinese began to promote armed struggle in Africa against decolonisation, which appealed to many African states. This also gave China an opportunity to provide economic aid for decolonised nations, thereby making inroads in these states. However, the Chinese engagement in Africa emerges aggressively after the end of Cold War. As Chinese economy began to grow by the 1990s, it also began to search for resources. Africa, being a resource-rich region, was a natural choice for China. China also found Africa to be a favourable market for its goods. In order to develop Africa as a sustained supplier of resources and a market for goods, China began to undertake creation of infrastructure in Africa so that it gives China an easy route to transport resources back home. Apart from this, China has been giving a lot of economic aid to Africa.

However, many are dissatisfied with the aggressive Chinese resource-centric policy towards African. The scholars assert that the Chinese model in Africa is based on its greed for resources. A simple algorithm lies at the heart of its policy: China goes to an African nation, sets up industries and factories, exports Chinese labour to Africa, digs out resources from the nation, brings the resources back using infrastructure they have created to connect the industry to the port. De Soysa (a scholar) remarks that in this entire Chinese model, the African country does not stand to gain anything except very little pecuniary profit in the form of taxation. The lives of ordinary Africans in that country do not change as the people receive no skill development from China so that they are absorbed in the industry. This leads to a lot of disenchantment in the local people, leading ultimately to a

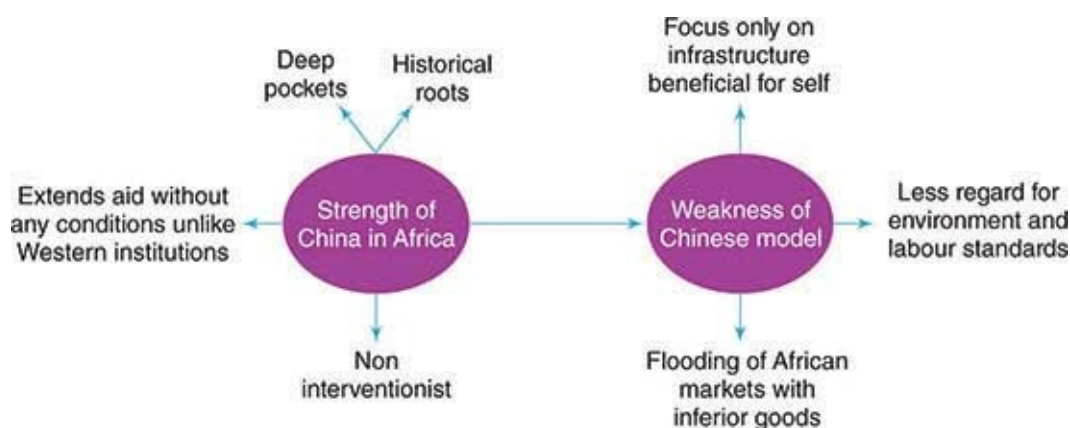
kind of hatred against the Chinese presence. However, the state, instead of supporting the people, supports the Chinese in their endeavours, ultimately becoming a rentier state. (A rentier state is a state which derives all or a substantial portion of its national revenues from the rent of indigenous resources to external clients.) This ultimately weakens institutional development in Africa.

China has, as per its 'going out strategy,' tried to link its domestic development to its global aspirations. The going out strategy is reflected well in Africa where China has diplomatic relations with more than 48 African nations. The basic strategy is to give Africa aid, and undertake trade and diplomacy to establish a market for goods. We also need to remember that Africans have an inclination for China as, firstly, African states are motivated by the Chinese state led economic development model that has made them a regional hegemonic power. They take pride in how China, under Deng Xiaoping, started from a scratch to reach where it is today. This state directed capitalism, despite China being a communist regime, has earned it respect in Africa.

Secondly, the Africans to some extent are disillusioned with lack of development of their domestic economies despite proximate ties with West and Europe since a very long time. But the most important connecting factor between Africa and China is how the Africans are portrayed. The West has always been pessimistic about the future of Africa, partially due to deeply entrenched habits of racial profiling a feeling of racial superiority. For example, in one of the covers of *The Economist* magazine, it went on to brand Africa as a hopeless continent. In contrast, China has always appreciated African dynamism, winning a lot of confidence amongst Africans.

The Chinese model is unique in Africa in the sense that China allows poorly performing corporates backhome to take up opportunities in Africa. If a corporate has not been performing well, the Chinese government would encourage that company to re-emerge and prove its worth by giving it support in exploring the African market. It has been seen that, with state support, these companies are able to re-emerge powerfully. This kind of an exercise also boosts the domestic corporate sector. The networking for corporate sectors is enhanced further by interaction undertaken by China at the Forum for China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

All this gives China an opportunity to play a deeper role in Africa and gain the needed diplomatic weight at international forums.



Chinese Naval Base in Africa and Implications on India

China has established the first ever naval base in Africa in Djibouti. This is an attempt by China to enhance its international clout. The base is located in the Indian Ocean and is perceived by Indian strategists as an attempt to encircle India as a part of Chinese String of Pearls Alliance network (which already includes naval bases in Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka). In the recent times, Chinese are also investing in ports in Sri Lanka (Hambantota port) and Pakistan (Gwadar port) and these ports are being designed to accommodate naval vessels of China. This means that there will be an enhanced naval presence of China proximate to India. Though China has asserted that it would be using the Djibouti naval base for anti-piracy and humanitarian relief operations, but, India's R&AW has clearly asserted that port will have permanent Chinese troop presence (of Chinese Marine Corps, nearly one lakh soldiers) also. Thus, such a strong naval presence in Indian Ocean has raised alarm bells in South Block.

FUTURE POLICY FOR INDIA

India has harnessed its historical relations with Africa and envisages a bright future ahead. India also acknowledges that Africa is a vibrant continent and the next growth pole in the world (as articulated by former Indian PM Dr. Manmohan Singh). The Indian engagement is beyond resources and spreads well into IT, pharmacy, Agriculture, skill, training and capacity building, and so on. India's aim is to assist Africa in its overall development, with a larger aim of security and peace with convergence on global issues. In the twenty first century, India has also expanded its footprint aptly in the Indian Ocean owing to new security challenges emerging.



Apart from these, there are a few other areas where India and Africa need to cooperate more which require changes in diplomacy from the Indian side. Some salient points are given below:

- India needs to firstly articulate a policy on Africa and engage with the continent through a doctrine.
- India needs to appoint an ambassador of India for Africa in the MEA who would act as a nerve centre for all policies in Africa.
- India should widen the discussion dynamics at the IAFS level and bring the private sector and the civil society in the IAFS platform rather than restricting it only to government-to-government interactions.
- It would be best for India if in cooperation with Africa it announces a skill development policy and helps African skill development through quantitative

target setting.

- The MEA can designate the Indian diaspora as unofficial ambassador in its endeavour of soft power export and publicise the good work done in India to mould a framework public opinion.
- India has to accelerate engagement with Africa by injecting bilateralism in the diplomatic processes. This will give India an opportunity to have one on one interaction with African nations. For Example, Morocco in the recent times as initiated a moderate islamic programe which is exclusively designed for tackling radiclisation. India can enhance its cooperation with Morocco at this level.
- India has to spend more diplomatic capital to popularize the projects it is funding and executing in Africa. For example, in the recent times, after the outbreak of Ebola epidemic, India has emerged as one of the top donors to Africa but our efforts have not received adequate publicity.
- India needs to evolve a suitable soft policy strategy with Africa that can yield bilateral mutual benefits. For example, India can envisage tie up between Indian Bollywood and Nigerian Nollywood.
- India can improve direct flight connectivity from India with Africa, which remains very poor till date.