

ORF SEMINAR SERIES

VOLUME 1 • ISSUE 6 MAY 2011



INDIA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP

Edited proceedings of a seminar organised
by Observer Research Foundation

INDIA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP

Seminar proceedings compiled by

**H.H.S. Viswanathan
Anjana Varma
Divya Sharma**

Preface

The first decade of the 21st century witnessed the phenomena of the swift and significant emergence of Africa on the international scene. Known for over four decades as a continent ridden with poverty, diseases, wars and lack of economic and social development, it began to move in the right direction and the world could not but take note of the Pan-African resurgence, both political and economic.

Democratic governance started to appear in an increasing number of African countries. The levels of transparency, good governance, and accountability began to rise. On the economic side, increasing global demand for raw materials led to impressive growth of many countries. Even the resource-poor states began to record healthy growth rates.

The growth was no flash in the pan and was sustained throughout the decade. In fact, after the global financial crisis of 2008, Africa was the only continent besides Asia that registered positive growth.

Objective predictions for Africa are very optimistic. With its favourable demographic dividend, it could become one of the manufacturing hubs of the world. It has, therefore, become an imperative for major economies, particularly the developing ones, to renew their engagement with African countries.

Given this scenario, the ORF has embarked on a full-fledged Africa Programme, which aims to increase the awareness about Africa among India's civil society organizations, the media and the corporate sector. The programme was initiated with a one-day seminar on October 28, 2010, the theme being "India-Africa Partnership". The two sessions at the seminar

addressed issues such as the political and economic resurgence of Africa and India's engagement with the new Africa. It was concluded that there was need for India and African countries to be innovative in identifying new fields and forms of cooperation for mutual benefit. The advantage of the historical links and past cooperation between India and Africa, it was felt, has to be leveraged to suit the new realities.

This publication contains the presentations by the speakers as well as remarks by the chairpersons of the sessions. It is our sincere hope that this publication will benefit researchers and Africa watchers in their work.

H.H.S.Viswanathan
Distinguished Fellow
ORF

INDIA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP

Introduction

Taking note of the winds of change sweeping across the resource-rich and people-rich African continent, the ORF organised a day-long seminar on October 28, 2010 that brought together leading academics, experts and diplomats to unravel the implications of Africa's resurgence on its partnership with India. The seminar also explored the various models of engagement between the partners and ended with a slew of ideas and suggestions that could power the second India-Africa Forum Summit, planned for 2011.

The seminar was divided into two sessions: I) Emergence of a Resurgent Africa: Positive Indicators for Growth and Development II) India-Africa Partnership: Building on the First India-Africa Forum Summit. The dominant narrative that encompassed the day-long seminar was one of Afro-optimism and a shared conviction among all participants that the India-Africa partnership was a win-win proposition that benefited both sides.

Vivek Katju, Secretary (West) in India's External Affairs Ministry, launched the round-table with a stirring and thoughtful inaugural address that outlined key facets of the India-Africa cooperation and mapped out the future of this vital partnership. In his welcome address, Ambassador M. Rasgotra, president, ORF, encapsulated the growing optimism about the continent's future. Speaking about the rise of democracy in Africa, he pointed out that some of the world's fastest growing economies are in sub-Saharan Africa. He underlined the need to develop the resources in Africa for the African people.

Continuing on this optimistic note, Katju underlined the fact that capacity building and human resource development were at the core of India's engagement and stressed the vital need to keep the development process driven and owned by Africans. He added that India and Africa will jointly combat the new threats of piracy and terrorism and will cooperate in pushing for reforms in international institutions, including the United Nations. "We are engaged in a common struggle-which is perhaps more challenging-in the common task of development and of lifting people out of poverty," he said.

Rejecting any competition or rivalry with China in Africa, he stressed that India's relationship with the continent stood on its own feet. "The partnership has to be a mutually advantageous one because an exploitative relationship is something that is intrinsically ephemeral," he said.

The first session took a closer look the implications of the African resurgence. Ruchita Beri, senior research associate at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), spoke about the African continent's bold move towards democracy and economic reforms. The trend towards democratization, she said, was unmistakable: about two-thirds of the countries have held multi-party elections and more than 30 countries have accepted the African Peer Review Mechanism. The number of armed conflicts has come down, though zones of conflict and bloody feuding continue to persist such as in Sudan and Chad, she said, adding that many countries continue to have fragile democratic constitutions. Participants pointed out this could be a big opening for India to share its experience in building democratic electoral institutions.

Jamal Moosa, Reader, Academy of Third World Studies at Jamia Millia Islamia, insightfully spoke about the need for contextualizing the African resurgence and its larger implications for the partnership. He also spoke

about the emergence of the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as an opportunity for the continent to widen its developmental options and to reclaim its strategic space in world affairs. He pointed out that Africa had been proactive in engaging India as a counter balance to the excesses of traditional Western powers and emerging powers, adding India needed to take more risks and build on the complementarities with Africa.

R.K. Bhatia, India's former High Commissioner to South Africa and a commentator on African issues, chaired the discussion. Arguing on the need for “Afro-realism”, he said: “We need to find out where economic growth is coming from and whether the next big thing will be in Africa.” In her intervention, Ethiopia's Ambassador Gennet Zewide spoke about the transformational impact of the India-aided Pan-African e-network on young Ethiopian students and how Ethiopians have benefited from long-distance education and training imparted by Indian experts through this network.

The second session generated a probing debate on how to add more economic substance and a popular touch to the partnership. It analysed some of the key features of the first India-Africa Forum Summit in 2008 and looked ahead to a yet more productive and action-oriented second summit in 2011. Rwanda's High Commissioner William Nkurunziza stressed on moving the partnership beyond government-to-government contacts to a larger interaction between businesses, media and civil society. “It has to be a complete partnership that involves the government, the people, the media and civil society. The centuries-old relationship between India and Africa must evolve with changing times,” he said. He argued that the India-Africa partnership in the 21st century would be based on “a clearer understanding of the realities and urgencies” of the times we live in and asked India to become “a serious partner of Africa by sharing

technologies, experiences and investment”. He exhorted the Indian media to focus on positive stories about African resurgence and renewal, so as to enable both sides to better understand each other's society and culture.

In his role as discussant, Navdeep Suri, Joint Secretary (Public Diplomacy –Ministry of External Affairs), agreed that media needed to play a more proactive role and drew attention to the usefulness of new age media like the Twitter to highlight the story of India-Africa relationship.

Ashok Dhar, senior vice-president, Reliance Industries Limited, which has considerable investment in the oil sector, brought a corporate perspective to the discussion. In his informative power-point presentation, he outlined how Africa, which currently supplies 21 per cent of India's oil needs, will become increasingly crucial for the country's energy security.

H.H.S. Viswanathan, India's former High Commissioner to Nigeria and head of the ORF Africa programme, spoke about how 'Lions on the Move', the subject of a McKinsey report on sunshine economies of Africa, are finding their own voice and telling their own story in their own idiom.

There is need for India to evolve and package its own model of engagement focusing on the three Ts: Trade, Training and Technology Transfer.

Manish Chand

India-Africa Partnership: Summary and Recommendations

- Historical links and past cooperation between India and Africa have to be leveraged to suit new realities and new paradigms of cooperation.
- Engaging with a resurgent Africa is important because the continent contains not only some of the fastest growing economies in the world, but also holds an important role in projecting the dialogue of the global South.
- At the core of India's engagement with Africa, is its contribution in capacity building and human resource development.
- India's collaboration with the African Union and its \$125 million investment in the 'Pan-Africa e-network' to assist in capacity-building in Africa through various regional universities, learning centres, and hospitals stand as a true example of South-South cooperation.
- African nations are increasingly moving towards a trend of democratization, where two-thirds of the countries have held multi-party elections, and there are reduced numbers of armed conflicts. However, moving from inter-state to intra-state conflicts, several nations continue to face weak and fragile democratic institutions.
- There has been a visible economic resurgence in Africa in the past ten years, promising great opportunities for partnership.
- Africa could leverage its demographic dividend (a growing work force) to make the continent a manufacturing hub in the future.

- Need to improve the skills and attitudes of young Africans so that they become compatible with the industrial and post-industrial societies.

- Need to provide technical education (expand the IIT collaboration) and build the education infrastructure to empower Africa's citizens.
- Enhancement of cooperation between India and Africa in the political, social, and economic fields at the bilateral, regional, and Pan-African levels.
- Indian civil society truly needs to engage in telling Africa's narrative of opportunity, humanity and potential, and vice versa. Track II diplomacy needs to take a greater step in building the strong bridges within civil societies, academia, and public figures on both sides.
- Media has a vital role to play in increasing the general awareness of Africa in India.
- Indian investments in Africa need to focus further on sustainable development and partnership-oriented growth rather than an extractive and mercantilist approach.
- Africa should be made a key priority in Indian foreign policy rather than a mere 'important emerging priority'—as Prime Minister stated in 2008.
- Our assistance to and cooperation with Africa should be linked directly to its felt needs: poverty alleviation, health, education and skill development, agriculture, small and medium scale industry, and information technology.
- Recommendations for ORF Africa Programme: to engage more actively in periodic seminars, discussion groups, conferences, and deepen its institutional linkages with think tanks in Africa. It will also seek further involvement with the African missions in New Delhi, as well as the corporate sector that has an interest in investing in the continent.

Welcome Address

Amb. M. Rasgotra

Africa is beginning to engage the world's attention at the level it has long deserved. The narrative of Africa that one reads about in the Western press (ignored in the main by the Indian Press) is, to my great dismay, not very impressive. There is still talk of violence and wars. My own reading and the reading of our colleagues in ORF, who are keenly watching the African scene, is that what is happening is an exhilarating process of the rise of the continent as a whole, particularly in the economic realm. In this time of global economic recession, Sub-Saharan Africa is posting an annual growth rate of 5%. Remarkable is the fact that the high growth rates are not just limited to the resource-rich economies; it includes those that are bereft of resources but are also experiencing high growth rates through other activities. Till rather recently, India too had an annual growth rate of 4.5-5% for several years. Now, India is growing annually at the rate of 8 to 9%. This builds the base for a speedier rise. Another fascinating development that is in many ways of even greater consequence is the spread of democracy in many African countries. Leaders are being forced to be responsive to public opinion. Elections are taking place. They may not be all perfect elections. Even today after 65 years, our system too is full of flaws and problems. No election here is absolutely perfect, though things are improving with time. This process has started in a sustainable manner in Africa too. There is growth, there is development, there is the progress of democratic process and these are all very hopeful, positive and constructive signs. In these circumstances, our endeavour in the ORF has been to draw public attention towards Africa. I know how devoted Secretary Vivek Katju is to the Africa issue, constantly urging us to take greater interest.

Our endeavour is focussed on making the media look at the African scene and to get our businesses and entrepreneurs interested in Africa, but certainly not with a view to exploit Africa of its resources and raw materials. We have a different kind of relationship, a different kind of history with Africa. We have a relationship of spirit with them, a kinship of shared suffering in the colonial period and in subsequent years, a relationship of shared difficulties of various kinds. The endeavour of India's industrial community should be to develop and harness the resources in Africa for Africa: that is the ORF message to the industrial business community of our country. Some of our major corporations are already operating in Africa, but the scale is small. Another area in which the ORF would like to see a much greater participation and partnership with African countries is in the development of Africa's human resources.

I saw the African scene very closely for four years when I was India's representative in the Trusteeship Council that oversaw the affairs of Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania. I was also the representative in the Force Committee (for decolonization). Another committee which I had taken the initiative to set up with Government's permission was the Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee. I travelled all over Africa and met a lot of African leaders. The people are energetic and willing to learn. India can be a useful partner in Africa's endeavour to develop human resources, so that the harnessing, exploitation of their resources is done by the Africans themselves for the benefit of the Africans.

In this, Mr. Katju, we seek cooperation from two quarters and one of them is the government. We need your engagement and your personal indulgence at times and the indulgence of your colleagues. We will have gatherings like these where we will develop new ideas as a part of a public policy initiative. We could possibly give the government some useful inputs. We ardently seek the cooperation of the African missions in Delhi.

We have been meeting High Commissioners and Ambassadors and I hope our interaction with them will expand as we grow and develop our activity. These are some of the remarks I wanted to make by way of welcoming you, by way of engaging your interest in our work on Africa. We have taken interest in Africa for at least the 10 years I have been with the ORF. But it was only in 2008 that we first held a major international conference on Africa. Then, we held a conference in 2009 on East Africa. This is the third conference on the issue. This activity is going to expand and I hope that in our future work, we will have the benefit of your wisdom, your guidance and also the cooperation of the Ministry. May I now request you to address us and give us some guidelines and your vision of India-Africa Partnership.

Keynote Address

Vivek Katju, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs

Let me say straightaway that this issue of engagement has been a matter of great significance for both India and Africa and will be increasingly so in times to come. There has been a wide range of engagements in which different aspects have gained prominence according to the need of the times for the two partners. For instance, during the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies, the cooperation was focused on the struggle against colonialism. I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that decolonization was the single most important issue in Africa at that time and India played a crucial role in pushing forward the process. The bonds that were forged in that struggle have become the foundation of our relationship.

Running parallel to the fight against colonialism was the struggle against apartheid and we can take legitimate pride that we never compromised in our commitment to defeat the forces of racism in South Africa and elsewhere. The legacy of that common struggle too is also an enduring bond today.

I firmly believe that India and Africa are also engaged today in a common struggle which is perhaps more challenging than those against colonialism and apartheid. This is the common task of development, of lifting our peoples from poverty and of providing them with a better future; indeed, the task ahead of us is to impart to all our peoples the skills and attitude required for becoming compatible with the industrial and post industrial societies. If we do not succeed in this endeavour then we may well jeopardize the successes we have made over the past fifty years. How are we approaching this great undertaking?

In the post-colonial and post-apartheid era, India has deepened its partnership with Africa through enhancement of cooperation in the political, social and economic fields at the bilateral, regional and Pan-African levels. Let me first turn to our Pan-African interaction: the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) in April 2008. This provided a new platform for enhancing economic cooperation to the widest possible spectrum.

Two documents were adopted at this summit, the Delhi Declaration and the Africa-India Framework for Cooperation. The Joint Action Plan launched in March 2010 gives a detailed implementation plan. Capacity building and human resource development are at the core of our cooperation. India is undertaking several capacity building measures which are as follows:

- Establishment of four Pan-African Institutions
 - India-Africa Institute of Foreign Trade
 - India-Africa Diamond Institute
 - India-Africa Institute of Information Technology
 - India-Africa Institute of Education Planning and Administration
- Ten Vocational Training Centres
- Five Human Settlement Institutions for low cost housing
- scholarships
- Long-term scholarships doubled to 512
- Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme slots enhanced to 1600
- 300 Agricultural scholarships
- 424 C. V. Raman fellowships
- 10,000 scholarships under tele-education segment of the Pan-Africa e-network Project.
- Grants of USD 500 mn for human resource development and capacity building (over 5 years).

To bridge the digital divide and for the benefit of the common people of Africa, India established the Pan-African e-network project for the 53 African countries. The network is connected by a satellite/fibre optical network to provide tele-medicine, tele-education and VVIP connectivity to these countries. The network consists of five regional universities, 53 learning centres, five regional Super Specialty Hospitals (SSHs) and 53 remote hospitals in all the countries of Africa. The current total project cost is about US\$ 125 million, which is a total grant from the Government of India. The basic objective of the Pan-African e-network project is to assist Africa in capacity building by way of imparting quality education to 10,000 students over a five-year period in various disciplines in some of the best Indian universities/educational institutions. Besides, this would provide Tele-Medicine services through on-line medical consultation to the medical practitioners at the Patient End Location in Africa by Indian Medical specialists in various disciplines/specialties selected by the African Union for its member states.

47 African countries have already signed the agreement and the project has been implemented in 34 countries so far. This project is a true example of South-South cooperation and is always referred to by the African Union as a shining example of our cooperation.

The Government of India is also committed to providing support for infrastructure in Africa and it is providing Lines of Credit worth USD 5.4 billion over the next five years. Private FDI from India is encouraged.

Under the Duty Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) scheme, 18 out of 33 African LDCs have already acceded to the scheme. DFTP Scheme has been very successful and there is an increase of 160% in the trade volume from the LDCs since 2008. This will cover 94% of India's total tariff lines and, more importantly, provide preferential market access on tariff lines for

92.5% of the global exports of all LDCs. In 2009-10 our total trade with Africa was \$39 billion and during the last five years it has increased 3.5 times. The private sector has been actively involved in promoting trade and investment and, as a follow up, various regional conclaves have been organized by the CII & the FICCI in Africa.

The India-Africa Forum Summit has certain elements to be implemented at the regional level with African countries. For this, a meeting of the Secretary-Generals of eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs) recognized by the African Union is proposed to be held in New Delhi and India is committed to provide financial support for regional integration projects.

Under a regional initiative, studies of the African market is a pre-project requirement on the post harvest issues such as on-farm primary processing centres, cold storages, supply chain, reefer vans, etc., so as to increase processing levels as also to add value to the agriculture produce. These would be undertaken in select areas of some RECs. India will also be cooperating in the areas of energy and food processing.

There are a few other aspects which I would like to touch upon:

Our private sector has begun to take greater interest in Africa. Major Indian companies wish to explore opportunities in agriculture, manufacturing industries, mining, communications and information technology, education, health, power generation and hydrocarbons. Consequently, trade and investments are registering remarkable growth. This process will strengthen in times to come. The message we are giving our companies and which, I believe, is in harmony with their approach is that they must fully contribute to the development processes in the countries of their operations. They need to aim at long term and mutual benefit.

New threats have emerged in the Indian Ocean that are impacting India and Africa. Piracy and terrorism threaten our common interests and have to be jointly combated. The two partners have a common interest in the reform of the institutions of international governance and we are interacting for this purpose.

Finally, an obvious point: India's relationship with Africa stands on its own and should be viewed as such.

Session I

Emergence of Resurgent Africa: Positive Indicators for Growth and Development

Remarks by Amb. Rajiv Bhatia

Let me begin by expressing appreciation for the initiative of ORF to organize this conference on Africa. I am grateful to have the privilege to chair this morning session devoted to an important theme: 'Emergence of a Resurgent Africa: Positive Indicators for Growth and Development.' We have an excellent panel of experts who will share their perspectives to enlighten us and stimulate our thinking about many dimensions of Africa today.

The fundamental issue we need to examine is: how do we read Africa at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, a year in which many African nations celebrate fifty years of independence? Do we see a real turnaround, especially in the past two decades? As we all know, Africa abounds in recent success stories. Can we, therefore, claim that it is no longer a continent of conflicts, poverty and diseases? What will Africa look like in a decade or two?

Many would no doubt argue that the signs of progress, the rising arc of democracy, economic growth, steady progress in securing integration in the continent at regional levels and Africa's growing linkages with other countries provide a strong enough basis for optimism. Others might disagree. Whatever be the opinion, one needs to go into a slew of factors that are responsible for change as also identify the challenges and opportunities created by the new scenario unfolding today in Africa.

Another important facet would be evolution of Africa in the backdrop of a changing world. Is there now a scramble for Africa? If so, what causes it and what are its implications? Who is going to define Africa's new role in world affairs—Africans themselves or outsiders?

These and many other questions will be examined today. Many of us are Afro-optimists, though a few of us may also be pessimistic. One hopes that a scientific temper and a dispassionate approach would be adopted in our dialogue today, which converts us all into Afro-realists imbued with a deep sense of history and a strong dose of sensitivity.

Finally, let me introduce our panel of two speakers, who will take about 15 minutes each to make their presentations.

Ms. Ruchita Beri, Senior Research Associate at IDSA, specialises on political and security issues of Sub-Saharan Africa. Her current research focuses on re-defining India-Africa relations. She has lectured at many conferences and institutions and has several publications to her credit. The second speaker is Dr. Jamal M. Moosa, Reader at Academy of Third World Studies of Jamia Millia Islamia University. He holds a PhD from JNU. His areas of specialization are African studies, international Humanitarian law, Human rights and Conflict studies.

Let us listen, share and contribute.

Africa's Political Resurgence: Myth or Reality?

Ruchita Beri

Africa has over the years been the victim of “bad news reporting”. Conflict, crisis and calamity in Africa are the constant refrain of the 24-hour news channels. Thankfully, there has been a change for the better in the last decade, with reportages of some good news. First, there has come in sight the end to some of the debilitating conflicts that have ravaged the continent. The fighting in Democratic Republic of Congo, often called 'Africa's world war', has abated considerably. Similarly Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast have moved out of the conflict zone. At the same time, there are definite signs of Africans firmly taking charge of their own destiny. This move is reflected in the African Union's (formed in 2002) steps towards conflict resolution. They now recognise the value of democracy and good governance and are embracing it unhesitatingly. Around two-thirds of the African states have conducted multi-party elections in recent years. Similarly, 24 countries have taken their promises of good governance seriously and signed up for the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which is an offshoot of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) initiative launched by the African countries in 2001.

Peace and stability

In 2005, the Human Security Centre, based at the University of British Columbia, published the first Human Security Report. This report, largely complementary to the well-known Human Development Report, contained a number of interesting findings. Salient among them is the point that: 'Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a dramatic and sustained decline in the number of armed conflicts. And an uneven but

equally dramatic decline in battle-deaths has been under way for more than half a century.¹ The report tracked the post-World War II rise in the number of armed conflicts and the subsequent decline following the end of the Cold War. It found that the overwhelming majority of today's armed conflicts (95 per cent in the last decade) are fought within, and not between, states and that most of them take place in the poorest parts of the world, particularly in the sub-Saharan Africa. The report finds that between 1999 and the end of 2006, the number of state-based armed conflicts (that is, where a government is one of the warring parties) had declined by almost half (46 per cent) in Africa. Conflicts have continued to break out since 2000, but at around 60 per cent of the rate reported in the 1990s. A similar trend was found in conflicts fought between various armed rebel groups sans government involvement. Here the reduction in the number of outbreaks was even less, standing at some 54 per cent of the figures that prevailed in the '90s. The annual battle-death toll from all types of conflict dropped almost to two-thirds of the numbers in 2002. These impressive reductions occurred after the volatile security situation in the region reached its post Cold War peak during the 1990s, with the number of deaths being twice as much as those in the 1980s. The report finds that a growing number of conflicts were terminated through negotiated settlements, suggesting that peacemaking efforts were showing results².

These remarkable trends have been possible due to two main factors. The first is the sharp reduction in the number of autocratic and semi autocratic governments and an increase in the number of democracies. Recent research shows that advent of democracy increases regional security. There is the statistical evidence that suggests semi-autocratic governments are six times more likely than democracies to experience outbreak of new conflicts. The second is the impact of continuous engagement, particularly through AU and UN peacekeeping forces, as also through third party engagements. As of January 2011, the UN has 122,238 personnel (of which

81, 974 were troops) contracted in 15 peacekeeping operations, of which the majority served in Africa³. Moreover, Africans themselves are heavily engaged in making and keeping the peace on the continent on the initiative of the African Union and in numerous other ways, some of which could hardly have been foreseen a few years ago. The establishment of the African Union (AU) in 2002 and its Peace and Security Council (PSC) in 2004 have firmly cemented institutions dedicated to the promotion of peace and security in Africa⁴.

Clearly, Africans are now doing more for themselves on their own. The AU has launched several mediation and conflict management initiatives in Africa. In Burundi, the great leaders of international fame, former President Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela were selected, giving a big boost to the peace process. In Comoros, for example, the African Union supported the Comorian armed forces to remove self-styled 'President' Mohammed Bacar from power in March 2008. The African Union did so at the request of Ahmed Abdallah Sambi, the president of the Union of Comoros. Another worthy effort is being made by the Africans to tackle the well nigh intangible conflict in Darfur, though no clear solutions are as yet in sight.

African leadership's activism has served as a catalyst for international support and the return of the UN peacekeepers to Africa after the tragedies of Somalia and Rwanda in the early 1990s. Today Africa has won a far more substantial UN commitment, with six of the fifteen active UN peace missions positioned in the continent. While it is true that in most of these missions non-African countries play the major role, of late there has been a rise in component of troops from the continent, signifying burden sharing as an emerging characteristic of Africa's search for peace and security.

Democracy and governance

Until the early 1990s, experts in African politics expected authoritarian single party states and military rule to dominate the political landscape. The consensus was that “democratization was not supposed to happen in Africa.”⁵ It is true that impediments to democratization are immense. First of all, the state and civil society, two critical factors in a democracy are weak in most states. Another major hindrance to democratisation throughout the continent is neopatrimonialism, which is incompatible with democracy as it leads to distribution of state resources based on ruling elite's personal ties rather on principles like public benefit or equal opportunities for all. In the last decade, conscious efforts have been made by the African leadership to embrace the values of good governance and democracy. The African Union and a number of regional bodies such as ECOWAS and SADC have each adopted various codes of good practice while initiatives such as NEPAD and its associated African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) assumed the best standards for election processes, which would have been unthinkable a few decades back. Recent opinion surveys on the status of democracy that include 18 African countries indicate that the drive towards democracy has become deeply rooted amongst the African citizenry, although attitudes have changed over the years⁶.

The expectation that the growth in democracy would improve economic prospects has not been borne out. Economic expansion has not been accompanied by rising incomes or popular welfare—best illustrated in South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana and Tanzania. Data on poverty and human development do not reflect significant improvement and Africans generally see growth without prosperity in many new democracies. The result is a mixed picture: A handful of countries, such as Ghana and South Africa stand out and may well be on the path to consolidating a viable democracy. They are heading towards achieving a reasonably good balance

between expressed support for democracy and satisfaction with democracy at fairly high levels for both. In several other countries, most notably Mozambique, Namibia and Tanzania, the support levels are lower. As such, the political regimes that prevail in these countries may be consolidating, but in forms that fall short of fully functioning democracies. Still other countries reveal large gaps between popular support and perceived satisfaction, suggesting that the political systems in these countries have yet to consolidate, and remain unstable. In particular, highly frustrated democrats abound in Malawi, Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe and they may agitate for renewed democratic reforms in the years to come.

It appears, therefore, that political liberalisation does not ensure popular welfare—a belief often propagated by the West. Admittedly, in the course of 25 years, countries undertaking political reforms have increased their average growth rate, while those countries abjuring political change have experienced slowing down of the growth rate. But the causal relationship is less than many had hoped for. In sum, democracies in Africa perform at least as well as non-democratic ones in the economic domain and in some areas their performance is measurably better. On the other hand, the data from the opinion surveys support the finding that the conditions for many Africans have not changed significantly in recent years, despite good economic growth⁷. Africans in new democracies do not perceive substantial improvements in their economies and they report few advances in living conditions.

Democratisation has also not been able to replace neopatrimonialism (which has been able to reconfigure itself) and the latter is largely incompatible with democracy and economic growth. While the empirical indicators relating to elections, civic freedoms have improved, the substance of democracy remains weakly embedded and articulated, with

few exceptions. So, though it may be argued that African citizens are clearly disappointed by the performance of democracy, they still possess the resilience to remain fairly committed to democracy as the political system of their choice.

Challenges and Constraints

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Africans are taking constructive steps towards improving the stability and governance in the continent. Specifically, the African Union's peace and security narrative can lay claim to numerous achievements. Its Peace and Security Council at the heart of the system, has in the recent years held several debates on crucial security threats and conflicts. The AU has moved from its absolute adherence to the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of its member states to a very different one of 'non-indifference', as defined by the previous PSC Commissioner. In the process, the continent adopted much of the language of the 'responsibility to protect' concept even before it was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. Though the AU was tentative in the beginning in giving a concrete form to the new policy, its engagement is becoming robust. The split amongst AU members on developments in Zimbabwe is an example. These unprecedented divisions point to the chasm that still exists in Africa between countries that are shining examples of economic and political progress (Botswana, Ghana and others) and the autocratic regimes.

A crucial challenge lies in the complex political environment in Africa. A large number of states differ both in their historical experiences and the realities that they face. This has resulted in a marked difference in the way each African country interprets the continental agenda on governance and security as defined by AU, its organs and programmes such as NEPAD/APRM. Some of the member states still consider the APRM process as very intrusive. Therefore, the key challenge is to procure

universal support for the agenda set by the AU. Moreover, the plural character of the African societies, especially in terms of religion and ethnicity, has continued to be a threat to the continent's efforts towards democratization. Ethnicity and religion have been politicized in many African polities, resulting in serious conflicts that have been a setback to the continent's democratic agenda.

The recent organisational audit on the African Union has brought forth the numerous challenges that confront the Union and its various organs. The decision for the audit was taken during the Accra Summit in July 2007. For this purpose, a high level panel of 13 Africans was appointed by the Chairperson of the African Union to conduct the Audit. The Audit Report was submitted to the President of the African Union President Kuofor of Ghana on 27th December, 2007. In a critique of the African Union Commission (the AU Secretariat), the panel suggested: 'Although the Commission, as the nerve centre of the African Union architecture has lifted the profile of the Union globally, it is handicapped at three levels. First, there is lack of clarity in the set up of its leadership. Second, its activities are spread too widely for it to be effective in playing the role envisaged for it; and third, the management needs to be improved.'⁸

As far as reducing instability in the region, it would be naïve to assume that the African Union would be able to engage substantively on its own with conflicts such as those in Sudan, Somalia or Democratic Republic of Congo. Support from the international community, particularly the UN and European Union has been significant in reducing the financial burden of peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts.

Conclusion

It is quite clear that a large majority of African countries enjoy rising levels of economic growth, stability, and the normalisation of fragile state

situations, though several challenges remain. High levels of armed violence remain endemic to many countries and regions such as Chad, Sudan, northern Uganda, the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Mali and Niger. It is also well known that many countries in Africa have fragile democratic institutions that are admittedly often unrepresentative, even after elections. Freedom of the press, the rule of law and government transparency remains weak and corruption has been widespread in the last decade. Lastly, despite economic progress and democratisation, the condition of a large segment of the people has not changed for the better in any substantial way over the years.

India Engaging with a Resurgent Africa for Development

Dr. Jamal M. Moosa

The emerging engagement between Africa and India is founded on its complementarities in a turbulent world. This relationship is influenced by the internal changes, the larger international context and the role of various powers, especially former colonial powers. The contemporary landscape of international relationship is undergoing tremendous changes. There is an insurgence of players with significant global imprint. There is a shift from the overlapping of social, political and economic and military hierarchies to a more complex mosaic of interconnection and engagement amongst the many new players.

In a world of globalisation, larger global shifts need to be kept in mind. As a part of its war on terror, the US has been trying to expand its presence in the continent. Similarly, the traditional French military and economic presence and the growing Chinese interest in the region too need to be taken into account. Another factor that has hampered the relationship was the drift that occurred in late 1990s within India towards Africa. Now, because of India's growing aspirations, there is a proactive approach towards Africa.

The critical question is: what is the response of the continent to the global overtures? In other words, how is Africa engaging with the rest of the world? More importantly, what does it expect in return?

Globalisation is the profound transformation and restructuring resulting from the integration of economies and finance. Robinson says, "globalisation is ...culmination of the centuries-long process of the spread of capitalist production ...displacement of all pre-capitalist relations."

Those who face the hardships resulting from the process put up resistance at some point or the other and the ensuing social upheaval demands some form of social regulation. The territorial limits inherent in the nation-state system led to a historic compromise among states. This intervention was vital for creating conducive societal conditions. But the fact remains that globalisation liberates capital from the constraints of internal forces.

Stiglitz¹⁰ says that “the system of capitalism is at a crossroads just as it was during the Great Depression...Now, millions of people around the world are waiting to see whether globalization can be reformed so that its benefits [can] be more widely shared.”

In the pre-colonial period, the continent's political systems were essentially democratic. There is extensive anthropological evidence that indigenous African states exhibited the characteristics of consent of the people and checks and balance on power to prevent the abuse of authority. In contrast, the process of globalisation appears to undermine democratic institutions and generates violence. After decolonisation the African countries adopted multiparty democratic systems, but soon the authoritarian underpinnings of the colonial state broke through this façade. After the post-war economic boom and high prices of primary commodities, a steep fall curtailed the state's capacity to fund social intervention. This mismatch between the state's capacity and the people's aspirations resulted in widespread societal violence and conflict.

However, the turn of the millennium saw a flurry of new initiatives and efforts to bring violence to an end and promote democratic governance. Paradoxically, the success of the free market has sown the seeds for Africa to re-engage with the world from an assertive position. The fall of the Soviet Union unleashed many changes, but what took many by surprise was the speed and the magnitude of the changes in Europe. While the

unification of Germany, the eastward expansion of the European Union and the NATO became a reality, many European states were severely stressed. Yugoslavia imploded and violent strife ensued. These events changed European policy priorities. Europe's preoccupation with its internal problems took its attention away from Africa, with which countries like France had strong military and financial linkages. At almost the same time, the humiliation the US suffered in Somalia made it reverse its interventionist approach vis-à-vis foreign countries.

This disengagement also coincided with the eruption of violent conflicts in many African countries. The early 1990s saw many flare-ups with their consequent repercussions—the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of the economic infrastructure. The human cost and refugee flows led to further disengagement. This crisis peaked in 1994, with the genocide in Rwanda, to which the world reacted with total indifference. But the growing instability and violence galvanised a section of the Africans to make new efforts for peace and stability that would lead to sustainable development. The absence of external powers and their disinclination to intervene helped sprout new thinking and fresh ideas on the home ground. The rise of Asian economic powers also led to the belief that former colonial countries too could very well create their own opportunities to develop and prosper, giving the Africans the power to counter the monopolist domination by Europe.

New Initiatives in Africa

The first and historic outcome of this new and confident Pan-African thinking was the creation of African Union as the successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Unlike the OAU, the AU started on the firm belief that far more proactive actions were needed to create conditions for sustainable peace and development on the continent. It was crystal clear to the founder leaders of the AU that “no single internal factor

had contributed more to socio-economic decline of the continent and the suffering of the civilian population than the scourge of conflicts within and between states.”¹¹

The African Union has played a central role in bringing peace, security and stability on the continent and to establish an operational structure for the effective implementation of conflict prevention, peace making, peace support operations and intervention, as also peace building and post-conflict reconstruction.

Side by side, Africa engaged the rest of the world to become a partner in its peace and development struggle. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) announced at Abuja, Nigeria in October 2001 was the culmination of a long process towards this end. It is a vision statement by the leaders that the Africans fully intended to extricate themselves from the quagmire of socio-political ills and shape their own destiny. Others were welcome to complement their efforts.

The leaders recognised that the vicious cycle of economic decline, reduced capacity and poor governance reinforced each other to confine Africa to the periphery of global development. Peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management were essential conditions for sustainable development. Thus, to give a concrete base to these principles, various steps were taken. One of them was to put the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in place¹². The APRM's mandate is to ensure that the participating states conform to the standards in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance.

Patterns of Africa's Engagement

Any analysis of contemporary African resurgence needs to trace the history of its close ties with Europe. The African society and economy as a

whole has faced a very disruptive force with very little time to cope with it or absorb it. This colonial experience has had a powerful and long lasting impact on the post-colonial social, economic and political structures. The nationalist struggle emerged only after World War II. In Commonwealth countries it was peaceful struggle for political independence while retaining economic and other linkages. In contrast, the Francophone countries were not too keen on independence. When they were eventually decolonised, they maintained close monetary and military relationship with mainland France and are referred to as France's domain reserve. According to Martin, the US policy towards Africa had “narrowed to a concern with... 'oil, Islam, terror, and AIDS'.”¹³ The war on terror did not result in a significant increase in US engagement with the continent.

As for China, its relationships today are based on the Beijing Consensus—non-interference and structural development. It offers trade with no strings attached and it focuses on developing infrastructure and refurbishing facilities abandoned by western companies.

India's relationship with Africa can be traced back to ancient times. Nehru's Africa policy focussed on two major issues¹⁴—first, support for the struggle against colonisation and racial discrimination and the second dealt with the people of Indian origin. In a tight bi-polar world, non-alignment appealed to many Africans. India also leveraged the ITEC programme of training facilities and project expertise with Africa. However this was followed by a period of lacklustre interest in Africa because India was preoccupied in its own economic reforms and political restructuring of the '90s.

But, in September 2004, the Indian President announced the setting up of the Pan-African e-Connectivity initiative to connect the 53 countries of Africa through a network. It was agreed that there was a need to share the

experiences on effective strategies for sustainable development, poverty alleviation, healthcare facilities and universal education. There was also a need for greater cooperation in agricultural research, soil and water management and food processing. Africa is also a major source for India's oil and gas needs, as also uranium.

On the political and economic level, India gives priority to focussing the global agenda on the legitimate concerns of developing countries, changing the international financial and trading system to make it more development-friendly. It aims to preserve and promote the effective role of the UN and encourage reforms so that its structure and functioning reflect contemporary global realities. In these endeavours, African support is critical.

The first ever India-Africa Forum Summit in 2008, attended by the AU countries and the Regional Economic Communities of Africa, was a turning point in bolstering India's engagement with Africa. The Summit adopted the Delhi Declaration and the Africa-India Framework for Cooperation to act as the blueprint for cooperation in the 21st century.

India also announced a unilateral duty free and preferential market access for exports from the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), of which 34 are in Africa. It will cover 94% of India's total tariff lines and provide preferential market access on tariff lines that comprise 92.55% of global exports of all the Least Developed Countries.

As is clear from the above, Africa has been engaging in various ways with different international players. It has avoided adopting a uniform policy for all and has instead chosen to nuance its approach to each individual country, tailor made to suite the continents priorities. Having broken out of the restricting linkages with Europe, it is trying to leverage its assets and

advantages to facilitate sustainable development. If its priorities are not met they now have the choice of approaching the other international players that have come on the scene. Africans are keen to rise from mere exporters of natural resources to become the marketers of manufactured and value added items in their own right. They also want assistance and partnerships in capacity building and human resource development. If India helps to fill these gaps, the prospects of a high degree of engagement on a long-term basis are bright. Otherwise, Africa can move on and choose other partners. India's own capacity limitations are an additional advantage as it provides the scope for African participation.

Another factor that needs to be kept in mind is how Africa engages with itself. The continent is a disparate entity—not homogenous monolith with every region equally endowed with resources and economic and political infrastructure. Pockets of advanced industrial facilities in some of the countries within the continent are a bigger cause for tension and competition than the external players.

Conclusion

The Indo-African relations are at a crossroad today. The relationship has weathered the swings and turbulences of the past. Now, the challenge is to navigate and nourish this relationship within the contemporary international order, in which assumptions and understandings of the past have been given the go by and political and economic balance has tilted significantly to the East.

The process of globalisation is generating both opportunities and challenges. In this context, India's approach to Africa has undergone a metamorphosis. The old assumptions have given way to more pragmatic options. The old ITEC programme continues, but the Pan-African network has become the showpiece. It is a good example of how the new

opportunities in a globalising world are being leveraged to achieve more beneficial partnership. There is also a new emerging entrepreneurial class of people in India who are not averse to taking risks and seeking new frontiers. A large number of skilled and semi-skilled workers and professionals are willing to venture forth and benefit from the growing opportunities offered by an assertive and emergent Africa. As noted earlier, India has also been deeply involved in capacity building and human resource development in the continent and has also helped it to define some of its priorities and areas for engagement.

India will need to first understand African priorities both at the continental as well as at the level of individual countries and then come up with meaningful alternatives and opportunities of partnership. The Africans have clearly defined their priorities, but India will need to fulfil their expectation to turn the historical goodwill that exists into long-term meaningful partnership. The resurgent Africa of today is imbued with pragmatism, but is impatient for change and may not wait very long before turning its eyes elsewhere.

Session II

India-Africa Partnership: Building on the First India-Africa Forum Summit

Presentation by H.E. Williams Nkurunziza:

India-Africa Partnership: Is our engagement adequate or do we need a new paradigm? What are the new ideas and initiatives that can give a new impetus to our cooperation?

Even in the twilight of his life, Kenneth Kaunda still plays the guitar and sings love songs to his wife of 63 years. I saw him enthral a crowd at a function to celebrate the recent swearing-in ceremony of President Paul Kagame in Kigali, Rwanda, with a love song in honour of his wife—and for President Kagame's love for his country. As we watched him strum the strings of his new guitar, his age seemed irrelevant. What was relevant was his message: real relationships have to be nurtured all the time. So, while we acknowledge the historical Indo-Africa connection, we must accept that it must evolve in response to changing times and circumstances. And the direction this evolution takes would depend on the decisions made and the actions taken by the parties in this relationship.

Current efforts aimed at enhancing the Indo-Africa partnership are indeed laudable, particularly the visible commitment of the Indian Government to support Africa's development and its quest for prosperity. To date, over one and half trillion dollars have been pumped into development programmes across the continent. Programmes such as the Pan-African Network and the 'hole-in-a-wall' project are designed to assist the continent bridge the digital divide while delivering education and health to

the people across Africa. Yet the demands of the moment and the untapped opportunities in trade and investment suggest that 'our engagement' is inadequate. More needs to be done. It is our considered view that in helping Africa, India is consolidating its relationship with the continent while securing its own future. But India is not comprised of only its Government. Its private sector and civil society must share its passion for a stronger Indo-Africa partnership and work to translate this passion into actual acts of engagement.

As one sage one said, '...he who has, is the one that gives.' India is the stronger in the partnership under review. To strengthen this partnership, it is our view that India must undertake the following four steps:

1. Communicate to eliminate uncertainty and shed light on opportunity.
2. Provide technical education to empower the drivers of Africa's economic transformation.
3. Guide and/or invest in Africa's industrialisation to add value and enhance the competitiveness of its goods.
4. Build infrastructure to connect markets and end Africa's marginalisation.

We live in an increasingly interdependent world. Advances in science and technology (particularly in ICT in which India is a global giant), have obliterated the limitations of time and space. Today, it is possible for you to follow events in Delhi as quickly as those unfolding in Kigali or Kinshasa, Cairo or Cassablanca, Acra or Ankara, Port Louis or Port of Spain, China or Chad. All in real time. Very often we fail to see not because images are blurred, but because we choose to. We fail to hear not because the sound is distorted, but because we choose to and we fail to feel not because our senses have been numbed by some biological defect, but, again,

because we choose to. Not enough is being done to shed light on Africa and highlight the beckoning opportunities on the continent for the benefit of Indian industry, commerce and expertise. What do we see of Africa in the Indian media? Very little. What do we hear of Africa in the Indian media? Very little.

Is it right to ignore a continent that hosts the world's third largest population and holds the world's largest deposits of gold, diamonds, bauxite, copper, arable land as well as fresh water lakes and rivers? Is it sensible to ignore a continent with whom your trade has a double digit growth rate annually and with whom your total trade is projected to reach US\$150 billion by 2012?

Is it OK to ignore a continent that has historically been home to a commercially significant Indian diaspora now standing at over two million people?

Such an uncaring attitude would neither be in India's or Africa's interest. Unfortunately, in the absence of correct and constructive information about Africa in India's mainstream media, for many in India's emerging corporate sector, Africa remains either a dark or demonised continent. The media needs to do more. Lasting partnership must be built on a foundation of understanding and mutual respect. To build this understanding as a precursor to a lasting partnership, we need to eliminate, through deliberate and sustained Indian media coverage, the many misconceptions often orchestrated by the western press and which tend to negatively influence people's attitudes around the world about the content and character of Africa, the mother of human civilisation. The Indian private sector needs to define a constructive agenda built on clear understanding facilitated by mainstream media focus on Africa. Equally, the Indian civil society needs to seriously engage and tell the African narrative of opportunity, humanity and potential.

To this end, consideration could be given to the following possible interventions:

1. Organised annual media tours of Africa by leading Indian media houses.
2. Introduction of African programmes on Indian TV and radio stations.
3. Provision of a page dedicated to African issues in leading Indian newspapers and print publications.
4. Introduction of a course on Africa politics, economy and cultures in local mass communication training programmes.
5. From a civil society perspective, the excellent work initiated by ORF needs to be replicated by others. The dialogue must expand to enhance people to people engagement.

Opportunities for India

Beyond communication, India has a unique opportunity to take charge of Africa's technical education and training, so critical to the continent's agenda for economic transformation. Many of the countries on the continent run subsistence economies with little industrial activity, if any. Little investments were made in technical and industrial skills development. India can and should leverage its rich industrial experience, especially within the SME sector, and take charge of the development of requisite industrial and technical skills, focusing on those critical to the continent's economic transformation.

The sectors of focus should be agriculture, mining and mineral beneficiation, power generation, pharmaceuticals, food processing and packaging, mechanics and machine tooling. With projections indicating that, by 2025, Africa will have a population of 785 million people within the 0-24 age bracket (accounting for 24% of global youths), the need for a robust skills training infrastructure becomes all the more important.

To do this, the Indian Government and private sector might wish to collaborate in setting up vocational, technical and engineering training institutes across the continent. To-date, much of the funding under the Eximbank LOC facility has been for government to government projects focusing mainly on technology exports. LOC funding to the private sector for the establishment of technical-oriented training institutions would be a revolutionary move that would address Africa's need to expeditiously build up a variety of skill sets needed to drive Africa's economic transformation while expanding Indian's economic space through exports of its people's expertise.

India's partnership with Africa must be built on a win-win proposition. A relationship based on an extractive strategy is neither sustainable nor desirable. India can only secure its greatness in the world by taking charge of Africa's industrialisation through sharing of technology, technical expertise and investments in industrial production. While the Government has championed this course, a lot of the Indian engagement with Africa has tended to be through LOC-supported projects. While we welcome the pioneering role of corporates like Reliance, Tata and Mahindra in Africa, there is still need and room for more Indian private equity in (and ownership of) industrial and transformational projects in Africa. The list is endless.

Today, 35-50% of Africa's agricultural produce goes to waste due to lack of processing expertise, technology and infrastructure. Indian investments and technology can change this.

Today, most minerals mined on the continent are exported in raw form, bringing very little benefit for the African owners or miners: Indian investments in technology and training can indeed transform the situation.

Today, Africa sleeps in darkness in spite of its huge hydro-power, petroleum, gas and solar potential. Indian investments and technology can replace darkness with light and raise the bottom line.

Much of Africa imports marble and granite even though granite and marble rocks are strewn in plenty across its countryside. India can help train the locals to chop and shape the rocks, so as to cut down on the imports.

At present, the state of economic and industrial affairs is not acceptable: nor is the slow pace of India's private sector engagement and lacklustre media interest. Maybe it is time for India to bring about a paradigm shift in its economic stance vis-à-vis the continent. India can choose to be different from all the rest. India can choose to build Africa's industrial capacity by expanding its own industrial base across the Indian Ocean. To be sustainable, the Indo-Africa partnership must be seen to deliver value to the African masses by improving their conditions through industrialisation, value addition and competitiveness of their goods and services in regional and global markets. The industrialisation process must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in investments in infrastructure, such as roads and railways, to ensure that the goods reach the market in time.

In sum, the architecture of a sustainable and lasting Indo-Africa partnership must be built on a clear understanding of our realities and the urgency of our shared purpose. We shall triumph and prevail if both the partners are united by an earnest desire for development and prosperity.

Challenges and Opportunities for Africa-India Cooperation in Hydrocarbon Sector

Ashok Dhar

As often pointed out, the ties between Africa and India are cemented by geographical proximity and historic ties. There is abundance of natural resources in the continent and keeping in view the increasing global importance given to oil, gas and minerals, their optimal exploitation is essential for economic advancement. Africa and India having been traditional trade partners; high priority is being given to the rejuvenation of these ties, adding to them a new contemporary economic dimension. Africa accounts for about 12.1% of the world's oil production and 9.5% of the reserves, besides about 6.8% of natural gas production and 8% of natural gas reserves.

India is an economy on the fast track and has a large consuming class, diversified economy and has emerged as a leading exporter of services and manufactured goods. The economic growth has led to increase in consumption of commercial energy and India is already the world's fourth largest consumer of commercial energy, accounting for about 4% of the total consumption. However, per capita oil consumption is still very low at only 123 kg per annum. India is a net importer of crude oil amounting to about 70% of its oil equivalent, i.e., about 30% of its total import bill. About 21% of Indian crude imports are from Africa.

Both, India and Africa, are emerging as a favourite destination for Foreign Direct Investment, knowledge and technology. We have reasons to be interdependent as we are both striving for the economic progress of our people. Our key indices of economic parameters are similar and the

demand growth will be driven by rising economic aspirations. A major challenge in Africa is to meet energy needs of one billion people spread over 30 million square kms, as compared to India with nearly same population but 1/10th of the area. Infrastructure in Africa, like India, also presents challenges and opportunities for investment. Over 2.4 million kms of roads exist but only about 22.7% are paved. While there are 90,320 kms of rail lines, only about 7% of the continent is electrified. Out of four major rivers of over 18,000 kms in length, about 6,000 kms is navigable. There are less than 10,000 kms of white oil pipelines concentrated mainly in Nigeria and South Africa, besides some significant white oil pipelines in Sudan, Kenya and Egypt. This presents a big opportunity for developing Road/Rail/River/Pipeline infrastructure to meet the growing energy demand.

While Africa has about 46 refineries with a capacity of 3.3 mbpd, majority of the refineries (about 33) have a very low complexity of below 4. There are only two refineries with a Nelson Complexity Index of above 10. This calls for a relook at refinery configurations, capacities and investment in upgradation/new refineries. Instead of following an approach which promotes refining investment in each country and leads to suboptimal capacity and complexity, refining hubs can be created to serve zones on regional basis to promote investment in large size and complex refineries. Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are expanding in Africa. These can facilitate rapid integration of economic and energy projects. Already, communities like COMESA, EAC, ECCAS, ECOWAS and SADC have evolved in their own right and the same can help in developing refining hubs and spoke model. India has operating experience of managing large and complex refineries. The world's largest refining complex with a capacity of 1.24 mbpd is owned and operated in Jamnagar, Gujarat, India by Reliance Industries Ltd. The Nelson Complexity Index of the RIL and RPL refineries in Jamnagar supersite is 11.2 and 14.0, respectively.

Globally, refineries are becoming large and complex and integrated with petrochemicals. Downstream petrochemicals lead to creation of mass employment by setting up of secondary units based on plastics, etc. The demand for both diesel and petrol in Africa is going to increase, demanding increase in total crude distillation capacity by over 30% or above and the doubling of conversion and hydro-processing capacity in the coming decades.

A new paradigm is taking shape in Africa's hydrocarbon marketing field, impacting the competitive landscape. Major oil companies like Chevron, BP, Shell and Exxon Mobil have divested most of their investment in downstream marketing terminals and retailing (except in South Africa) and local and regional oil marketing companies are strengthening their presence. Companies like Engen, OiLibya, Kenol, and National Oil Companies like National Oil, Sonangol, etc., are occupying the space created by the exit of multi-national companies. Indian companies like Reliance (via GAPCO) and Indian Oil Corporation have positioned themselves for market leadership roles in countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Mauritius. Unlike India, most African markets provide opportunities for open competition with participation of many MNCs and strong regional players. The competitive landscape is an open invitation for market stewardship to Indian companies with experience and knowledge of operating in free pricing market environments.

One of the important areas where African countries can draw upon Indian expertise is in transition from bio-mass to LPG, so necessary for the environmental health of the continent. Barring oil-rich countries in North Africa, LPG penetration in other countries is low. Government support is necessary to enable investments in upgrading the infrastructure by waiving import duty on capital equipment, such as terminals, bottling plants, cylinders, etc. The stakeholders need to collaborate with multi-lateral

financing agencies and arrange microfinance for customers, if priority is to be given to promoting LPG.

India's strengths in Oil & Gas sector are well known. It has expertise in both on-shore and off-shore E&P, including deep water exploration. India has built large, complex, modern, integrated and environment friendly refineries in record time. In addition, cost-effective upgradation and de-choking of old refineries has been undertaken for improving fuel quality and capacity. Expertise in downstream retailing to reach petroleum products to one billion people over half-a-million villages, including LPG supplies to over 90 million customers can be easily leveraged in Africa for meeting the lifeline energy needs of its people. Besides, India can emerge as a knowledge partner for IT, Supply Chain Management and Training in oil sector and Africa can safely count on Indian proven skills in the hydrocarbon sector.

Areas of cooperation for mutual benefits can be agreed upon on a short term, medium term and long term basis.

i) Short Term Areas of Cooperation

Exploration–Drilling (mud pumps, chemicals, drill bits, pipes); Bulk transportation (pipelines, valves, anodic/cathodic protection, control instruments and jetty cabling)

Processing–Refinery (capital equipment for new projects, balancing equipment for expansion, EPC capacity building); Maintenance (Electrical, Mechanical, Instrumentation)

Services–Operation & maintenance, trained manpower, IT enabled services and Inland transport vehicles)

Consumables–e.g., Speciality Chemicals

Down stream–(Key raw materials for conversion industries, such as petrochemicals, plastics etc.,)

- ii) **Medium Term Areas of Cooperation**
JVs and project export opportunities for Indian companies in Upstream E&P activities, Mid stream contracts such as laying pipelines, operation and maintenance of refineries, consultancy services, projects for setting up retail outlets in host countries, turn key project implementation etc.,
- iii) **Long term areas of cooperation:** Equity participation in developed fields; E&P contracts; Midstream and downstream JVs and investments; Future Energy Security for India.

International cooperation is essential to effect transition to more sustainable patterns of consumption and production. Cooperation with India would help Africa to attract investment capital, maximize Africa's energy potential and increase India's energy security. The partners can build a model of reverse dependence in South-South cooperation in hydrocarbon sector, which need not compete with similar interests of other developing non-African countries.

Remarks by H.E. Gennet Zewide, Ethiopian Ambassador to India

Academic collaboration between Ethiopian and Indian Universities: the case of IIT Delhi Project

The economy of Ethiopia, an East African country with a population of 80 million, is based on agriculture. There are more than 85 ethnic groups living in the country.

Since 1991, after the dictatorial military regime was replaced by the current democratic government, series of reform measures and programmes have been undertaken to bring about political, economic and social transformations. Various economic and social policies and strategies are

being formulated and being put into practice. As a result, the economy is growing at 11%.

In recognition of the vital role education plays in social uplift, the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has got down to the task of spreading education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. For example, the number of government universities increased from 2 (in 1991) to 31 (in 2010) and enrolment in higher education was raised from 3000 students in 1991 to more than 180,000 in 2009.

For the spread of higher education, the country needs to vastly enlarge its faculty at Masters and PH.D. levels. The scarcity of trained teachers is one of the major constraints felt in Ethiopia. Although a number of measures have been taken to train such teachers in Ethiopian universities, it is just not enough and training abroad is unavoidable; India has become the main partner in this endeavour.

Currently, there are more than 400 Ethiopian Government sponsored students in various Indian higher learning institutions. Though the government is sponsoring post graduate programmes in IITs and other Indian Institutions, it was not keeping up with the rapidly expanding pace of higher education. The Ethiopian Government, therefore, had to look for an optional plan to train a far larger number of post graduates at a faster pace without compromising the quality of the training. Thus the idea of live, two-way video conferencing was forwarded to Indian universities and IITs from Ethiopian side. Following a series of discussions between IIT Delhi and Embassy of Ethiopia in New Delhi, the two sides agreed to impart M. Tech level training through video conferencing and the Addis Ababa University signed an MOU with IIT Delhi. The programme was started in 2008-09 in the area of Construction Engineering and Chemical Engineering. There were a total of 100 M.Tech candidates in both

disciplines. Professors from IIT Delhi frequently travelled to Ethiopia to evaluate and interact with the students.

As the two programmes were successfully completed with almost all the candidates passing, two more engineering disciplines, Electronics/ Computer Engineering and Manufacturing Engineering were added to the programme. The courses in these two disciplines were also completed successfully. IIT Delhi offered PH. D scholarships to four high achievers – one each from the four disciplines. Today, the programme continues for the second batch and is going smoothly.

Comments by Amb. H. H. S Viswanathan:

I agree with the High Commissioner's comment that India-Africa partnership, though very strong, has to evolve with the changing times and circumstances. In fact, the new situation has provided enormous possibilities which both sides should exploit. It is not a question of one helping the other; it has to be a partnership on a win-win basis. That is the only way for a long-term engagement. Human Resource development is the real foundation for the future. The persons thus trained would be the true bridges of friendship. An all round awareness about each other is needed. Lack of media interest in India about Africa has to be corrected. There should be genuine African narratives reflected in the media.

Economic cooperation has to go beyond trade. New innovative ways have to be explored. There is also need to go beyond LOC related projects. The presentation of Ashok Dhar on the Hydro-carbon sector is only a template. This would apply to many other sectors like pharmaceuticals, agriculture and infra-structure. The importance of regional and sub-regional integration in Africa should be realized. Indian businesses, instead of thinking in terms of individual countries, should take in whole regions

to exploit economies of scale. I agree with Navdeep Suri's observation that Indian economy's success has, in a perverse way, acted as a disincentive for them to venture into places like Africa because they were already making enough profits within the country.

I would like to also stress the need for greater interaction between journalists, writers and civil society activists of India and Africa.

Participants:

Amb. M. Rasgotra

President, Centre for International Relations

Observer Research Foundation

Mr. Rasgotra joined the Indian Foreign Services in September 1949 in the pioneering years of Indian diplomacy. He served with distinction in Indian missions in Washington D.C., Kathmandu and in the Ministry of External Affairs. From 1958 to 1962, he made a notable contribution in the evolution and implementation of India's policies towards its neighbours.

His ambassadorial career took him to Morocco and Tunisia, the USA, Britain, Nepal, the Netherlands, France and UNESCO. At every post his work has helped advance India's interests, enhance her image and strengthen her relations with the concerned countries.

His tenure as Foreign Secretary from 1982 to 1985 was marked by a renewal in Indo-American relations, sustained negotiations with Pakistan and a tentative reach-out towards China. He played a significant role in the prestigious events of the period—the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, the Six-Nation Appeal on Nuclear Disarmament and the Six-Nation Summit in New Delhi.

After retirement, he was Honorary Visiting Professor in JNU, Regents' Professor at UCLA and President of the Delhi College of Arts & Commerce. He is founder President of the International Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. Through his numerous articles, lectures and his commentaries in Indian and Foreign electronic media he continues to make an important contribution to the national thinking on foreign policy and security related matters.

H.E. Williams Nkurunziza

High Commissioner of the Republic of Rwanda to India

Besides being the High Commissioner of the Republic of Rwanda to India, H.E. Nkurunziza is the designate Ambassador Extra-ordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republics of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Union of Myanmar. Previously, he worked as Director General of the Rwanda Investment and Export Promotion Agency. He is widely credited for tireless promotional efforts that helped to reposition Rwanda globally as an attractive investment destination, as well as for opening the first-ever agency nodal offices in India, China and Canada.

Beyond public service, H. E. Nkurunziza can boast of a rich private sector experience, having served at senior corporate management levels in Namibia, Kenya and Uganda. Until his recent diplomatic assignment, he was Group Managing Director, Habib Investments Limited, a holding company in Uganda with interests in Telecommunications, Oil and Gas, Banking, Engineering and project management, Property Development and motor vehicle leasing.

Mr. Navdeep Suri

Joint Secretary & Head of the Public Diplomacy Division
Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

An Indian Foreign Service officer since 1983, Mr. Navdeep Suri has served in a host of different capacities in India's diplomatic missions in Egypt, Syria, the United States, Tanzania, the UK and South Africa. He has worked in the economic division of the Ministry of External Affairs, headed its West Africa division and was India's Consul General in Johannesburg till October 2009, before returning to take over his present assignment.

Amb. H.H.S. Viswanathan

Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation

Mr. Viswanathan was a member of the Indian Foreign Service for 34 years. He has a long and diverse experience in international relations and diplomacy. His foreign assignments include Belgium, Zaire, Czechoslovakia, Germany, China, Italy, Cote d' Ivoire, USA and Nigeria. He was the Head of Mission (Ambassador/High Commissioner) in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria with concurrent accreditation to Niger, Guinea (Conakry), Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Benin, Chad, Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe. At the Headquarters in MEA, he has been Deputy Secretary (East Europe) and Joint Secretary (Administration). In USA, he was Consul General of India in San Francisco with a consular jurisdiction over 14 States in the mid- West and West coast of the US.

He also has experience in multilateral diplomacy. He represented India in the African Development Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO). He was also Observer at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Amb. Rajiv Kumar Bhatia

Ambassador R.K. Bhatia served India with distinction for over thirty-seven years (1972 to 2009) as a career diplomat. He holds a Master's degree in political science from Allahabad University, India. He served as a lecturer in Meerut College, India for three years. After joining the Indian Foreign Service in July 1972, Mr. Bhatia served in Indian Missions in Paris, Beirut, Brussels and Jakarta and as Consul General in Toronto. Later, he headed four Missions as Ambassador/High Commissioner in Kenya, Myanmar, Mexico and South Africa. Earlier, he also served as joint secretary in Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and was responsible for India's relations with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Maldives.

Ms. Ruchita Beri

Research Officer, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi

Ruchita Beri specialises in political and security issues of Sub-Saharan Africa and her current area of research focuses on redefining India-Africa relations. Besides an M.Phil from the Centre of West Asian Studies, School of International Studies (SIS), Jawaharlal Nehru University, she also has a diploma in conflict studies from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden and is an alumna of the Women in International Security (WIIS), USA. She has lectured at the National Defence College, College of Naval Warfare and has participated in various national and international conferences. She has been involved in research on political and security issues of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and has done intensive research on South Africa. Of late, she has been focusing on the implications of the war against terrorism and the oil boom in Africa on India's ties with these countries. She is Joint Secretary of the African Studies Association of India. She is also a member of the United Service Institute of India.

Prof. Jamal Moosa

Reader

Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia University

Dr. Jamal M. Moosa did his Masters in Political Science from the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU, New Delhi, India). He was awarded MPhil degree for his dissertation titled 'Ethnicity and Secessionist Struggle: A Comparative Study of Bifara and Eritrea', from the Centre for West Asian and African Studies, School of International Studies, JNU. Subsequently, he went on to do his PhD on the theme, 'Ethnic Conflict and the Problem of Refugees: A Comparative Study of Rwanda and Burundi' from the same centre. His areas of specialization are African Studies, International Humanitarian Law, Human Rights, and Conflict Studies. Currently, he is working on issues

related to child soldiers, refugees and stateless persons, as also Francophone Africa. He has also contributed articles to journals like African Quarterly and Journal of Peace Studies, as also to compiled volumes.

Mr. Ashok Dhar

Senior Vice President

International Business Development & Industrial Marketing Group,
Reliance Industries Limited (Petroleum Division)

Ashok Dhar has been associated with the oil industry for about 30 years. He is on the Board of Directors of Gulf Africa Petroleum Corporation (GAPCO), Mauritius, which is the holding company of GAPCO subsidiaries in East Africa. A chemical engineer by profession (an alumni of NIT Srinagar and IIT Kanpur), Dhar is a Member of Energy Institute, London. Before joining Reliance Industries Limited in 2001, he served as Vice President (Energy), Dabbagh Group, (Saudi Arabia); General Manager & CEO, APSL (Gulf Oil), Saudi Arabia; Head (Industrial Markets & Technology), Bharat SHELL and Manager (International Trade-Crude Oil Imports), Indian Oil Corporation. Dhar has previously held roles in General Management, International Trading, Strategic Planning, Mergers and Acquisitions, Marketing and Technical Services in Oil Industry in India and abroad.

Sh. Manish Chand

Editor, Africa Quarterly

Besides being the Editor of Africa Quarterly, Manish Chand also writes on foreign affairs, politics, culture and books. His articles have been published in leading national and international dailies and research journals. He has travelled extensively and written on international issues from various places around the world. He has participated in global seminars and presented papers.

Endnote:

1. Jackkie Cilliers, Africa in the new world: how global and domestic developments will impact by 2025. Monograph no. 151 (Tshwane : Institute for Security Studies , 2008), pp.99
2. Ibid
3. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/bnote010101.pdf>
4. Jakkie Cilliers, n.1 pp.102
5. Stephen Brown and Paul Kaiser, “Democratisation in Africa: Attempts, Hindrances and Prospects.” Third World Quarterly Vol. 28. No.6 September 2007
6. The Status of Democracy, 2005-2006: Findings from Afrobarometer Round 3 for 18 Countries,” Afrobarometer Brief Paper No. 40, June 2006
7. Ibid
8. High Level Panel of the Audit of the African Union, Audit of the African Union, Addis Ababa, 18 December 2007, p. xxiii.
9. Robinson, William I., Social Theory and Globalization: The Rise of a Transnational State, Theory and Society, 30 (2001): pp. 157-200. p.158
10. Stiglitz, Joseph E., Globalization and its Discontents New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003. p. 249
11. African Union, “Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union', 10 July 2002, <http://www.african-union.org>.
12. Hope, Kempe Ronald Sr., “Practitioner Perspective Toward Good Governance and Sustainable Development: The African Peer Review Mechanism” Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions, 18. 2 (April 2005): pp. 283–311.
13. Martin, William G., “Beyond Bush: The Future of Popular Movements and US Africa Policy.” Review of African Political Economy, 31.102, (Dec., 2004): pp. 585-597. p.586
14. Nanda, B.R., India's Foreign Policy: Nehru Years, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1976. p. 3

Observer Research Foundation is a public policy think-tank that aims to influence formulation of policies for building a strong and prosperous India. ORF pursues these goals by providing informed and productive inputs, in-depth research and stimulating discussions. The Foundation is supported in its mission by a cross-section of India's leading public figures, academics and business leaders.

Rs. 195/-



Observer Research Foundation
20, Rouse Avenue, New Delhi-110 002
Email: orf@orfonline.org
Phone: +91-11-43520020 Fax: +91-11-43520003
www.orfonline.org