



**Vivekananda  
International  
Foundation**



# **India-Africa Partnership**

**Achievements, Challenges and  
Roadmap 2030**

**VIF Report**

# **India-Africa Partnership**

## **Achievements, Challenges and Roadmap 2030**

*Report by Africa Expert Group*

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## FOREWORD

The rapid transformation of the global and regional environment following the Covid-19 epidemic, the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, and, the adverse impact of climate change has created a new context for the development of India-Africa relations for the future. Undoubtedly, India-Africa Forum Summit process has greatly boosted India's engagement with African countries. But the summits have been infrequent and uncertain. The follow up has been slow. Further, we need to look beyond the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) and improve the effectiveness of existing cooperation mechanisms. There is an urgent need for developing an ambitious but time bound roadmap for stepping India-Africa engagement to mutual benefit.

It is with this conviction that at the Vivekananda International Foundation we formed an Africa Experts Group (AEG). Chaired by Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia, Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House, the Group comprised 20 of Africa experts from diverse backgrounds. They share their passion and love for Africa as the common thread. They have been affiliated with academics, think tanks, industry players, and former Indian ambassadors with extensive experience in Africa.

When the Group convened for the first time on 2 November 2022, it decided to have a close look at the current status of the India-Africa partnership, identifying the emerging areas of cooperation, and, prepare a 'Roadmap' to foster more active collaboration in the identified areas. The goal was to comprehend Africa's geopolitical significance and its consequences for India. During six months of its work, the Group held several meetings and discussions on all facets of the India-Africa relationship. It also interacted with officials and diplomats engaged with India-Africa relations.

It gives me great pleasure to present a VIF Report titled "India-Africa Partnership: Achievements, Challenges and Roadmap 2030" that the Group prepared after its deliberations. The report is divided into two parts: Part I deals with an objective analysis of the present state of India-Africa engagement. Part II presents the 'Roadmap 2030' through a set of recommendations that are designed to take the India-Africa partnership to the next level during the present decade. The 'Roadmap' has 60 recommendations for strengthening the partnership, 12 pertain

to political and diplomatic cooperation, 10 to defence and security cooperation, 28 to economic and development cooperation and 10 to socio-cultural cooperation.

Some of the recommendations have been sub-divided into more specific suggestions. Considering that India-Africa relations are multifaceted and expanding in several areas, the report suggests the establishment of an Inter-Ministerial and Inter Agency task force within the government, to ensure better coordination. There are several recommendations aimed at strengthening the institutional basis of India-Africa engagements. We earnestly hope that the ‘Roadmap 2030’ will receive the government’s due attention.

The report can be read and used in various educational institutions, policy think tanks. It will hopefully instil in every reader the desire to know more about Africa.

I want to thank all the group members for their contributions. My special thanks to Shri Dammu Ravi, Secretary (Economic Relations), and Shri Puneet R. Kundal, Joint Secretary (E&SA), Ministry of External Affairs, as well as H.E. J. S. Ndebele, High Commissioner of South Africa, H.E. Abdalla Omer Bashir Elhusain, Ambassador of Sudan, and Mr Ernest Nana Adjei, Minister-Counsellor (Political and Economic), Ghana who visited VIF and interacted with the group members and helped to make the report more robust. I am grateful to Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia who led this Group and shaped the report. Mr Samir Bhattacharya, Senior Research Associate, VIF, deserves special mention for meticulous and detailed editing of the report.

Arvind Gupta  
Director, VIF

Date: 19 Jun 2023





## List of Abbreviations

AAGC	Asia-Africa Growth Corridor
ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AEG	Africa Expert Group
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Agreement
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGF	Africa Growth Fund
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
AU	African Union
AYUSH	Ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, and Homoeopathy
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CDD	Centre for Democracy and Development
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel–Saharan States
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAC	East African Community
EBID	ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
EU	European Union
EV	Electric Vehicle
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FRRO	Foreigners Regional Registration Office
GIS	Geographic Information Systems

GOI	Government of India
GNOP	Greater Nile Oil Project
GPOC	Great Pioneer Operating Company
IAFS	India–Africa Forum Summit
IEA	International Energy Agency
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IGAD	The Intergovernmental Authority on Development
INSA	Indian National Shipowners Association
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
ITEC	Indian and Technical Cooperation
KIP	Know India Programme
LDC	Least Developing Countries
LOCs	Lines of Credit
MSME	Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NSCS	National Security Council Secretariat
NEIA	National Export Interest Account
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
NaBFID	National Bank for Financing Infrastructure and Development
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NRI	Non-Resident Indian
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Developmental Assistance
OIL	Oil India Limited
OVL	ONGC Videsh Limited
PAeN	Pan African e-Network
PBD	Pravasi Bhartiya Divas
PIO	Persons of Indian Origin
PPP	Public Private Partnerships

RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGAR	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SIP	Study India Programme
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
UN	United Nations
UPI	Unified Payments Interface
VIF	Vivekananda International Foundation
WHO	World Health Organization
WIO	Western Indian Ocean

## Executive Summary

*The India-Africa partnership has recorded considerable progress in recent years but realizing its full potential needs serious introspection and an objective appraisal. Armed with this conviction, the Vivekananda International Foundation's Africa Expert Group undertook a comprehensive study of various aspects of the two geographies amidst quickly evolving international dynamics. While African countries continue to go through political, diplomatic, security and socio-economic transitions, their population, economic potential and political influence in world affairs is set to increase. In this context, it would be crucial to identify mutual interests between India and its various partners in Africa and focus on deepening, and diversifying, their multi-dimensional engagement.*

*Part I of this report spells out the current global context, marked by the pro-activism on the part of many powers to gain access to African resources and markets, as well as extend a higher level of aid through trade, technology and investment to select African states. Besides China, the US, member-states of the EU, Japan and Türkiye are the other countries active in this regard. A key takeaway for India is that given growing competition and sharpening geopolitical contestation, it must review its Africa policy periodically, make required changes, maintain operational resilience and single mindedly focus on implementation of decisions and agreements.*

*This study brings out the complexity of the three levels of partnership – continental, regional and sub-regional, and bilateral – while stressing that all are interrelated. It then presents a balanced picture of present-day cooperation in select domains such as defence and security, economy (with detailed snapshots of diverse sectors like trade and investment, development cooperation, project exports, agriculture, health, education, energy, infrastructure, shipping, trilateral and socio-cultural cooperation).*

*Part II offers the 'Roadmap 2030', which lists an extensive set of recommendations which, once accepted and implemented in a substantive measure, will help in scaling new heights for this partnership. The 'Roadmap' has 60 recommendations for strengthening the partnership, 12 pertain to political and diplomatic cooperation, 10 to defence and security cooperation, 28 to economic and development cooperation and 10 to socio-cultural cooperation.. In addition, an implementation mechanism has been suggested for the government's consideration.*

*The report also emphasizes the centrality of Africa to India's foreign policy and how this historic partnership is crucial in contemporary world affairs. Therefore, all*

*Indian stakeholders, not just government, need to work proactively on strategies that produce mutually beneficial outcomes for India-Africa relations in the short and medium terms.*

## Introduction

The age-old relationship between India and Africa is an asset of considerable pride and strategic value. That this partnership is multi-dimensional and serves the interest of both parties is widely recognised. Objectively speaking, it has progressed considerably in many respects in the past two decades, and especially in recent years. But simultaneously, serious introspection and objective appraisal is also essential for this partnership to realise its best potential. A realistic approach, if conceived in constructive and creative way, should prove its worth to both India and Africa, besides other key stakeholders.

This conviction led the Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF), a prestigious think tank based in New Delhi, to commission a second study on this subject. The first study entitled *India-Africa: A Partnership for Growth, which was published in September 2018, received positive notice.*<sup>1</sup>

For this second study, the Africa Expert Group (AEG) was formed, chaired by Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia, Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House. It was comprised of 20 experts who worked on this project in their personal capacities and used their decades of experience in studying, working, living and travelling in Africa to interpret African affairs. They have been affiliated with prestigious universities (Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Allahabad, Amity, B. R. Ambedkar and SAU), think tanks (VIF, Gateway House, India, and MP-IDS) and industry players (CII, FICCI, Exim Bank, and INSA). They include four former Indian ambassadors with extensive Africa experience, a retired lieutenant general of the Indian Army and two promising researchers specialising in African affairs. The substantive involvement of Dr. Arvind Gupta, Director VIF, showed the institution's full commitment to this project. The composition of the AEG is in

### **Annexure 1.**

The mandate given to the AEG was to examine and discuss “the different contours of the India-Africa partnership, identify the emerging areas of cooperation and prepare a roadmap to foster more active collaboration in the identified areas.”<sup>2</sup> While building on this goal, the Director VIF, stressed, “The idea is to develop a deeper understanding of the strategic importance of Africa and the implications for India”.<sup>3</sup>

From November 2022 to May 2023, the AEG held six meetings at the VIF. Apart from holding indepth internal deliberations on all facets of the India-Africa relationship, the group had the valuable opportunity to listen to Dammu Ravi, Secretary (Economic Relations), and Puneet R. Kundal, Joint Secretary (E&SA), Ministry of External Affairs, as well as J. S.Ndebele, High Commissioner of South Africa, Abdalla Omer Bashir Elhusain, Ambassador of Sudan, and Ernest Nana Adjei, Minister-Counsellor (Political and Economic), Ghana.

An assessment of the development of India-Africa ties may appear peculiar, considering that Africa is a continent of 54 UN-recognised states, while India is a subcontinent. Nevertheless, dissecting this complex equation makes a sense, keeping in mind that each side represents approximately 15 percent of the global population. (Already mentioned above) India's importance to African partners varies bilaterally from country to country, but as a continent, all are amply aware of this nation's growing global stature. History, geography, economic interests and political inclination demand differentiated diplomacy. However, there is little doubt that Africa, as a group, weighs high on the list of India's foreign policy priorities.

Finally, the essential structure of this study is simple: Part I deals with an objective analysis of the present state of relations. Part II presents the 'Roadmap 2030' through a set of recommendations that are designed to take the India-Africa partnership to a higher level during the present decade.

## Part I

### **India, Africa and the current transition**

Blessed with a long and shared history, India and Africa have remained on each other's horizon through the last seven decades. India's fight against decolonisation and apartheid, and consistent efforts to serve as a voice of developing countries through the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and other international fora, earned it enormous goodwill. Continued capacity-building assistance under the Indian and Technical Cooperation (ITEC) Programme, launched in 1964 and other programmes, further enriched the relationship. But India's Africa policy has been somewhat ad-hoc. It did not elicit the political attention in Delhi that it deserved, given the absence of regular high-level visits and engagements from India until 2014. This was viewed by African leaders as a lack of interest from India, but they continued to visit the country and made their presence felt. This lacuna was partially addressed with the launch of the India-Africa Forum Summit in 2008. However, the fourth summit, due in 2020, is yet to be held. Considering that other powers like China, Russia, the US and Japan have carried on with their engagements in Africa, India not doing so as consistently as required, does not send a good signal to our partners.

It is underlined that a real change came with the Modi government. Over three dozen VVIP visits were arranged at various levels. Eighteen new diplomatic missions have been opened. A holistic developmental approach with a greater focus on maritime connectivity through SAGAR ('Security and Growth for All in the Region') has been adopted. **India unveiled its new Africa policy when Prime Minister Narendra Modi addressed the Ugandan Parliament in July 2018, outlining the ten guiding principles.**<sup>4</sup> At present, bilateral or regional approaches broadly are still the preferred mode, while on global issues, a 'whole-of-Africa' approach is adopted. India's vaccine diplomacy and the quest for Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) waiver on vaccines during the pandemic has won New Delhi critical strategic space.



In addition to the searing impact of colonialism, several African countries still face many challenges across realms: political (coups, instability), economic (corruption, debt, and underdevelopment) and security (insurgencies, conflicts, wars). The debt burden has affected the socio-economic fabric and politico-strategic choices. The Covid pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war have brought in serious difficulties.

Nevertheless, African nations are now engaged in bringing about the realisation of the AU Agenda 2063 and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with greater energy and using their strengths, but without choosing sides from among a bouquet of international players. The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) aims to achieve integration and bring benefits through collective bargaining. Improving connectivity through the continent is a major concern.

The continent is suffering from the '4 H crisis' - Health, Hunger, Habitat and High Technology. Therefore, the focus is obviously on governance and democracy; harnessing youth dividend through employment and entrepreneurship; enhancing connectivity and integration through AfCFTA and the quest for a single African market; debt management, or waivers and resource mobilisation; attracting trade, technology and investment aimed at localisation and value addition of natural resources; securing the negotiating leverage and representation in multilateral institutions; countering climate change and terrorism, coups and conflicts through regional approaches and promoting regional peacekeeping along with the UN. But with a fractured polity and competing approaches by major international benefactors obstruct Africa's adoption of a unified stand. For a quick look at the present situation in Africa please see

## **Annexure 2.**

The NAM created solidarity in the Global South from the 1950s to the 1980s and beyond, working on the ambitious agenda of independence, decolonisation and economic development. India displayed remarkable capability to carry Africa with it, which is widely appreciated by Africans. The Global South, especially Africa, needs a continuously focused strategy designed to address their concerns and priorities. India's hosting of the 'Voice of the Global South Summit' in January 2023 refurbished its credentials as a credible champion of the developing world, but the summit needs to be followed by tangible actions and implementation of new initiatives announced.

## Global context

During the 21<sup>st</sup> century, due to certain apparent factors like abundant mineral and natural resources, market potential and the geostrategic location of some of its parts, Africa has been attracting much attention from several major powers and other players. In essence, it has become a site of struggle for influence between contending powers, including multinational firms and banks. The kaleidoscopic configurations of major powers such as France, the EU, the US, China, Russia, Turkey and Japan on the African landscape have had an inevitable impact on shaping India's policy towards Africa. This section will shed light on the role of diverse powers, including the clash of their interests in Africa and explain the challenges facing India in devising its policy.

Despite structural, security and governance issues, Africa still attracts due to its abundant natural resources and expanding human resources. If both are harnessed suitably, the developmental pace of Africa will be exponential. It is seen as the next Great Growth Market. While region-wide efforts for integration are being made, geopolitics and geoeconomics remain profoundly influential as global strategic competition among rival powers drives it. This is an overarching reality that should be continuously factored into the Indian policy framework.

Given its *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam* ('The world is a family') vision, India tends to craft mutually beneficial projects and partnerships. This is appreciated in Africa. But at present, African leaders are vocal about 'vaccine apartheid' and 'green apartheid', while criticising Western nations for their policies that cause these inequities.

China is the leading external actor on the continent. In every discussion on Africa, the "Dragon" is always in the room. Sino-African engagement is pervasive, strategic and security-oriented as it caters to Beijing's economic and political goals. According to most estimates, it has now assumed a strategic depth. The major instrument of cooperation has been the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). It has met regularly and reviewed the Chinese outreach to Africa with participation of African leaders. Besides, high-level visits have been frequent. It is a long-established tradition that the Chinese foreign minister starts the new year with a multi-country tour in Africa. China has found willing partners for its Belt and Road (BRI) project in Africa and created a solid network of strategic ports, especially on the east coast and the Horn of Africa.

Consequently, not only do trade and investment figures speak for themselves, but China has also successfully created a constituency of top leaders and

influential interest groups that always support Beijing when it is criticised by the West and others for creating a massive debt trap and practicing neo-colonialism. China overtly tries to champion the cause of developing countries at various international fora. Since President Xi Jinping has started travelling abroad, he is likely to pay special attention to Africa henceforth as US interest has become more accentuated lately. For details about China's role in Africa see **Annexure 3**.

The US is trying to regain its geopolitical edge by containing China and Russia. With the goal of confronting Chinese and Russian dominance through its policies and position in the global order, the concept of strategic competition has gained traction in the US since 2018. After Trump's neglect of and derisive comments about Africa, the Biden Administration has been trying to craft a more robust Africa policy. In December 2022, it hosted 49 Heads of State and Government from Africa at a summit in Washington on the theme of 'Strengthening Partnerships to Meet Shared Priorities'. A vision statement outlining the contours of the future trajectory and the modus operandi for strengthening the US-Africa partnership was issued.<sup>5</sup>

**The US has committed to channel \$55 billion<sup>6</sup> to Africa through various instruments during the next three years.** To assuage the Africans and the African American diaspora and his domestic constituency, President Biden decided that a President's Advisory Council on African Diaspora Engagement in the United States would be established by the Secretary of State so that people-to-people contacts could be institutionalised. The administration has planned to work with Congress to secure \$100 million for the Young African Leaders Initiative, which would help diverse young Africans to succeed in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century economy and spark transformational change in their communities, countries, and the continent. A notable announcement was the US support for the African Union (AU) to become a permanent member of G20. To support African resilience and recovery and provide debt relief, **Washington has committed to working with the IMF for setting aside \$21 billion for Africa.**

Russia has had a noteworthy influence in several parts of Africa since the Cold War. It has invested heavily in infrastructure projects and has been a major supplier of arms. The Russia-Ukraine war and the pandemic dampened its outreach to some extent, but most African countries have not favoured sanctions against Russia despite US Secretary of State Blinken approaching several African leaders before the UN votes. **Moscow has organised only one Russia-**

**Africa Summit in Sochi in October 2019. The next one is slated to take place in St. Peterburg in July 2023.**

While supporting Africa's representation at the UN Security Council and other multilateral organisations, Russia favours preventing conflicts in Africa as part of the 'Silencing the Guns Initiative' of the AU. It believes that the principle of 'African solutions to African problems' should continue to serve as a basis for conflict resolution. It has also offered to train African peacekeepers in Russian institutions and work jointly for counter-terrorism strategies. It promotes greater collaboration between BRICS and Africa. However, the US and other Western countries decry the assertive Russian presence, especially its Wagner Group which is considered a part of the problem rather than the solution.<sup>7</sup> South Africa has been vocal in asserting its strategic autonomy even as it faces Western criticism over its endeavour to maintain close ties with Russia. This may deepen further as Moscow fosters security cooperation with the region.

European countries have also been trying to increase their influence and engage with African countries bilaterally and multilaterally, especially in the EU-AU context. The EU considers Africa an important geopolitical neighbour. EU-Africa cooperation in agriculture and food security takes place at diverse levels. Most financial support is provided at the country and regional levels between the EU and individual African countries, besides the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). **The 6<sup>th</sup> EU-AU Summit was held in February 2022 in Brussels** and was preceded by various ministerial-level dialogue mechanisms. A joint vision for a renewed partnership has been underlined, marked by solidarity, security, peace and sustainable economic development for citizens of the AU and EU. In the bilateral context, France remains a major stakeholder, maintaining close connections with its erstwhile colonies, although its military cooperation is decreasing. The Franco-African summits have been frequent and focussed. Germany continues with its Africa outreach strategy. Italy has worked out its 'Mattei Plan'<sup>8</sup> to strengthen its energy ties, especially with North African countries.

A notable vulnerability in the US- EU approach towards Africa is their stress on human rights and LGBT issues. This strikes a discordant note as African countries are sensitive on this matter.

Turkey, following its Ottoman connect and vast ambitions in North Africa, has emerged as a key actor, especially in the Libyan context, where it continues to support Tripoli militarily and aims to strengthen its heft in the Mediterranean.

Considering itself as Africa's neighbour and seeing the growth of GCC countries like Saudi Arabia, India, Qatar and Israel in the continent, **Turkey has followed a robust Africa policy since 2005**. In the last decade, its presence has gained much visibility. **It hosted three Africa summits; the most recent one being in December 2021**. Turkey seeks to increase its influence in the continent by using many channels of diplomacy, trade, investment, education, health, security and military cooperation, along with soft power tools like culture and history. Turkish Airlines has significant coverage of the continent. With only ten embassies in 2008, the government opened 43 missions in Africa by 2021. The fact that President Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited over 30 African countries in the last 15 years speaks for itself. He describes Turkey as an Afro-Eurasian state.

Japan is yet another major power, given its significant Official Developmental Assistance (ODA) profile. Through its regular summits with African leaders since 1993, Tokyo has expanded its influence in the continent. This is clear from the kind of support they receive at elections for UN positions and on other key issues. Japan follows two main approaches that serve as a framework for its interactions with African nations: "quality growth" (inclusiveness, sustainability and resilience) and "human security" (the capacity building that prioritises the empowerment of every African citizen). The Indo-Pacific is another major area of interest for Japan. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe had emphasized in his opening remarks at the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) VI that the dynamism produced by bringing two continents – Asia and Africa – and the two oceans – 'the free and open' Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean – together was the key to global stability and prosperity. Japan and India tried to cooperate in building the India-Africa Growth Corridor, but for some reasons, it hasn't materialised.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the salience given to the Indo-Pacific in India's foreign policy during the past decade and the rapid consolidation of the Quad since 2017, has led some African scholars to wonder if this trend may weaken India's interest in Africa. The Indian response is that this nation's definition of the Indo-Pacific is the region stretching from 'California to Kilimanjaro'. This essentially conveys that the southern and eastern coasts of Africa and the Indian Ocean Region constitute an integral part of India's Indo-Pacific strategy. "The requirement of simultaneously addressing the needs of the Indo-Pacific, the Indian Ocean and its constituent regions is today the task before us," said External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar in May 2023. Stressing the importance of the Indian Ocean, he added, "Nations of the Indian Ocean are among those who lead the rise of Asia and the re-

emergence of Africa.”<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, given the concerns expressed in some African quarters, it is advisable for New Delhi to re-calibrate the relative importance of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean in its overall external approach.

A principal takeaway from the current geopolitical play, as delineated above, is this: India has a substantive partnership with Africa and a rich fund of goodwill, but given the growing competition and sharpening geopolitical contestation, it is essential for New Delhi to review its policy on Africa periodically, stay resilient by making the required changes and place a razor-like focus on its implementation.

### **India-Africa partnership**

While managing relations with all 54 African countries, India needs to cope with multiple diversities in framing its policy at the continental, regional and bilateral levels. As far as the post-colonial states in Africa are concerned, without taking their diversities in terms of their colonial past, strategic significance, resource endowments, levels of socio-economic and technological development into cognizance, it would be difficult to decide the direction of policy towards them.

A deep study of India-Africa relations shows that they have a bearing on two critical dimensions: i) security covering energy, minerals, counterterrorism, maritime and cyber security, and defense cooperation; and ii) socio-economic development covering trade, technology, investment, development cooperation and people-to-people relations. It will be self-defeating for India to focus merely on one or the other pillar of the partnership. Wisdom lies in developing a finely calibrated balance between them. That is why a ‘whole-of-the-government’ approach should be devised. This report would recommend it.

India has given considerable importance to Africa in its foreign policy. However, before the pandemic, the Modi government showed an unprecedented resolve to take India’s long-standing ties with the continent to a higher level. **India’s renewed connection with the Africa was clear from the 34 visits its top leadership undertook to Africa during 2015–19.** Every African nation has had at least one ministerial level visit from the Indian side. Thus, cooperation at the political and diplomatic level stood strengthened. Employing a variety of collaborative mechanisms, particularly under the auspices of the IAFS, India’s relationship with Africa acquired a notable vibrance. The first three summits were held in 2008 in India, 2011 in Ethiopia and 2015 in India.

**The progress in India's relationship with Africa has been organic, through participatory processes. As of today, capacity-building initiatives, lines of credit, grant support, development projects, technical consultancy, disaster relief, humanitarian assistance and military cooperation represent primary channels of Indo-African collaboration.**

The most crucial mechanism of this collaboration has been capacity building and skill development. Over the years, Africa's human resource development has benefited significantly from the ITEC program. To overcome Covid restrictions, India introduced the first e-ITEC pilot programme for two African countries, which gained some momentum later. To address the demand of changing times, innovative courses such as big data analytics, urban infrastructure management, cooperation relating to WTO-related issues, and solar technology were also launched.

The Pan African e-Network (PaeN) was founded in 2004 by President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. It has contributed substantially to the development of telemedicine and tele-education in Africa. So far, 19 nations have agreed to collaborate on these networks. **Inspired by the success of PaeN, the government subsequently introduced e-Vidya Bharti and e-Arogya Bharti programmes in 2019.**

**India is still one of the top five countries for African students to study abroad.** According to the Association for African Students in India, there are now more than 25,000 African students registered in various universities. Knowledge diplomacy with Africa has much potential which needs to be realized optimally.

Security cooperation is another area of engagement. For decades, military personnel from African nations have received training in Indian institutions. The government has prioritised local production and export of defense products in recent years. **Africa could benefit from indigenous Indian defense technology.** On the other hand, this would also help India promote its defense industry.

India's naval cooperation with African countries is expanding, especially with those in eastern and southern Africa. Along with the Navies of Brazil and South Africa, **the Indian Navy took part in Exercise IBSAMAR-VI in South Africa in 2018.** During the exercise, Indian ships made port calls in Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa and Madagascar. Indian ships were also stationed in Seychelles, Mauritius, Reunion, Madagascar and the Comoros.

In March 2019, India hosted the first multinational exercise for African nations in Pune. While 17 African countries sent troops to participate in the exercise, three more African governments sent observers. This was repeated in March 2023, when the first conclave of African Army Chiefs was also held. India dispatched training teams from its three services to Tanzania; the Indian Coast Guard team to Mozambique, Namibia and Uganda. Additionally, a Navy training team visited Madagascar. The Milan Exercise is another security cooperation event hosted periodically by the Indian Navy.

India actively promotes anti-terrorism cooperation, peacekeeping and cybersecurity initiatives in Africa. India's first-ever training facility in Africa was the Imperial Military Academy, set up in 1958 in Harar, Ethiopia. Since the first UN Mission in the Congo in 1964, India has taken part in every African UN peacekeeping mission. India is currently Africa's fourth-largest supplier of troops for such missions. **A total of 4,483 Indians are presently stationed in five peacekeeping missions in the Congo, Morocco, Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia.** For details, see **Annexure 4**.

Finally, India's concern for humanitarian issues was on display when a cyclone struck Mozambique on March 15, 2019. In coordination with local authorities, the Indian Navy was the first responder, evacuating families and dropping food and water supplies in cyclone-affected areas. India extended assistance to several cyclone-affected countries, including Malawi, Madagascar and Zimbabwe. India also helped many African countries with their medical needs after the Covid-19 crisis erupted.

Undoubtedly, the future relationship between India and Africa will be an active partnership, motivated by the idea of developing together as equals and focusing on programmes in projects involving economic and technological advancements, development cooperation and capacity building. India and Africa are likely to emerge as twin growth hubs, elevating their multifaceted partnership to a higher level.

### **Three levels of partnership**

India–Africa relations need to be viewed and assessed at three different but interrelated levels: continental, regional or sub-regional and bilateral.

A new cooperation paradigm appeared with the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) transformation into the African Union in 2002. Together with NEPAD, India is now a more empowered organisation constantly looking for solutions to



Africa's challenges. India envisages a Pan-African strategy. India and the AU have expanded their economic, political and security cooperation in the past decade, but for both actors, Africa's diversity makes the continental strategy more challenging. This is primarily attributable to the AU's lack of instrumental ability as an inter-governmental forum, brought on by its structural and budgetary inadequacy.

In contrast, **there exist over 40 regional communities in Africa with overlapping memberships.** The AU formally recognises only eight RECs: COMESA, SADC, ECOWAS, EAC, IGAD, ECCAS, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and CEN-SAD.

The primary function of these RECs is to promote regional cooperation, even though they have developed independently. They have distinct roles and structures to support, in varying degrees, the economic integration of nations at the regional level and ultimately integrate them into the recently established continental structure – AfCFTA. They have varying degrees of success. Regional trade and investment growth over the past decade is testimony to EAC's success. A similar success story can be seen in the SADC. The 25-member COMESA is also thriving. However, ECCAS and AMU continue to be ad hoc and ineffective organisations. The development of AfCFTA is an example of how the AU's method of gradually integrating certain regional communities into its structures and then letting them cooperate for more significant mutual benefit has been successful. The Pan African Manufacturers Association (PAMA) was set up in November 2019 to support AfCFTA because the AU believes this would accelerate the growth of the private sector.

The RECs give African states more negotiating power without sacrificing their ability to implement and supervise programmes properly. **India's enhanced engagement with the RECs would strengthen its cooperation with all of Africa.** Therefore, promoting increased collaboration between India and select RECs is crucial. Given Africa's immense breadth and diversity, adopting a different regional-level platform can help Indian businesses in utilising the complimentary regional economies and marketplaces. India has been trying to upgrade its engagements with the RECs, but efforts have been half-hearted and ineffective.

In substantive terms, India has been focused on building relations at the bilateral level. It faces the dilemma of doing so with all 54 countries or concentrating its efforts and resources on a smaller number of African states that can better serve

India's national interest. This question needs a broader debate. Recent academic work suggesting priority to fifteen countries or so may be referred to in this context.<sup>11</sup>

### **Cooperation in select domains**

This section captures and evaluates the present state of play in select domains of India-Africa cooperation.

### **Defense and security cooperation**

In recent years, India has concentrated on forging stronger defence ties with African nations. 'SAGAR' or 'Security and Growth for All in the Region' and *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* – the world is one family – are the two guiding ideas influencing India-Africa ties in this area. The fact that India has signed MoUs with all African nations on the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) is evidence of increased defence engagement with African countries. **The hosting of two India-Africa Defence Dialogue (IADD) at the defense ministers' level, on the sidelines of the Defence Expo at Lucknow (2020) and Gandhinagar (2022), also underlines the growing importance of the defence domain in India-Africa engagement.**

#### *Training*

Traditionally, training has been an essential pillar of collaboration in the defence sphere. India has some of the finest military training institutions in the world. They have drawn interest from many regions. Over the years, the momentum of training African officers has been sustained. Officers from African countries have been trained in institutions like the Defence Services Staff College (DSSC) and the National Defence College (NDC). Seats at specialised military training institutions such as the Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School have also been in high demand by African countries. In addition to training in India, there have also been requests to send Indian Military Training Teams (MTT) to some African countries to meet their specific training requirements. India has sent MTTs to several countries in Africa. Currently, the training teams are present in Uganda, Namibia and Lesotho. India has also conducted multinational training exercises with African countries. **The first Africa India Field Training Exercise (AFINDEX) took place in 2019. This was followed by the second exercise held in Pune in March 2023.**

### *Maritime Cooperation*

Maritime Security has emerged as a vital component of India-Africa defence cooperation. Both India and several African countries face similar maritime security challenges: piracy, maritime terrorism, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing, narcotics and human trafficking. The Indian Ocean is a common factor in the India-Africa maritime security calculus. A stable and secure maritime environment is an important goal of both India and Indian Ocean littoral countries, especially in East and Southern Africa. Since 2008, India has been engaged in anti-piracy operations off the Gulf of Aden. It has also been working with signatories of the Djibouti Code of Conduct (DCoC) to end piracy and armed robbery against ships in the Western Indian Ocean and Gulf of Aden. In 2020, India joined the DCC as an observer. Currently, the maximum piracy incidents in Africa occur in the Gulf of Guinea region in West Africa. Efforts may be made towards greater collaboration with the Yaounde Code of Conduct and other regional mechanisms in West Africa.

Besides, the Indian Navy conducts regular visits to African ports. It has helped several African countries in conducting hydrographic surveys. It has been the foremost responder for humanitarian and disaster relief in African countries. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the navy transported medical equipment and medicines to many countries in Africa. Further, some African navies have been regularly part of the MILAN naval exercises. **In 2022, India started the first edition of the Trilateral Maritime Exercise with Tanzania and Mozambique to enhance maritime cooperation in the region.** The possibility of increasing maritime domain awareness exists through cooperation with the Regional Maritime Information Fusion Centre in Madagascar.

### *UN Peacekeeping Operations*

India has been one of the biggest contributors to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. It has deployed peacekeepers in several UNPK missions in Africa, including in Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Sierra Leone, DRC, Ethiopia- Eritrea, Liberia, Sudan and South Sudan. India's participation in UN peacekeeping operations on the continent reflects its solidarity with African countries. India also supports the African countries' agenda of promoting peace and security in the continent. New Delhi's contribution reflects the Indian peacekeepers' emphasis on professionalism, humanitarian concern and gender equality. **India was the first nation to send an all-female police force for a UN peacekeeping operation in Liberia in 2007.** It has also supported the AU peace

and security architecture by extending financial support for the AU Mission in Somalia. Finally, India regularly trains peacekeepers from African countries to enhance their capacity building.

### *Supply of Defence Equipment*

Over the years, India has gained considerable strength in indigenous defence manufacturing. This has been primarily possible due to the government's emphasis on becoming *Atmanirbhar* (self-reliant) in defence production. Traditionally, India's major defence exports have been limited to countries like Mauritius, Seychelles and Mozambique. Opportunities exist for enhancing cooperation through the transfer of defence hardware and joint production with regional powers such as Egypt and Nigeria.

## **Economic cooperation**

### **Trade**

Trade and investment represent the central pillars of the economic relationship between India and Africa. Although noteworthy progress has been made over the past 20 years, complacency must be firmly avoided as we contemplate redesigning and developing the economic pillar. For Indian businesses, Africa presents a massive untapped market for manufacturing goods such as textiles, pharmaceuticals, automobiles and light machinery. It also offers opportunities in the resource and energy sectors which have traditionally been areas of vulnerability for India.

**A quick trade analysis of the past decade, from 2011–2022, shows an increase in India's total goods trade with Africa from \$68.54 billion to \$90.52 billion. Also, in 2022, for the first time, India reached a positive trade balance.**

Table 1: India's Trade with Africa

<b>Values</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Imports</b>	<b>Total Trade</b>	<b>Trade Balance</b>
2011-12	24.67	43.87	68.54	-19.2
2012-13	29.14	41.11	70.25	-11.97
2013-14	31.23	36.63	67.86	-5.4
2014-15	32.84	38.63	71.47	-5.79
2015-16	25.04	31.67	56.71	-6.63
2016-17	23.13	28.84	51.97	-5.71
2017-18	24.9	37.79	62.69	-12.89
2018-19	28.54	41.13	69.69	-12.59
2019-20	28.99	37.70	66.69	-8.71
2020-21	27.73	28.19	55.92	-0.45
2021-22	40.22	49.33	89.55	-9.11
2021-22(Apr-Feb)	35.46	43.97	79.43	-8.51
2022-23(Apr-Feb)	46.42	44.1	90.52	2.32

Source: MEA

**India's exports to Africa during 2012–2022 grew from \$24.90 billion in 2017–18 to \$40.22 billion in 2021–2022.** It is evident that from 2018 onwards, there has been an upward swing (except for the Covid period). In 2021–22, growth surpassed past figures, possibly due to the rising awareness of the Indian businesses of the market potential and the various government export promotion schemes.

The two tables below show India's major export destinations and major import sources:

Table 2: India's Major Export Destinations in Africa

<b>Country / Region</b>	<b>Exports 2021-2022</b>
SOUTH AFRICA	6,085.29
NIGERIA	4,663.17
EGYPT A RP	3,743.92
TOGO	3,012.08
KENYA	2,631.89
TANZANIA REP	2,300.88
MOZAMBIQUE	1,975.76
GHANA	1,109.46
SUDAN	1,077.25
MOROCCO	962.28

Source: EXIM databank, MoC&I

Table 3: India's Major Import Sources from Africa

Country / Region	Imports 2021-2022
SOUTH AFRICA	10,965.81
NIGERIA	10,291.58
GUINEA	3,616.56
EGYPT A RP	3,520.83
ANGOLA	2,725.08
TANZANIA REP	2,279.18
MOROCCO	2,244.19
MOZAMBIQUE	1,879.49
GHANA	1,497.77
CONGO P REP	1,309.73

Source: EXIM databank, MoC&I

Looking at the regional distribution of India's latest figures on trade and exports, the following picture emerges:

- India's highest trade and exports were with/to Western Africa at \$35.7 billion and \$13.56 billion, respectively, showing a trade growth of 43%.
- Southern Africa showed the value of India's total trade and exports as \$26 billion and \$9.58 billion, respectively, and growth of 56%.
- The next region was Northern Africa, where India's total trade stood at \$14.69 billion and exports at \$7.13 billion, with a trade growth of 48%.
- In Eastern Africa, India's total trade was \$11 billion and exports were \$8.26 billion, with a trade growth of 42%.
- In Central Africa, the total trade was \$1.9 billion, with exports reaching \$1.67 billion and trade growth recorded at 9%.

The West African region dominates India's exports (out of 54 African countries, 22 are in the West African region). India has a fair amount of trade with the Southern African region and a decent trade with the Northern and Eastern African regions, but only a 9.46 percent growth in trade with the Central African region. There is a need to implement focused strategies to boost India's exports in the Central African region and other regions too.

Despite this growth story which has enabled Africa and India to diversify their trade destinations and mitigate their exposure to global volatility and adverse terms-of-trade shocks, trade is still driven by only a limited number of products.

Further analysis of export data leads to three important observations:

First, there has not been much change in the top ten exports. Their growth has not been very promising. The top ten exports have been the same for the last five years, i.e., Mineral fuels, mineral oils \$8.6 billion; Vehicles other than railway or tramway \$4 billion; Pharmaceutical products \$3.8 billion; Cereals \$3.4 billion; Nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, and mechanical appliances \$2.4 billion; Plastic and articles thereof \$1.5 billion; Iron and steel \$1.4 billion; Sugars and sugar confectionery \$1.4 billion; Electrical machinery and equipment and parts thereof \$1.3 billion; Cotton \$1 billion. These ten products and allied categories account for \$29 billion out of the \$40.2 billion exports in 2021–22.

Second, we see a second line of products like Paper and paperboard; Natural or cultured pearls, precious or semiprecious stones; Man-made filaments; Articles of iron or steel; Coffee, Tea, mate and spices; Meat and edible meat; Organic chemicals; Miscellaneous chemical products; Rubber and articles thereof; Articles of apparel and clothing accessories; Other made up textile articles; Tanning or dyeing extracts; Ceramic products; Man-Made staple fibre; Ships, boats and floating structures; Optical, photographic cinematographic measuring, Checking precision, medical or surgical instruments and Aluminium and articles thereof, which account for around \$8.1 billion out of India's \$40.2 billion exports.

Third, products from the milling sector, such as malt, starches, inulin, wheat gluten, iron and steel, live animals, dairy products, birds' eggs, and natural honey; Paper and paperboard, pulp-based products, natural or cultured pearls, precious or semi-precious stones, copper and its products, lead and its products, tin and its products; locomotives, rolling stock, component parts for rail or tramways; fixtures and fittings for rail or tramway tracks and component parts thereof, and although, the market for musical instruments has grown significantly in recent years, the increase in volume has been modest.

**India's imports from Africa in the last decade from 2012–2022 stood at \$41.11 billion in 2012–13, rose to \$37.79 billion in 2017–18, and then to \$49.32 billion in 2022.** There has not been much diversification in imports from Africa, which is dominated by primary products. The top ten imports are Mineral fuels, mineral oils and mineral waxes, around \$24.27 billion; Natural or cultured pearls, precious or semi-precious stones, \$10.75 billion; Copper and articles thereof \$2 billion; Fertilisers, \$2 billion; Inorganic chemicals; organic or inorganic compounds of precious metals, of rare-earth metals \$1.8 billion; Ores, slag and ash \$1.3 billion; Edible fruit and nuts; peel or citrus fruit or melons \$1.26 billion; Salt, sulphur, stone, plastering materials, lime and cement, \$0.8 billion;

Edible vegetables and certain roots and tubers \$0.7 billion and Oil seeds and olea. Fruits; grains and seeds, industrial or medicinal plants; straw and fodder \$0.6 billion. These ten items account for around \$45.8 billion of imports out of the total imports of \$49.3 billion in the year 2021–22.

Compared to the trade in goods, India’s services exports to Africa have grown exponentially since 2001 at an annualised rate of 23 percent, from \$16.8 billion in 2001 to \$136.5 billion in 2011 (Source: WTO & DIPP, Ministry of Commerce, GOI). India is currently ranked seventh in the services trade, with exports more than threefold that of Africa, mainly on the back of a boom in computer and information services exports. The breakdown of exports shows that software services account for over 55 percent of total services exports, followed by business services at 24 percent and travel at 15 percent . India is becoming a destination for Africans in medical and healthcare services and higher education services. Opportunities in the services trade with Africa include information technology, other new areas of technology, IT services, health, education, legal services and other fields which have a wide scope. Mobile payment solutions, insurance and many other banking and financial services could also be considered avenues of collaboration.

*Bilateral trade of India with African Countries: Region-wise (2021-22)*

Africa Region	Region-wise Countries	Export	Import	Total Trade
<b>SACU</b>	BOTSWANA LESOTHO NAMIBIA SOUTH AFRICA SWAZILAND	6,607.86	11,774.74	18,382.60
<b>Other South African countries</b>	ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE ZAMBIA ZIMBABWE	2,969.66	4,730.53	7,700.19
<b>West Africa</b>	BENIN BURKINA FASO CAMEROON CAPE VERDE IS CONGO P REP EQU TL GUINEA GABON  GAMBIA GHANA GUINEA GUINEA BISSAU COTE D' IVOIRE	13,565.17	22,158.92	35,724.09



Africa Region	Region-wise Countries	Export	Import	Total Trade
	LIBERIA MALI MAURITANIA NIGER NIGERIA SAO TOME SENEGAL SIERRA LEONE ST HELENA TOGO			
<b>Central Africa</b>	BURUNDI C AFRI REP CHAD MALAWI RWANDA UGANDA CONGO D. REP.	1,677.82	292.01	1,969.83
<b>East Africa</b>	COMOROS DJIBOUTI ETHIOPIA KENYA MADAGASCAR MAURITIUS REUNION SEYCHELLES SOMALIA TANZANIA REP	8,264.57	2,809.14	11,073.71
<b>North Africa</b>	ALGERIA EGYPT A RP LIBYA MOROCCO SUDAN TUNISIA	7,133.11	7,554.44	14,687.55
<b>Total Trade</b>	<b>54 countries</b>	<b>40,218.19</b>	<b>49,319.78</b>	<b>89,537.97</b>

Source: EXIM Databank, MoC&I

### *Investment*

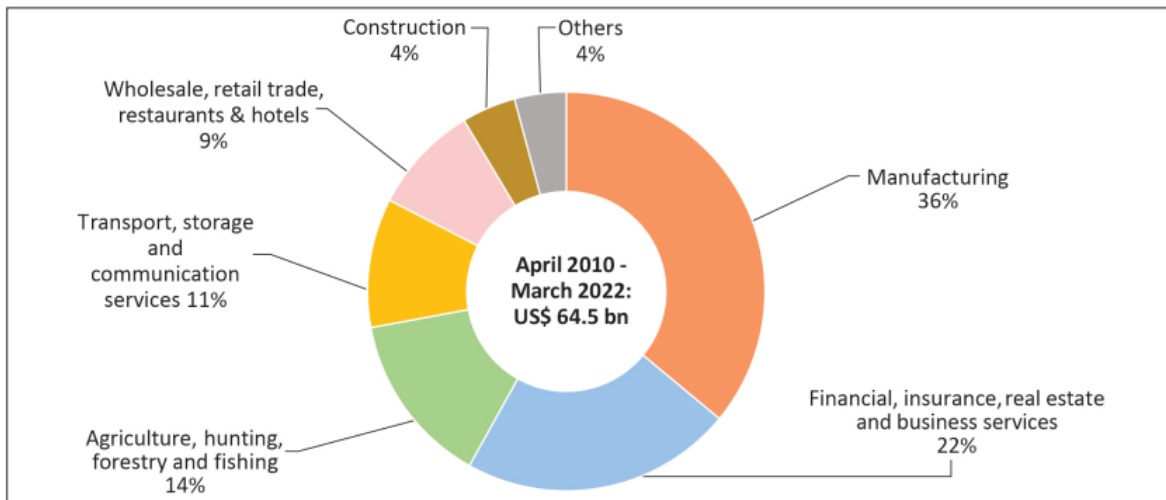
**Cumulative Indian investments in Africa during the period of April 1996 to March 2022 amounted to \$73.9 billion**, with Mauritius, Mozambique, Sudan, Egypt, and South Africa being the top destinations. This makes India one of the top five investors in the continent. The Table below is noteworthy:

Table 4: India's Overseas Investments in Africa (\$ million)

Country	April 1996 to March 2013	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	April 1996 to March 2022
Mauritius	34048.2	4581.9	4580.8	3670.4	5392.7	1387.1	3086.8	2940	2496.8	872.2	63056.9
Mozambique	22.8	2643.1	7.7	1.7	8	37.3	40.2	150.4	323.1	2261.4	5495.7
Sudan	1238.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.2	22.5	1273.4
Egypt	934.3	29.2	17.6	8.3	1	13.8	22	0.2	0.2	0.6	1027.2
South Africa	389	19.1	29.5	60.6	32.5	64.9	54.8	12.8	15.1	7.2	685.5
Kenya	161.6	1.8	6.1	3.8	7.8	28.1	20.7	22	16.4	7.5	275.8
Libya	220	27.2	7.4	0.1	0.5	0.6	5.2	1	0.1	0.1	262.2
Tunisia	9.9	103.5	-	82.2	0.1	2.5	-	-	-	-	198.2
Liberia	191.8	0.3	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	192.3
Nigeria	99.3	6.6	12.7	0.6	5	4.3	9.7	12.3	34.8	2.7	188.0
<b>Africa Total</b>	<b>37790.1</b>	<b>7492.5</b>	<b>4790.2</b>	<b>3970.5</b>	<b>5520.9</b>	<b>1651.6</b>	<b>3335.5</b>	<b>3208.7</b>	<b>2935.1</b>	<b>3228.4</b>	<b>73923.5</b>
<b>India Total</b>	<b>191144.1</b>	<b>36900.5</b>	<b>30919.5</b>	<b>22016.5</b>	<b>24901.5</b>	<b>18654.9</b>	<b>21322.6</b>	<b>20995.4</b>	<b>18619.2</b>	<b>24955.2</b>	<b>410429.4</b>
<i>Share of Africa</i>	<i>19.77%</i>	<i>20.30%</i>	<i>15.50%</i>	<i>18.00%</i>	<i>22.20%</i>	<i>8.90%</i>	<i>15.60%</i>	<i>15.30%</i>	<i>15.76%</i>	<i>12.94%</i>	<i>18.01%</i>

Note: - Negligible/ nil; \* India's total Overseas Investment figure include investments in Gift City  
Source: Ministry of Finance and Reserve Bank of India (RBI); and India Exim Bank Analysis

Table 5: The Sector-wise Indian Investments in Africa



Note: Legend is arranged based on the size of its share in total investments; others include electricity, gas and water and miscellaneous  
Source: RBI; and India Exim Bank Analysis

**India sends the majority of its FDI to Africa, or over 75 percent of the total, in the services sector.** (Reference: DIPP, GOI Ministry of Commerce) A low-hanging fruit that Indian businesses might take advantage of is the expansion of Africa's pharmaceutical production capabilities. Notably, India has become a desirable location for medical travel. **From 5.4 percent of all tourist visits in 2010 to 15.4 percent in 2019, the percentage of African tourists traveling to**

**the nation for medical care has nearly tripled in the past ten years.**

Finally, a look at the flow of African investments into India is also needed. The table below:

Table 6: India's FDI Inflows from Africa, April 2002 to March 2022

Country	FDI Inflows (US\$ million)	Share in India's Total FDI Inflows (%)
Mauritius	1,57,741.8	26.8
South Africa	564.5	0.1
Seychelles	217.5	0.04
Morocco	140.4	0.02
Kenya	28.2	-
Mozambique	15.7	-
Nigeria	15.5	-
Liberia	14.7	-
Egypt	10.4	-
Uganda	10.2	-
<b>Africa Total</b>	<b>1,58,790.8</b>	<b>27.0</b>
<b>India Total</b>	<b>5,88,406.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT), Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India; and India Exim Bank Analysis

## **Development cooperation**

Developmental cooperation has been the cornerstone of the India-Africa relationship, focused on addressing priorities and needs of African countries as decided by partner countries. It is anchored in the fundamental principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit. **India, despite its own developmental challenges and resource constraints, has contributed to the development of Africa through Lines of Credit (around \$12 billion), grants (about \$1.3 billion), scholarships for high education, and capacity-building in specialised technical areas through ITEC, including through e-Vidya Bharti and e-Arogya Bharti, and in the framework of International Solar Alliance (ISA) and the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure (CDRI), technical consultancy and military cooperation.**

Over the years, the modalities and approaches of India-Africa development cooperation have changed from fully state-funded projects to state-facilitated cooperation programmes involving private players and civil society organisations. Under the three India-Africa Forum Summits held in 2008, 2011

and 2015, India's development cooperation with Africa has undergone changes, which have led to the deepening and diversifying of cooperation and structured engagement at various levels.

Especially since the 2015 summit, development cooperation with Africa has changed significantly in terms of focus, approach and policies. The following are the major changes: greater focus on Africa's development agenda; change in technicalities and modalities of LOC project execution; creation of new financial mechanisms; the active role of the private sector; new thinking in capacity-building programmes; greater involvement of civil society organisations in capacity building; digital initiatives for capacity building; priority to partner with multilateral organisations and trilateral cooperation. In this context, the following features are noteworthy:

- The IAFS–III focused on connecting the priorities being pursued by the Government of India with the priorities and concerns of the African countries for mutual benefit and growth. Unlike in the past, India laid emphasis on Africa's development agenda, as defined in Agenda 2063 and SDG 2030, to be relevant to Africa's needs and make the partnership more meaningful. The focus since has been on empowerment, sustainable development and nurturing of human resource development.
- Regarding LOCs, several policy changes have been made for the effective implementation of projects. Scrutiny and control have increased in identifying development needs, selection of projects, design, and tendering. India now has a greater say over what projects must be done, how and by whom, unlike in the past when recipient African governments made such decisions. The policy changes ensured the disqualification of inexperienced companies from the bidding process. It may appear – and some would argue – that such changes show a visible shift from the earlier non-interventionist, non-prescriptive, demand-driven approach of India's development cooperation with Africa. This certainly is not the case. The Indian government is now far more involved in technical improvements focussed on the timely delivery of the projects and keeping them within the budget. India continues to insist on principles of non-intervention, mutual respect, consultative and demand-driven development cooperation. The projects continue to be negotiated through state-to-state bilateral interactions, concentrating on meeting the demands of recipient governments.

- Another change seen is in terms of reporting and monitoring of projects to address the challenge of implementation. During the 2015 summit, India and Africa took note of constraints faced in the delivery of past initiatives, for which they agreed to establish a regular and formal monitoring mechanism to meet agreed timelines. India is now more actively involved in monitoring projects and conducting site visits, especially of those falling behind schedule. The recipient country is expected to produce an evaluation, focussing on performance, timeliness, budget and wider economic benefits. These policy and regulatory changes concerning LOCs have led to a greater focus on implementation to ensure that projects are on time and within the budget.
- Compared to the LOCs of the past, the financing mechanism has undergone change. LOCs are becoming more commercial in nature with varying interest rates and grant elements that are calculated as per the IMF's prescribed formula. The guidelines of December 7, 2015 about the Lines of Credit issued by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, specify that the terms of credit will be given to a country depending on its classification as outlined in the table below:

Country classification	L& LMI countries with minimum binding concessional requirement (Category I)	L& LMI countries with no minimum binding concessional requirement (Category II)	Other developing countries (Category III)
Rate of Interest	1.5%	1.75%	Libor+1.5%
Maturity	25 years	20 years	15 years
Moratorium	5 years	5 years	5 years
Grant Element*	37.48%	31.37%	24.31%

The lending will be done by the EXIM Bank.

- Capacity-building and human resource development, central to India's development cooperation for decades, has focussed on providing scholarships to African students to pursue studies in India, building educational institutions in Africa and imparting training through ITEC.

ITEC initiatives have evolved and changed since 2015. A noticeable trend now is that the courses offered are demand-driven rather than Indian agencies continuing with the regular courses year after year. ITEC now provides advanced courses in artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, big data analytics, quality management, corporate development, etc. to fulfil the demands of the modern world. Several private players have been involved in this process.

- Another change is that civil society organisations have become more involved in capacity-building initiatives. Organisations like SEWA and the Barefoot College in Rajasthan are examples. Higher education through scholarships and skill development has been given greater thrust. Vocational training centres have been set up in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Egypt, Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, Gambia and Mozambique. These centres do not just provide technical and vocational courses, but also strongly emphasize enterprise development and business incubation.
- The Covid-19 pandemic disrupted many of the ongoing development initiatives, but it also augmented digital initiatives focussing on education and medicine. In this context, India's Pan African e-Network Project, which seeks to make telemedicine and tele-education available in most African countries, has been given a new dimension. It was re-launched in October 2019 as e-Aarogya Bharati, with a focus on utilising **15,000 scholarships given to African students from 2019 to 2024**. Besides, under the e-ITEC initiative, India has exclusively shared COVID-19 management strategies and training webinars to train African healthcare professionals. Through these initiatives, India has contributed to building capacity in the health and education sectors in Africa.
- India extended debt relief on account of the severe impact of the pandemic on African countries, especially LDCs, which have high debt levels. **India has approved the request for debt service suspension in respect of 17 African countries in accordance with the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) of the G20.**
- India has prioritised partnering with multilateral organisations such as regional banks and UN agencies for Africa's development needs. For instance, **India and the African Development Bank (ADB) signed an agreement in 2015 for the India-Africa Economic Cooperation Fund for INR 600 million (\$9.5 million)**, which is designed to provide technical

assistance in infrastructure and railway development, information and communications technology. In March 2018, the ADB and the International Solar Alliance (ISA) signed a joint declaration committing to scale up the partnership on renewable energy for Africa's development needs. India has triangular cooperation such as the India-UN Development Partnership Fund and the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Fund, both managed by the UNOSSC. The Exim Bank of India has a partnership with the ECOWAS Bank for Investment & Development (EBID) to deliver Lines of Credit. These initiatives will be a major catalyst for much-needed infrastructure development in various regions.

## **Project exports**

A recent study by the Exim Bank noted:

**As on March 31, 2022, a total of 204 LOCs amounting to US\$ 12.37 billion have been extended by the Government of India to 42 African countries** (including ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID)) in varied sectors such as power plants, hydroelectricity, power transmission and distribution networks, dams, roads, railways, ports, agriculture and irrigation, industrial units, skills development, civil construction, etc. New sectors such as telecommunication, defence and solar power have also been included under LOCs to Africa in the last few years. **Africa currently accounts for over 40 percent by value and over 65 percent by the number of GOI-supported LOCs.** Lists of current operational LOCs are provided in Annexure III.<sup>12</sup>

Indian project exporters have established themselves in the African continent in multiple sectors like railways, thermal power, hydropower, renewables, roads, etc. Over time, they have secured significant shares of procurement business under the World Bank and African Development Bank-funded projects in Africa, even surpassing China. The launch of government Lines of Credit (LOCs) under the IDEA Scheme (evolving from IDI), by the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Finance enabled Indian project exporters to gain a larger foothold since the bidding was restricted to Indian entities. Additionally, the launch of the Buyer's Credit under the National Export Interest Account (NEIA) by the Exim Bank and ECGC under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry created further opportunities.

Project exports are often marquee structures that evoke high levels of popular interest and, once completed, tend to stand as concrete exhibitions of Indian friendship and development capabilities. Their positive developmental impact as well as their Indian identity remain in the popular mind for decades. They also

have multiple development benefits for India by way of generating significant employment and industrial capacity utilisation, not just by virtue of the project, but downstream as well. Thus, from the point of view of both the impact on the Indian economy and the impact on the host country, it is advisable to continue with such marquee projects.

But there is a need for selectivity, albeit in consultation with the African side. It is desirable that the government focuses on high-impact marquee projects and leaves the low-impact projects to others. This also addresses the issue of resources that are limited in quantum. Project exports are inherently complex and are characterised by long execution and gestation periods. As a result, a project exporter is faced with a cash-flow mismatch that requires the extension of a credit facility to the project that would enable the settlement of execution bills, pending adequate revenue accretion. Hence the key challenge for project exports to Africa can be summarised as *political risk*, viz. local unrest, civil war or war, political upheavals and breach of contract that hamper project execution or lead to delays/defaults in payments due.

Developing countries are often faced with financial constraints since their restricted revenues are already earmarked for other purposes. Project companies are not banks and their business model relies on periodic billing to generate cash flows. Given the heavy capital outlay needed for large projects, they often seek a financial package from the Exim Bank of the executing country. The competitiveness of this finance can be a key determinant of securing the project. Such financing is characterised by long credit periods, long moratoria, low-interest rates and risk premia. Consequently, it is only state-owned Exim Banks that can carry the risk on their balance sheets and offer acceptable pricing.

It is worth underlining that African countries are not confident about the LOC per se, whose procedural constraints have become more accentuated than before. A greater emphasis on more grants and the PPP model may yield better dividends. With the above critical perspective, Part II offers practical suggestions to improve India's policies and practices.

### **Specific sectors**

#### *Agriculture and food processing*

Amid the changing agricultural landscape in the continent and with the Russia-Ukraine war sparking fears of food security all around, enhancing India-Africa collaboration in the agriculture and food-processing sectors has assumed an urgency. **Africa's food market is estimated to be \$1 trillion by 2030** and this



translates to twice as much demand for food by 2050 in Africa. This presents an opportunity for stakeholders to build and promote sustainable partnerships in the agri-business sector. Africa's agricultural transformation needs strengthening of value chains, especially in the areas of in-farm mechanisation, irrigation, food processing technologies, inputs and nutrients and agricultural research & development, for which India can be a major partner.

In India, the aim is to integrate farmers into modern agricultural value chains. This will not only help reduce risks associated with intermediaries, but also augment incomes of farmers. India and Africa play similar roles in evolving global food markets and this presents a plethora of opportunities for collaboration.

Apart from bilateral partnerships with African nations through financial support for improving farming techniques, irrigation and soil quality, India can also devise trilateral partnerships to ensure Africa's food security.

Indian companies, with their 3 A technologies, i.e., affordable, appropriate and adaptable, can forge mutually enriching collaboration in agriculture and food processing in the region. Indian companies can strengthen value chains, especially in farm mechanisation, irrigation, food processing, inputs and nutrients, and agricultural research.

**Finally, millets are an important part of the India-Africa food chain.** The movement of millets as a trade product from Africa to India and vice versa needs promotion. In distinct phases of development of the Indian and African civilisations, the cultivation of millets was adopted with the change of environment. This helped protect soil fertility and adaptation in human lives. The International Year of Millets 2023 reiterates looking back to our ancient past and adopting balanced cultivation, a prerequisite for sustainable agriculture in both regions. Millets need proper production, advertisement, investment and promotion among the younger generation as part of a healthy diet and for use in the agro-industry.

#### *Healthcare and pharmaceutical sector*

**India was the third-largest investor in Africa's healthcare sector from 2010–2019, accounting for a 19 percent share.** Cumulative global investment in Africa's healthcare sector during this period was \$1.1 billion, with India accounting for \$210 million. Almost 20 percent of India's pharmaceutical exports, valued at \$17 billion, is to Africa. This section examines ways to

strengthen cooperation between Indian healthcare providers and African partners in areas like capacity building, the establishment of hospitals, and investment in telemedicine in light of the continent's uneven access to vaccines and the mounting pressure on the public health system. It should be kept in mind that medical professionals in several African nations are worried about the entry of foreign doctors, which enhances the possibility of them losing out on career advancement possibilities.

The e-Arogya Bharti network highlights the industry's potential for broadening digital empowerment. Indian expertise in healthcare and education will contribute to a deeper relationship with Africa in the post-Covid era.

Public health security is a high priority for India and African countries, and the pandemic has certainly exposed the fragility of healthcare systems in both regions. **Some conservative estimates show Africa's health financing gap is around \$66 billion annually.** However, India's commitment to universal access to decent quality healthcare has been factored into the India-Africa development partnership, especially in those areas where Indian experiences and remedies could be suitably adapted to African healthcare needs. Numerous opportunities exist for the Indian private sector to invest in developing secondary and tertiary hospitals and labs. The African pharmaceutical industry is still at a nascent stage, which offers vast opportunities for the Indian pharmaceutical industry to deliver generic medicines at affordable prices. India can help set up tertiary hospitals across the continent if resources are made available.

### *Education and skill development*

India's emergence as a knowledge hub with expertise in education and training can play a transformative role in harnessing Africa's most precious resource – more than a billion people on the continent, most of them young and looking for new opportunities. With its higher education institutions and global education brands such as IITs and IIMs, India is ideally equipped for partnering with Africa to build higher education infrastructure and skill development in the continent. Over the last few decades, India has been empowering Africans through several capacity-building programmes through ITEC and ICCR scholarships, besides other training programmes under the IAFS-III. With aspiration curves rising in Africa, India can take its partnership in the fields of higher education and skill development with the African continent to the next level.

India has funded the creation of Pan-African institutions, including the Pan African E-Network Project with three universities in Ghana, Cameroon and Uganda, and a telemedicine center in Tanzania. Some additional examples are the India-Africa International Trade Institute, India-Africa Institute for Agriculture and Rural Development, India-Africa Civil Aviation Academy, India-Africa Institute for Education, Planning and Administration and the India-Africa Institute for Information Technology.

According to estimates, there are 250 million young people in Africa. In this situation, Indian companies can do more to advance the principles of CSR to considerably increase their business with Africans. Long-term curriculum changes that support science, technology, engineering and mathematics are needed to change how faculty and students are educated. Priority should also be given to developing students' critical thinking, problem-solving, research and conceptual skills. It is conceivable to make significant advancements in education and skill development, but doing so will call for systemic changes that improve intergovernmental collaboration and stakeholders' capacity to create new education- and skill-related policies.

### *Infrastructure*

Infrastructure development is still critical for ensuring inclusive recovery and sustainable growth across Africa. With the continent looking to navigate economic recovery on its own terms, the demand for high-quality and sustainable infrastructure is growing by the day. **According to the African Development Bank, the continent's infrastructure financing needs will be as much as \$170 billion annually, with an estimated gap of around \$100 billion annually.** Besides China, India has emerged as a preferred provider of high-quality and sustainable infrastructure to various African countries.

Infrastructure, energy and connectivity form the triad which will propel the growth of all African countries. Today, Africa is poised for the transformation of infrastructure and energy development – the twin areas in which Indian companies have shown their expertise. The leaders of the region are rightly focussing on regional infrastructure development, which creates a larger market, economies of scale and greater economic opportunities. The key to fostering and maintaining regional economic development, trade, and investment is infrastructural development. This will later help to eradicate poverty and enhance social conditions.

Against this backdrop, accelerating energy cooperation, particularly concerning clean and green energy, is unquestionably the next frontier of strengthening ties between India and the region. India's growing renewable energy capacity has the potential to boost the continent's green growth significantly.

### *Digital Domain*

India's ongoing digital transformation relates directly to Africa's digital empowerment and economic prospects. India is ready to share with its African partners the technology and know-how relating to the successful launch of Aadhar, the world's most extensive biometric digital identification program. Digital identity can help promote good governance and delivery of social benefits programmes in African countries. There are other digital products and applications on offer such as the Unified Payments Interface (UPI), India Stack and CoWin relating to financial, health and other sectors.

**India's digital economy currently generates about \$200 billion of economic value annually.** New digitising sectors in Africa, including in agriculture, education, energy, financial services, healthcare and logistics, can enormously benefit from India's experience in upgrading and innovating the digital economy. Africa has over 500 fintech firms, with South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania having the largest numbers. As in India, fintech platforms offer a variety of services under one platform.

The offer of sharing India's Digital Public Goods (DPGs) through fora such as G20 is helpful for projection purposes. However, the need of the hour is to discuss and negotiate mutually beneficial arrangements directly with interested African governments.

### *Manufacturing*

There is much room for Indian companies to expand their presence in Africa's manufacturing industry. Africa received an investment worth \$21 billion in the manufacturing sector from India between 2010–11 and 2016–17, accounting for 44.6 percent of the continent's overall investment (\$47 billion) from India. The region may advance up the value chain and see sustainable growth by concentrating on the manufacturing sector, particularly agribusiness, textile and apparel, vehicle assembling and pharmaceuticals. These industries have the potential to serve the expanding African market and operate as a base for exports, attracting foreign investment. In the future, private Indian corporations may

create joint ventures with local businesses in SADC nations, helping them in establishing themselves as auto manufacturing hubs.

The focus should be on increasing investment by Indian companies in promoting value-added manufacturing and exploring innovative financing mechanisms, including debt funds, pensions funds and green and blue bonds for environment-sensitive projects. The AfCFTA will help in boosting regional trade in manufactured goods and provide new opportunities for Indian firms dealing with apparel and clothing, pharmaceuticals, automotive components and agribusiness to scale up FDI in Southern Africa.

### *Minerals*

Improving political stability and infrastructure have made the Central African region an attractive investment hub. **Oil, mining and forestry are three major focus areas for Indian investment in the region.** Resource-rich Southern Africa is endowed with uranium, diamonds, copper, phosphates and other minerals. There is a high demand in India for Namibian diamonds. Given growing economic synergies, a compelling case exists for doubling bilateral trade in the minerals sector.

The SADC countries are rich in mineral resources, but these are extracted mainly for processing and used outside the continent. The mineral sectors have, therefore, remained disconnected from the broader economies. One of the key elements of the SADC industrialisation strategy is to use its mineral resources and integrate them to value chains through processing. As these countries need to climb up the ladder of mineral processing and beneficiation, India can be a crucial partner for SADC economies in the transfer of necessary technologies and skill development. With the elimination of internal tariffs under the new regional trade arrangements, investment links in the mining sector should be further strengthened. India can use opportunities in Africa by integrating itself with global value chains.

Looking ahead, the role of digital and emerging technologies in the mining industry will become more important in the coming years. The Geographic Information Systems (GIS) will be a valuable information management and distribution tool that will act as a data integration platform. This can better map cost-effective ways of mining and answer questions relating to the location of mines, depth of reserves, risks of over/under mining, incident mapping and socio-economic impact assessment. India's Ministry of Mines, along with the Ministry of Defence, has already started efforts to digitise reports pertaining to mines.

Indian companies can explore sustainable mining and metal processing opportunities in the SADC region, wherein value chains may be developed for sub-sectors, including energy minerals (including polymers), ferrous minerals (iron/steel), base-metals minerals (copper, aluminium, nickel, cobalt), fertilizers, diamonds, platinum, cement, soda ash, mining machinery, and small-scale mining.

#### *MSMEs and start-ups*

**India has the world's third-largest start-up ecosystem.** Africa today has approximately 760 start-ups with a total investment of \$4.9 billion. The African start-up ecosystem is fast growing, capturing the attention of digital entrepreneurs and global venture capital funds that have recently turned their focus away from "help" and toward "doing business" on the continent. India-funded incubators in Africa have aided in the development of successful SMEs, the creation of jobs, and the strengthening of local and national economic systems. In the context of a developing entrepreneurial ecosystem, there is a need to take a closer look at how both sides might expand collaboration by facilitating funding, knowledge capital and market prospects.

#### *Energy*

Crude oil is the single largest item of import by India from Africa. This accounts for persistent trade deficit. In the future, this could also provide opportunities for counter trade and investment in upstream exploration. Imports from Africa could also help India diversify its crude oil supply sources and reduce dependence upon supplies from the Gulf region, which pass through the Strait of Hormuz. In case of any conflagration in the Middle East, this could be choked.

India has accepted the goal of Net Zero Emission by 2070. Gas can play the role of a bridging fuel in India's energy transition. Africa could meet India's requirements for LNG imports. China has made use of opportunities provided by Africa to diversify its sources of oil supply. It has also aggressively invested in upstream oil and gas exploration in that continent. Though Indian companies have also taken a share in upstream exploration in Sudan, Nigeria, Mozambique and Libya, its share is relatively small. There is a need to take some risks, especially in Libya.

Africa's oil reserves are huge. **'Africa has 125.3 billion barrels of crude oil reserves and 17.55 trillion standard cubic meters of natural gas.'**<sup>13</sup> According to a paper by Christina Katsouris published by Chatham House, with 93 billion

barrels, Africa accounted for 8.4 percent of global oil reserves in 2000. With fresh discoveries, its share has gone up to 132 billion barrels or 9.5 percent of the global reserve by 2010. Africa's gas reserves went up from 441 trillion cubic feet (TCF), or 8.1 percent of the global reserves in 2000 to 520 trillion cubic feet (TCF), or 7.9 percent of global reserves by 2010.<sup>14</sup> According to S&P Global Platts, almost 40 percent of global new gas discoveries in the last decade were in Africa, mainly in Senegal, Mauritania, Mozambique and Tanzania.<sup>15</sup>

According to OPEC, Libya has the largest oil reserve of 48.36 billion barrels (3.9 percent of global oil reserves) among African countries. It is followed by Nigeria with 37.05 billion barrels (3.0 percent of global reserves), Algeria with 12.20 billion barrels (1.0 percent of global reserves), Angola with 2.52 billion barrels (0.2 percent of global reserves), Gabon with 2.0 billion barrels (0.2 percent of global reserves) and Congo with 1.81 billion barrels (0.1 percent of global reserves).<sup>16</sup> In addition, there are non-OPEC countries like Sudan that have also discovered oil and gas. These countries could provide rich opportunities for upstream oil and gas exploration and production. Participation in oil and gas production will contribute to India's energy security. In addition, this will also bring us cheaper oil. Equity oil is not subject to fluctuations in the international crude oil market.

Regarding possibilities of cooperation in clean energy and EVs, several African countries are blessed with clean energy and EVs-related minerals such as cobalt, lithium, platinum, copper, and graphite. India lacks and, therefore, needs them. India's big push for clean energy and related minerals calls for close collaboration with the minerals-rich nations in Africa.

### *Indian presence*

Dharmendra Pradhan, the former petroleum minister, has stated, "As India seeks to further diversify sourcing of crude oil and LNG, Africa has a central role – largely due to its proximity and absence of any choke points in trans-shipments."<sup>17</sup>

India has been importing oil from Nigeria for a considerable time. In the more recent past, it has also tapped smaller African oil producers. The value of crude purchased from African countries fluctuates in keeping with changes in oil prices. According to the Ministry of Commerce, the value of Indian imports of crude oil from Africa was as follows:

FY	2018-19		2019-20		2020-21		2021-22		2022-23 (Apr - Nov 2022)	
	In Million USD	In Crore Rs	In Million USD	In Crore Rs	In Million USD	In Crore Rs	In Million USD	In Crore Rs	In Million USD	In Crore Rs
LNG	2,566	17,790	2,635	18,672	1,546.15	11463	2,693	20,125	1,234	9,767
LPG	26	118	19	133	27	204	0	0	32	263
Crude Oil	17,688	1,24,032	17,024	1,20,506	8,951	66136	17223	128494	10464	82818

Source: Ministry of Commerce

The above figures for crude oil imports from African countries are substantial. The Indian market could give more opportunities to African exporting countries. This could be the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation in the upstream sector. This could also bring opportunities for barter trade or increased exports from India. India has a presence in the upstream sector in Africa.

In Libya, ONGC Videsh (OVL) acquired a 100 percent stake in exploratory block Contract Area 43 on 17.04.2007. This is in the Cyrenaica Offshore Basin of Libya and consists of four blocks spread over an area of 7,449 square kilometres with a water depth ranging from 20 to 2200 meters. Oil India Limited also has a field in Libya.<sup>18</sup>

In Mozambique, Rovuma Area-1 Offshore Mozambique (Area-1) is part of the Rovuma Basin, which is in the northern part of Mozambique offshore and is one of the largest natural gas discoveries in recent times. The water depth in the block ranges from 500 to 2000 meters. ONGC Videsh holds a net 16 percent Participating Interest (PI) (10 percent stand-alone PI and the remaining 6 percent PI through a JV-BREML; along with Oil India Ltd (with 4 percent PI). BPCL also holds a 10 percent share through its subsidiary, BPRL TotalEnergies is the Operator in the block with 26.5 percent participatory interest.<sup>19</sup>

In Sudan, OVL had upstream assets of on-land Blocks 1, 2 & 4. Block 1, 2 & 4 are collectively known as Greater Nile Oil Project (GNOP). These were acquired before the secession of South Sudan from Sudan. After the partition of the country, OVL had Blocks 2A, 2B & 4N in Sudan and has come out of the Blocks in August 2019. The remaining Blocks 1A, 1B, 2A (part) as well as 4S are in South Sudan. ONGC Videsh holds a 25 percent participatory interest in the Great Pioneer Operating Company (GPOC). The oil field is shared with CNPC (40 percent), Petronas (30 percent), and Nilepet (5 percent)



OVL also has an interest in Block 5A in South Sudan, located in the prolific Muglad basin and spread over an area of about 20,917 sq. km. ONGC Videsh acquired a 24.125 percent stake in the block, while Petronas has 67.875 percent participatory interest and Nilepet with 8 percent participatory interest. OVL has 10 percent participatory assets in a 741-km-long multiproduct pipeline construction and operation project in Sudan which was completed in 2005.

In Nigeria, Oil India Limited holds one exploratory asset: OML 142 located in the Niger Delta-Anambra Basin covering an area of 1295 square kilometres, currently under appraisal for development, along with IOCL, Sunterra Nigeria, and Summit Oil International Ltd.

In Nigeria, Oil India Limited holds exploratory assets.<sup>20</sup>

Table on Projects with investments by Indian companies

Country	Block Name	Indian Companies	Project Partners	Type of Asset (Producing/ Development / Exploratory)
Gabon	Block Shakthi-II	IOCL, OIL	IOCL: 50%, OIL : 50%	Exploratory
Libya	Area 95/96	IOCL, OIL	IOC 25%, OIL 25%, SIPEX 50%	Exploratory
	Contract Area 43	OVL	ONGC Videsh: 100%	Exploratory
Mozambique	Offshore Area 1, Rovuma Basin	OVL, BPRL, OIL	TotalEnergies (O): 26.5% ONGC Videsh Rovuma Limited: 10% BREML: 10% (ONGC Videsh: 6% & OIL: 4% ) ENH: 15% Mitsui: 20% BPRL: 10% PTTEP: 8.5%	Development

Nigeria	OML 142	OIL, IOCL	OIL- 17.5% IOCL - 17.5% Suntera Resources- 35% Summit - 30%	Development
South Sudan	GPOC	OVL	ONGC Videsh: 25%,CNPC: 40% Petronas: 30%,Nilepet: 5%	Producing
	SPOC		ONGC Videsh: 24.125%,Petronas: 67.875% Nilepet: 8%	Producing

Source: Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas

There are apprehensions about political risks associated with troubled regions. The risks cannot be denied. But despite the uncertainty, major Western oil and gas companies have a presence in Africa, in addition to the Chinese, Malaysian and Indian companies. There is also the argument that fossil fuels like oil and gas add to carbon emissions. The International Energy Agency (IEA) gave a call last year that there should not be new investment in new producing assets. Curiously, this was followed by calls on oil-exporting countries to increase production. This was before the Ukraine crisis. Since then, the focus has shifted to energy security. Western countries themselves are trying to tap new sources of oil and gas supplies to avoid any shortfall on account of EU sanctions against Russia. In the case of India, the oil import dependency is above 80 percent.

E-mobility is still in a nascent phase. Its development will have to be accompanied by transition to cleaner energy sources. Till then, India will need to import oil and gas to meet the requirements of its growing economy. Importing energy products from Africa will help diversify excessive dependence on supplies from the Gulf as well as contribute to the development of African economies.

### *PPP in shipping*

For Indian businesses, Africa does not just stand for a massive untapped market but offers scope to prioritise joint productivity and foster skills that will help our respective economies build a strategic edge with maritime and related activities at the fulcrum. Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in Africa, especially in the maritime and related spheres, would entail building newer avenues for people-to-

people contact and deepening the already historically close relationship with Africa. The joint venture structure of engaging with Africa in PPP format would also blot out China's 'resource for cash' approach.

Against this backdrop, several specific areas for public and private partnerships in maritime and allied activities should be considered. But first, a detailed look at the sector's major constraints is essential. This may be seen in **Annexure 5**.

### *Traditional medicine*

Traditional medicine (TM), sometimes referred to as complementary and alternative medicine (CAM), is the oldest kind of healthcare that has withstood the test of time. Over centuries, humans have adapted and dealt with various ailments threatening their life and survival by using this old, culturally specific treatment.

Ayurveda is the most illustrative system of India's extensive history of TM. An estimated 65 percent of people in rural India use TM for their basic medical requirements. In a move to promote alternative medical science, on November 9, 2014, the Government of India delinked the Department of AYUSH from the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and created a separate entity: Ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, and Homoeopathy (AYUSH). **Recognising India's contribution to the TM field, the WHO established the WHO Global Centre for Traditional Medicine at Jamnagar, Gujarat, on April 19, 2022.**

Similarly, in Africa, traditional healers are extremely popular and their popularity is ascribed to their thorough consideration of their patients' socio-cultural backgrounds. Today, more than 40 African nations have developed national traditional medicine strategies. Additionally, 30 of them have incorporated conventional medicine into their national strategies. Furthermore, 39 countries have created regulatory frameworks for traditional medicine practitioners. Traditional medicine research and development is ongoing in 34 research centers across 26 countries. If adequately promoted internationally, it has enormous financial potential.'

Another significant development is the inclusion of traditional medicine in health science curricula in twenty-five African nations as well as the establishment of training programmes for traditional health practitioners and health science students to strengthen human resources in both primary healthcare and traditional

medicine. Additionally, 39 nations have created legal frameworks for practitioners of traditional medicine.

India and Africa share striking parallels in geo-climatic circumstances, biodiversity, physiognomy, people, culture and family values. Patients in India and Africa often use treatments from traditional medical systems. India has a strong industrial basis as well as a robust pharmaceutical industry and a vast body of knowledge. The healthcare system in India is among the most accessible and economical and provides high-quality care. According to the Ministry of AYUSH, **the market for alternative medicine is expected to reach \$70 billion by 2025**. Therefore, the India-Africa collaboration on traditional medicine is an excellent opportunity for both sides.

### **Trilateral cooperation**

India has been involved in trilateral cooperation, which aims to bring together parties from both the Global North and the Global South, including governments and corporate organisations. These collaborations could significantly aid in carrying out the objectives of sustainable development. India has not formalised its stance or strategy toward triangular cooperation. The broad basis for triangular collaboration is provided by South-South cooperation principles. It must be demand-driven, prompted by specific requests, and developed on an individual basis for sector-specific programmes that produce noticeable outcomes for partner nations.

For implementation of projects in Africa, Indian partners have increased their collaboration with traditional bilateral donors like Norway, the UK and the US. Indian engagement in triangular cooperation in Africa has been greatly influenced by India's global development partnerships with these nations. India has the potential to be a source of pro-poor inventions that might be used in various African nations, according to both the US and the UK.

Besides, other countries such as France, Germany, Japan and the UAE have considerable potential to collaborate with India for delivering development projects in Africa. It would be useful for New Delhi to have closer consultations with AfDB and other development agencies to expand the number and scope of such projects.

### **Blue Economy**

With rising populations and living standards, the need to harness oceans, seas, lakes, rivers and other water bodies has been recognised across the globe. Africa

does not suffer anymore from sea blindness. African leaders adopted the 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy in Addis Ababa in January 2014. Using the theme, 'Harnessing the Blue Economy in Achieving the African Union Agenda 2063', the strategy aims to use the continent's maritime sector to its fullest capability and, at the same time, address issues such as Africa's maritime security, piracy, degradation of maritime environment and the negative impact of climate change.

Africa's maritime potential is immense. **Thirty-eight of the fifty-four countries are coastal states. Maritime zones under Africa's jurisdiction total about 13 million square kilometres.** Mauritius, with its 1850 square kilometres, is one of the smallest countries in Africa. However, with its territorial waters, it becomes a country with 1.9 million sq. km, the size of South Africa. Quite rightly, the AU calls the Blue Economy the 'New Frontier of African Renaissance.' More than 90 percent of Africa's trade is conducted by sea, and some of the most strategic gateways for international trade are in Africa, underscoring the geopolitical importance of the continent.

In line with the AU's maritime strategy, the Africa Blue Economy Strategy (2019) and other continental and regional frameworks, African nations are realising that the Blue Economy presents an opportunity for them to produce new streams of income that could aid in their growth. They recognise that the Blue Economy offers Africa an opportunity to create new sources of revenue that may contribute to development and reduce donor dependency. Here policy makers have a critical role in formulating regulatory frameworks that will promote low-carbon and sustainable use of marine and other water resources, address issues of security, piracy, challenges of illegal, unregulated & unreported fishing, maritime pollution, biodiversity degradation and climate change. Harnessing the Blue Economy will accelerate economic growth and potentially reduce poverty across the continent.

**India has a unique maritime position with a 7,515 km-long coastal line.** Ninety seven percent of India's trade is by sea. The Blue Economy is the next sunrise sector of India's development story. At the beginning of 2022, the Minister of State for Earth Sciences described the Blue Economy as the sixth dimension of the government's Vision of New India by 2030. The draft policy document lists seven thematic areas, which includes coastal marine spatial planning and tourism, marine fisheries, emerging industries, logistics & shipping, deep-sea mining, security dimensions and international engagement. Specific to

maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean is PM Modi's SAGAR Initiative, launched in 2015. **India's draft policy document on the Blue Economy and the enunciation of the SAGAR Initiative are in harmony with the AU's 2050 Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy and Africa Blue Economy Strategy (2019).** A collaborative approach between India and Africa on developing their respective Blue Economies, will benefit both regions economically as well as enhance their maritime security. This convergence was clearly recognised in the Delhi Declaration of IAFS III, but little action seems to have followed.

### **Cooperation in Science and Technology**

Formal dialogue mechanisms and forms of cooperation such as MoUs are notable features of cooperation in S&T with several African countries. But this has not been a focus area. A detailed note on S&T cooperation, authored by an eminent guest contributor at the Chair's request, may be seen in **Annexure 6**. It concludes that there is "huge potential", especially for tackling development and global challenges.

Through G20 mechanisms and bilateral channels, India has made a special effort to project the relevance of and tangible benefits that Africa can derive from India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI). Rwanda and Morocco have responded favourably. But there is still a lot of work to be done in this area.

**As of April 14, 2023, fifteen African countries, led by South Africa, have launched 53 satellites.** In April 2023, SpaceX launched a Kenyan satellite. Djibouti, a tiny but strategically located country of the Horn of Africa, signed, in January 2023, a deal with the Hong Kong Aerospace Technology Group, which includes creating infrastructure for launching satellites and rockets. Eight more countries on the continent are aspiring to launch their own satellites by 2026. India has grown into a space power in her own right. Should India extend cooperation to African countries in launching satellites, it will not only earn India a share in the lucrative satellite-launch market, but also empower African countries with valuable inputs relating to weather and soil, thus boosting their agriculture and food security, and overcoming challenges of frequent droughts and floods caused by climate change.

### **Socio-cultural cooperation**

#### *Diaspora, two facets*

India and Africa, which are now separated by the Western Indian Ocean (WIO), were once part of the same geographic plate. They have roots in common ancestry

too. Humankind spread from Africa to other parts of the world, including India. The world's first civilisations were born in Africa. Its cultural heritage and values are of utmost importance to humanity as are the values of India's ancient culture.

**The earliest trading links between India and Africa may be traced to the Ethiopian Aksumite Empire (100-940 AD).** The Indian migration to Africa is classified into four phases: pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and current phase. The first phase was a temporary/circular migration restricted to trade purposes. The colonial phase was of indentured workers brought to Africa by British and French colonisers for construction and to work on sugar plantations in their colonies. After many African countries gained independence, Indian professionals set out to seek opportunities in schools, universities (e.g., Nigeria and Ethiopia), railways, mines and hospitals, marking the third phase. The present-day movement of people is guided mainly by trading and economic considerations. Most people of Indian origin are in South Africa (1.5 million), followed by Mauritius (855,000), Reunion (220,000), Kenya (100,000), Tanzania (100,000), and Uganda (90,000). In the small island countries of the WIO, the PIOs form a relatively sizeable proportion of the population: Mauritius (70 percent), Reunion (31 percent) and Seychelles (6 percent). In South Africa, they make up about three percent of the total population.

Migration always carries socio-cultural heritages. The Indian diaspora in Africa is no different. PIOs have kept their Indian cultural traditions alive. One often finds Indian temples, schools and cultural bodies in places where there is a substantial Indian diaspora. They keep cordial relations with Indian diplomatic missions and participate in government initiatives such as the Know India Programme (KIP), Study India Programme (SIP) and Pravasi Bhartiya Divas (PBD). A few countries are also sources of FDI in India. In fact, Mauritius has replaced Singapore as the most attractive place for routing investment to India. In countries like South Africa, Uganda, and Nigeria, the Indian diaspora has significantly contributed to the development of economic possibilities, wealth and employment for the local population. However, overemphasizing the Indian identity of the diaspora in Africa may be counterproductive. This approach can ignite local resentment. Many PIOs also feel that they do not receive the kind of high attention from the Indian government as do their counterparts in countries like the USA, Canada, the UK and Australia. On balance, though, the presence and responsiveness of the Indian diaspora in Africa has positively influenced New Delhi's policy in building partnerships with Africa.

The history of the African diaspora in India is different. Beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Arab vessels brought a sizeable number of trafficked Africans into South Asia as part of the system of Indian Ocean slavery. Although Africans were brought to India against their will, they stayed in India after their emancipation. Their descendants, commonly referred to as ‘Siddis’, **live today in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad and Karnataka.** Besides, a smaller number of Africans also arrived in the subcontinent voluntarily as sailors, merchants, mercenaries, bodyguards and household servants. The African diaspora has made India their home, but they are one of the most marginalised communities in Indian society. Only in recent years, some scholars and social justice groups have begun taking an interest in their lives, history and present conditions.

The African diaspora also includes students, businesspeople, diplomats and others living in India for a length of time. No official figures are available about its size. Informal estimates vary from 25,000 to 150,000. The authorities concerned should come out with a reliable figure.

### *African students*

There are many students from Africa studying in India. Work visa for African students is a sore issue. The government needs to liberalise the present system. Granting even temporary work permits to meritorious African students after completion of their education in India or part-time work permits to African students and doctoral visa holders after post-graduation will certainly go a long way in attracting more African students.

One also must be mindful of racial sensitivities. From time to time, nasty racial incidents involving African students have harmed India’s reputation as a tolerant society. The government has taken notice of this unhealthy trend and tried to create awareness about shunning racial discrimination against African students. The awareness campaign at the level of students, faculty and society at large should continue. Media too can play a positive role. One must not forget that many NRIs and PIOs live peacefully in Africa. A lot is at stake here.

Finally, there is another sensitive aspect relating to Africans in India. Many of them attract the notice of the authorities for breaking the law by involving themselves in unlawful activities such as smuggling and drug trafficking. It is the responsibility of African governments and embassies in India to extend full cooperation so that this menace is curbed.



## *Culture*

Culture binds both sides in multiple ways. Diversity, common to Indian and African cultures, is their strength. India has several hundred languages and dialects, with Hindi, English and many other scheduled ones dominating the language space. The African continent is even more diverse, with more than 1300 different languages.

English was imposed on India by the British. The French, British and Portuguese colonialists imposed French, English and Portuguese on most African countries. Amidst this, there was a process of standardisation in the Bantu, which expanded throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Presently, the most widely spoken languages in Africa are Arabic and Swahili, used by 120 million speakers. With English to a considerable extent and French and Portuguese also spoken and understood in some parts of India, there is some common ground between India and Africa for communication. The organisation of the World Hindi Divas by India and the Lusophone cultural events in Goa in December 2022 are the right steps that need to be promoted. There are at least six Lusophone (Portuguese speaking) countries in Africa. Twenty-one African countries have French as their official language. Promotion of Hindi in Africa at the university level and Arabic, French, Swahili and Bantu in Indian universities will serve the cause of both India and Africa.

Paintings, tattoos, ornamental scars, art and craft are part of African culture and a way of living. Cave paintings found in southern Algeria are 12,000 years old and show hunting scenes with wild animals, reminding us of the rock paintings of India. More recent paintings, from 5000 to 3000 BC, can be found in Somalia, Namibia and South Africa. Similarly, the first record of a tattoo comes from Egypt, on the Mummy of Amunet. Various African ethnic groups use ornament scars through a cut in the skin deep enough to leave it. Pottery is a traditional type of art in African culture. Popular art forms used to express the inner self or share a tale about Africa's rich culture include paintings, drawings, calligraphy, and sculptures. Masks are among the most well-known examples of African art. Bright and brilliant colours are commonly used in traditional African attire.

Bollywood dance and music sequences have endeared themselves to many abroad, including Africans. Kili Paul of Tanzania has a huge fanbase in India, thanks to his hit lip-sync videos on Bollywood numbers. He has around 4.3 million followers on Instagram, and recently in October 2022, he even appeared in a popular Bigg Boss show in India.

Traditional African music is done in groups, in some cases for ritual purposes. Both singing and music with instruments can convey meaning beyond words. Drums, flutes, bells and trumpets are among the most used instruments. Like music, African dance, which is always associated with music, can also have a ritual function. African dances often include masks, costumes and body paint. African singers are making a mark at the global level. South African DJ Black Coffee became the first African to win a Grammy award for best dance/electronic album in 2022.

India and Africa have ongoing cultural engagement. Cultural exchange programmes and other mutual frameworks are various instruments under which dance troupes, art exhibitions, food festivals, Festivals of India, yoga classes, Hindi classes, India Chairs and celebrations relating to Gandhi's legacy are arranged. The organisation of the African Festival in India in May 2018, the participation of African artists in the Kumbha Mela (2019) and Suraj Kund Arts and Cultural event (2020), and various other cultural events under reciprocal arrangements have enriched cultural interaction. There is a need to further strengthen this interaction. While **India has only four cultural centres in Africa**,<sup>21</sup> other countries have a much stronger presence: France has 204 cultural centres, the US 176, China 78, Germany 45, the UK 38 and Portugal 34.<sup>22</sup>

No other soft power instrument has created an impact abroad, including in Africa, as has Indian cinema, especially Bollywood films. Being one of the largest producers of films, Indian cinema and TV shows have penetrated deep into African households.

Thanks to digital technologies, film production and distribution have seen a rapid rise in Africa also in recent times. "Nollywood", with about 2,500 films made each year, is emblematic in this respect.<sup>23</sup> **It is estimated that across Africa, films and audio-visual media platforms account for \$5 billion in revenues and employ five million people.** But as per the Pan African Federation of Filmmakers, these sectors have an untapped potential of \$20 billion. Around 1000 TV channels are running across the continent, a number like that exists in India. The pay-tv segment, dominated by South Africa's Multichoice (20.1 million subscribers), China's StarTimes (7.8 million subscribers) and France's Canal+ (6 million subscribers), continues to grow. Many Hollywood movies have been inspired by African personages (e.g., *Hotel Rwanda*, *The Woman King*). The Carthage Film Festival, one of the oldest of its kind, celebrated 56 years of its

existence in 2022. Both India and Africa can benefit from mutual cultural collaboration.

### *Cuisine*

The similarities in Indian and African food resulted mostly from the colonisation of the British in both regions for centuries. African people enjoy a lot of Indian dishes, especially because they are fascinated by the variety of Indian spices and street food. People in Africa recreate their ways of making Indian foods. Crispy samosas and seekh kebabs are popular items at street food joints of African nations. Indian cuisine has highly influenced the South African food palate. Bunny Chow is one of the more famous examples.

Kenyan food is similar to Indian food. Chapatis and several Punjabi and Gujarati dishes are popular. The use of coriander, chillies in many African curries have been influenced by Indian cuisine. A Swahili dish - Maharagwe ya Nazi - is similar to India's Rajma in taste. The only difference is that Swahili cuisine is primarily cooked in coconut milk. There are other examples of fusion between Indian and African food styles. Both regions get inspired by each other and share recipes too. Food brings people together.

### *Sports*

Sports is a domain where Africa and India can learn much from each other. While India has made a mark in sports like cricket, hockey, wrestling and kabaddi, African countries are shining in football, rugby, basketball and certain athletic disciplines. As a cricketing powerhouse, India can help spread cricket beyond South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Namibia. Traditional wrestling is a popular sport, especially in Western Africa, like it is in the Indian states of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Middle and long-distance races are the forte of some African countries and India will benefit from their experience by participating in such events. Many African soccer players take part in the two premier soccer leagues in India. For Indian soccer to take to the global stage, the greater participation of talented African soccer stars in India's soccer leagues is a good sign. With eight Asian countries expected to participate in the next Soccer World Cup, it is high time for India to seize the opportunity with both hands.

### *Tourism*

Tourism between Africa and India is on the rise, but still far below potential and largely lopsided. Egypt, South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, Morocco, Kenya and Tanzania account for the most tourists from India. Central and West Africa

are often overlooked. While India is known for its tourism prowess and its 'Incredible India' campaign has played its part in putting forth the best of India for the world to explore, tourist flow from Africa to India is limited. The closure of the Ministry of Tourism's only office on the continent in Johannesburg reflects this predicament. Barring a few airlines from Ethiopia and Kenya, the lack of direct flights between destinations in India and Africa adds to the problem. However, growing medical tourism from Africa is promising and needs to be promoted.

Africa has many tourist attractions. It is home to the largest wild population in the world and has an astonishing diversity of fauna and flora. The uniqueness of the jungles and safaris makes it a favourite haunt for adventure and nature lovers. The Masai Mara National Reserve (Kenya), the Serengeti National Park (Tanzania), the Kruger National Park and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana), Table Mountain (S. Africa), Victoria Falls (Zimbabwe), Mt. Kilimanjaro (Tanzania) and island countries of Reunion, Mauritius and Seychelles are major attractions. A host of lakes and majestic rivers like the Nile, Niger, Congo and Zambezi are natural attractions. Grand dams built on them add modernity to the natural beauty. Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Marrakesh, Pyramid of Giza, Abu Simbel, Luxor, Valley of Kings and Karnak Temple offer great insights into the rich heritage of Africa. The diversity of traditional music, dance, and pop culture adds to the tourists' delight.

### *Media*

Africa is headed for exponential growth in media as digitisation grows and more news and social media platforms become available, besides mobile phones and the Internet. There are many print media houses and radio stations and around 1000 TV channels across the continent, led by Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana and Morocco. In newspaper reporting, many Africans have won international media awards. In literature too, awards have been won by Africans. Africa now claims a Noble Laureate in Literature, Prof. Wole Soyinka of Nigeria. Historically, Nigeria has excelled as the freest and most resilient media on the continent. In several African nations, journalists have demonstrated high standards and chosen to serve time in prison rather than compromise the source's anonymity. Many of them have defied long-time rulers and junta leaders to uphold freedom of expression. CNN, BBC, China, France and Turkey have their own Africa-specific programmes/channels.

**Media linkages between India and Africa are almost non-existent.** This is a major lacuna in communication that needs to be remedied. India should aim to emulate China and try to have a dedicated TV channel beaming programmes to Africa to buttress the modest efforts made by a few private TV channels.

#### *Universities and think tanks*

India's university scene is rich and diverse. In higher education, Africa too has done well selectively. The University of Cape Town, founded in 1829, ranks number one in Africa, followed by the University of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, founded in 1922) at second place. The American University of Cairo, the University of Nairobi, Makerere University, Kampala, and Addis Ababa University rank high in eastern and central Africa. In the western part of Africa, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology (Ghana), Universite Cheikh Anta Diop (Dakar) and the University of Lagos rank high. University Abu Bekr Belkaid (Algeria) and Cadi Ayyad University (Morocco) are decorated ones in North Africa.

However, **linkages between Indian and African universities are limited.** This needs to change. A beginning in this respect has already been made, with External Affairs Minister **Dr S. Jaishankar inaugurating a campus of the National Forensic Science University, Ahmedabad, in Jinja (Uganda), in April 2023. It is the first overseas campus of an Indian university.** India seems set to bring world-class education to Africa. Talks are underway to set up the first foreign campus of the IIT in Tanzania.

Africa has faced political, economic, and social challenges during the last seventy years. Its huge natural resources apart, Africa has received more recognition of its potential due to the growing intervention of its think tanks. Several African institutions figure in the Top Think Tanks Worldwide Index. Institutions like the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD, S. Africa, 1992); the South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA, Johannesburg, 1934) and the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD, also registered in Abuja since 1999), to name a few.

During the past three decades, Africa has undergone major structural changes in areas of demography, agriculture, technology and governance. Many of these transitions are important and will shape the future of the continent. For this, not only government efforts but also well-researched and pragmatic inputs from think tanks are needed. Many governments, however, struggle to work with African independent organisations and think tanks, largely due to ignorance about the

exact nature of the think tanks and the deep-rooted mistrust of some governments. Another issue is that donors are generally Western government agencies, foundations or endowments and increasingly the private sector. This creates adverse perceptions. Besides, think tanks are not always right; they are not immune to bad judgment, incorrect assessments and ideological biases. The solution to the perception issue lies in novel approaches, including funding by African governments, local endowments and private sector investments.

**Interaction between African think tanks and their Indian counterparts is highly limited at present.** This needs considerable expansion for the sake of augmenting the India-Africa partnership.

### *Civil society groups*

Civil society groups, an integral part of democratic countries, have come of age during the last two decades in Africa. These play a significant role in countering corruption and protecting human rights. In South Africa, since the late 1990s, civil society mobilisation against corruption has often been part of a wider effort involving government and other institutions. In today's South Africa, leaders are under scrutiny for alleged corruption. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, allegations of corruption have been swirling around oil exploitation for a long time.

However, it was not until the late 1990s that the fight against corruption really took off, first through a campaign by Catholic bishops, then starting in 2003 through a group of NGOs, which pressed for transparency. It is no surprise that in 2022, arrest warrants were issued against Isabel dos Santos, the daughter of former DRC President Jose dos Santos, for misappropriation in the oil sector. Discontent in Tunisia that led to the ousting of former President Ben Ali in 2011, started as a reaction against the corrupt ways of the ruling elite. Anti-corruption campaigns in 2011 and 2012 in Senegal led to the downfall of former President Abdoulaye Wade. In 2012 in Uganda, the Black Money Movement, a coalition of local NGOs and civil society groups, highlighted corruption in dealing with public money and forced the government to act. Mozambique's Tuna Bond Scandal has led to the imprisonment of powerful officials, including the son of former President Guebuza in December 2022. Protests by civil society groups against suppression and usurping of political power continue from time to time in Chad, Burkina Faso and Tunisia.

External civil society organisations (Publish What You Pay, Berlin-based Transparency International, and Washington-based Global Integrity) have helped

in the fight against corruption since the beginning of the era of political openness in Africa by bringing much-needed resources and global visibility to local activists.

## Part II

### *Roadmap 2030*

This section of the report is designed to offer a set of considered policy recommendations to strengthen, deepen and diversify the India-Africa partnership, constantly keeping in mind the perspective of mutual benefit. The AEG is convinced that if the government and other stakeholders accept and implement these recommendations to a significant extent, the roadmap will help in taking the partnership to new heights. The year 2030 should be the desirable timeline by which to reach this goal substantially.

The AEG's recommendations and suggestions delineated below are classified into four categories of cooperation:

- A. political and diplomatic
- B. defence and security
- C. economic
- D. socio-cultural

#### **A. Political and diplomatic cooperation**

1. Political-level dialogue between African and Indian leaders needs to be placed on a regular and institutional basis. This should be ensured through practical measures.
2. The **India-Africa Forum Summit may be held once in three years**, alternately in Africa and India. The fourth summit must be arranged during 2023, or in early 2024.
3. The Ministry of External Affairs needs to **undertake an internal review and assess the degree of actual implementation** of decisions taken and commitments announced at the past three summits. Appropriate conclusions should be drawn from this exercise.



4. **An Annual Strategic Dialogue** involving the Chairperson of the African Union (AU) Commission and India's External Affairs Minister should be started in 2023. It may be held alternately in Addis Ababa and New Delhi.
5. **AU should be encouraged to open its diplomatic mission in Delhi** as soon as possible.
6. **Dialogue and cooperation between the Indian side and the more relevant and active RECs** should be forged on an institutional basis after ascertaining the willingness and commitment of both sides.
7. **The top Indian leadership – the President, the Vice President and the PM need to be more visible in Africa**, as they were during the 2015–19 period. Likewise, India should keep its doors open to high-level visitors from Africa. A rigorous internal audit system for tracking the outcomes of VVIP visits both ways should be created. The implementation of agreements signed and understandings reached should be ensured.
8. Every year, during the UN General Assembly session in New York, **India's External Affairs Minister should hold a formal meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the AU Troika** to discuss all relevant global, regional and bilateral questions based on a structured agenda.
9. As the President of G20, India should proactively strive to **forge a consensus so that the status of a G20 member is given to the AU**, thus upgrading it from a mere guest. This needs to be announced at the Delhi Summit in September 2023.
10. As G20's President, India hosted the 'Voice of the Global South Summit' in January 2023. Apart from obtaining many inputs from 125 nations that participated in the summit, the government announced new initiatives: i) Aarogya Maitri (Wellness Friendship), ii) Global South Center of Excellence, iii) Global South Science and Technology Initiative, iv) Global South Young Diplomats Forum and v) Global South Scholarships. Details of these measures should be worked out and announced quickly. **Africa, 'the heart of the Global South', should particularly benefit from these schemes**, bringing an element of additionality over and above the assistance provided to the African nations within the IAFS framework.
11. **MEA should have a Secretary exclusively in charge of African affairs**, with all joint secretaries handling different regions of the continent, reporting to him. The Secretary will work with the Minister of State, but

must have full and direct access to the External Affairs Minister and the Prime Minister's Office. Secretary (Africa) should be the principal nodal point for *all* policy and operational issues handled by the government about Africa and for coordination with other line ministries and agencies.

12. **The ownership of India's relationship with and equity in the African Development Bank needs to be shifted from the Department of Economic Affairs (DEA), Ministry of Finance, to the Secretary (Africa), MEA.** This is essential because, unlike the relationship with the Asian Development Bank where India is a borrowing member, India does not borrow from the African Development Bank but supports it with assistance, necessitating the proposed change from the DEA which lacks the bandwidth for this type of relationship. Similarly, Secretary (Africa) should persuade the government to take equity stakes in regional African development institutions (like the Trade & Development Bank, the East African Development Bank, the West African Development Bank and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment & Development). Alternatively, if the government prefers not to, then Secretary (Africa) may encourage the India Exim Bank to undertake the investment.

## **B. Defense and security cooperation**

India's defence engagement with African countries should be further expanded through measures listed below:

1. New Delhi should **increase the number of defence attaches** deployed in the African continent.
2. There is a need to **increase dialogue with African countries** at the government, defence industry and think tank level to understand their challenges and requirements.
3. While India has made efforts to increase maritime cooperation with East African coastal countries, **efforts may be made towards greater maritime collaboration with regional mechanisms** in West Africa. This may be expanded further by periodic joint maritime exercises on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR).
4. India and African countries share concerns about terrorism. India may **arrange for a Deputy National Security Adviser/National Security**

**Adviser level dialogue on counter-terrorism** with as many African countries as necessary.

5. There is also a need for greater allocation of funds for defence cooperation as most African countries do not have the resources to fund the training/capacity building and procurement of defence equipment. India may **extend more lines of credit to African countries for facilitating defence exports and increase defence training slots** offered to African countries under ITEC. India may consider **collaboration in the defence production** of low-technology equipment, such as military vehicles and small arms with countries with indigenous defence industries in Africa.
6. As more African countries are involved in UN peacekeeping operations on the continent, India **may augment the training of African peacekeepers**, including women peacekeepers, at the Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK), New Delhi.
7. India and African countries may **enhance cooperation in emerging technologies and cybersecurity**.
8. To promote defence cooperation with African countries, the Indian government may **set up an India-Africa Security Advisers Group** within the aegis of the National Security Council that includes members of armed forces, government officials, think tanks, and the defence industry.
9. On the security front, India and Africa need to pay special attention to the serious issue of drug trafficking. There is a need to develop an institutional arrangement to promote cooperation between the law enforcement agencies of India and specific African countries. The NSCS may wish to take the lead in setting up a joint working group with Africa to promote the following:
  - I. Capacity building of African counterparts
  - II. Information exchange on drugs and its trafficking
  - III. Developing a joint action plan
10. Finally, **greater coordination and synergy between the three services**, the Ministry of Defence, National Security Council Secretariat, and Ministry of External Affairs will go a long way in India's efforts to enhance defence cooperation with the African countries.

## C. Economic and development cooperation

1. Economic engagement through established mechanisms like **Joint Commission meetings and Joint Trade Council meetings** need to be ensured on a regular basis to chart out the near-term term and medium-term goals aligned with the actual needs of the African states.
2. Indian Heads of Mission in Africa should be made accountable for the **timely implementation of projects through close monitoring**. Their recommendations and assessments should be given full credence.
3. **A Delhi-based African Ambassadors' Group** should be created to give frank views and suggestions to the Indian side. This should be **chaired by Secretary(Africa)**.
4. Knowledge transfer and implementation of India's biometric digital identification program – Aadhar – and other pillars of the Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) matter to African governments. If implemented effectively, digital identity can promote good governance by establishing clear institutional mandates and accountability mechanisms. The **sharing of legal and technical advances in digital identity** may help anchor Africa's optimisation of digital services trade and integration. A practical plan of action should be developed.
5. Regional production networks and local supply chains coming up under the AfCFTA will be important destinations for Indian exports and investments. India should **actively explore how it can leverage the AfCFTA by devising a formal mechanism** that creates a special link between AfCFTA and India. Such an arrangement will be good for Africa; it will also provide a unified continental market that Indian firms can access easily, thus increasing the scope of India's economic engagement with Africa.
6. A major challenge being faced in Africa is the non-availability of hard currency for international transactions. This is a serious concern, besides the deemed high risk of dealing with many correspondent African banks. **The creation of an Escrow mechanism with African countries** could be a way to enhance the country's exports to Africa, which will ensure exporters' security and help in balancing the trade gap. The government may consider establishing an Escrow mechanism with a few countries in a phased manner.

7. The CII and India Exim Bank have successfully driven the improvement in quality standards via the annual CII Exim Awards for Business Excellence that recognise success stories, creating a groundswell for the quality movement to improve the market for Indian exports. **CII and India Exim Bank should be encouraged to replicate this initiative in Africa.**
8. Access to finance has been a major hurdle for Indian businesses. A good remedy will be the **creation of the Africa Growth Fund (AGF)**, which should ideally follow a model anchored by an Indian financial institution along with the participation of International Financial Institutions (IFIs). AGF could invest its funds in viable commercial projects, including trade finance, long-term and short-term capital, insurance and guarantee schemes and SME financing.
9. In the *mineral sector*, India and select African countries need to work closely to develop policy prescriptions that incentivise the private sector to adopt technology and data solutions for managing the vast amount of geological data. Policymakers can consider developing an enabling ecosystem that promotes digital methods, smarter technologies, robotics and automation that will make mining more profitable and develop avenues for optimal mining with sustainable practices. Given that mining is a capital-intensive sector, the concerned governments need to work together by **creating a joint fund or bringing together multiple private parties that ensure economies of scale.**
10. Regarding the *shipping sector*, a menu of practical suggestions is presented below:

*Transportation of African EXIM and coastal trade:*

- 10.1. Africa's intercontinental trade is largely reliant on ships and ports. The continent contributes more to seaborne trade in terms of the numbers of marine exports and imports, even if it only makes up around three percent of world trade by value. Despite one-third of African nations being landlocked, shipping is still the principal method of accessing the world market.
- 10.2. Africa has long aspired to strengthen its involvement in the provision of shipping services as a big user and importer of marine transport services. This still must be done because just a small portion of the global fleet is owned by the African continent, and no

African country will be among the top 35 ship-owning nations by 2022. This is also clear when looking at fleets with national flags. The list of top flag states only includes one African state – Liberia because it is a flag of convenience.<sup>24</sup>

- 10.3. The low trade diversification and trade concentration of Africa influence maritime trade. Liner shipping connection has decreased globally since the start of the logistics disruptions in late 2020. Parts of the developing world were hardest hit; the majority of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean saw large losses in direct connections. The extremely high container freight costs have made the issue worse.
- 10.4. However, the patterns of demand and supply for marine transport in Africa highlight the potential of African nations as both consumers and producers of maritime transport services. This can be achieved by utilising cargo volume growth prospects and capitalising on comparative advantages such as an abundance of inexpensive labour and lengthy coasts to house maritime commercial businesses.
- 10.5. This is where Indian companies can step in and **help African countries set up container shipping companies in joint ventures in the mode of public and private partnerships**. In this manner, Africa can take its first step in becoming self-reliant in the carriage of their own container trade, saving on freight and gaining a strategic advantage in terms of commercial security about freight rates being charged. This would also be helpful to India's economic interests since the government's current policies actively discourage investment in Indian flag container shipping companies.

*Providing support services in E&P activities in Africa*

- 10.6. India has a booming offshore support industry with 292 companies and 773 vessels of diverse types like quality barges, crew boats, electric propulsion boats, floating cranes, mechanised sailing vessels, motor launches, offshore supply vessels, pilot boats, pleasure yachts, specialised vessels for offshore services, supply vessels, tugs and utility crafts, among others. India's booming offshore sector finds employment for all these ships and more within India and outside too.

10.7. In the PPP mode, Indian companies could **partner with African companies and governments and set up similar companies that help in oil exploration support services companies**. Here, African and Indian offshore companies could also offer vessels to each other for employment. Hence, India and Africa could partner in this. The countries could award employment in the offshore sector on a reciprocal basis to each other, offering second priority after the national fleet.

#### *Ship and maritime assets Classification Services*

10.8. Several years ago, the Indian National Shipowners Association promoted the Indian Register of Shipping (IR Class) for providing what are commonly known as Class services for Indian vessels and maritime assets. Thanks to the support of the Indian shipping industry, IR Class is now one of the 13 international ship classification societies providing ship classification and certification as well as technical inspection services. This Indian not-for-profit entity was founded in 1975. IR Class is continually paving the way for progress – setting standards for safety and environmental protection and tackling issues affecting the maritime industry as well as technical certification in industrial matters.

10.9. As African nations expand in the maritime space, **IR Class can set up a joint venture with an African counterpart** so that the African countries can stop logging in revenue outgoes on account of the employment of other international classification companies. This will add a strategic edge to the African maritime sector and make it self-reliant in this sector.

#### *Maritime administration service*

10.10. The Director General of Shipping is the statutory maritime authority appointed by the Government of India under the Merchant Shipping Act 1958, and is responsible for implementing provisions of the Act. The Directorate General ensures implementation of various international conventions relating to safety requirements for the prevention of pollution and other mandatory requirements of the International Maritime Organisation. **The Directorate General of Shipping could partner with interested African states to set up**

**a maritime administration** for their shipping and maritime-related activities.

*Green fund for the development of maritime activities*

10.11. Africa, through the African Development Bank and other development financial institutions such as the National Bank for Financing Infrastructure and Development (NaBFID), could **set up a Maritime Development Fund which provides long-term, low-cost funding for the acquisition of new and second-hand maritime assets to companies based in India and Africa**. Such a fund shall also promote the adaptation of technologies that would promote decarbonisation and lower GHG emissions.

*Seafarers' Training and Employment*

10.12. India has had a rich tradition of seafarers' training since 1927. It has over 450 training schools/colleges. The Indian Maritime University has seven maritime campuses.<sup>25</sup> The Indian institutes conduct a variety of pre-and post-sea training and refresher courses for seafarers. India can **set up similar seafarers' training schools in PPP mode in Africa**.

*Joint venture legal services*

10.13. India has several law firms that specialise in international maritime law. Similarly, African nations can also boast of a trained skilled workforce, including maritime law experts. The **formation of joint venture companies between companies situated in Africa and India** can possibly supply services not only to India and African countries but also within the West Asia and Gulf region. This can become a breeding ground for training law graduates from both sides.

*Joint venture insurance companies*

10.14. Indian PSUs offer marine insurance for protection & indemnity (P&I) and hull & machinery (H&M). This is done on a small scale currently. Such companies should be **encouraged to create JVs with African companies to provide cargo insurance, hull and machinery insurance, and third-party liability cover** for African companies and Indian companies with the aim of expanding such services to other countries and markets.



### *Joint venture in port terminal operations*

10.15. Indian companies can truly boast of being world-class port and terminal operating companies. Operations of such companies include all services provided at a port, rail, or road terminal or station, including cargo handling, storing and delivery of cargo to vessels and passengers. Indian companies can be valuable partners to African nations with a large coastal line and the hinterland itself. These companies could **tie up with African ports or other private entities** to supply similar services at African ports.

11. Regarding *project exports*, a menu of creative suggestions is offered below:

11.1. Pronouncements of aid should be made only when funds have been made available to the line ministry.

11.2. Government may **consider a revolving and non-lapsing fund for its economic diplomacy** so that seeking approvals and budgeting funds every year could be avoided. This will also ensure the necessary certainty for the line ministries to complete the projects on time.

11.3. Although India is not a capital exporting country, it must **decide to what extent it is willing to fund the strategic development projects as grants** since most African countries prefer this route and do not want to provide a sovereign guarantee that further aggravates their debt burden. **A judicious mix of credits, grants, investments and other forms of concessional assistance** should be created that will vary from country to country.

11.4. That India is not the only actor must be acknowledged. As a result, it must **create packages that are superior to those of its competitors.**

11.5. **Shortlisting reputable and trustworthy businesses from the public and private sectors** that have their own manufacturing and turnkey project execution capabilities that the receiving countries can access will be valuable. Every organisation must exercise due diligence. **Any unethical actions or appearance of corruption should result in their permanent exclusion.**

- 11.6. The enterprises with specialised projects and goods in the strategic sector must be given preference even though competing for projects is beneficial. Perhaps it is now **time to move away from the L1 strategy and towards the best deliverables.**
- 11.7. We must realise that other people, including Africans, are aware of the best responses to their needs. Any choice imposed might cause resistance. **All parties involved must be on board and acting ethically.**
- 11.8. Above all, priority should be given to **trimming and fine-tuning the delivery methods and minimising the time between commitment and implementation.**
12. Regarding *traditional medicine*, the following recommendations may be considered:
  - 12.1. To harmonise alternative medicines from India and African nations, the **Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) for traditional medicines should be developed.**
  - 12.2. **Create a regulatory framework to ensure compliance and consistency in research conduct norms.**
13. Establish **scholarships, cross-disciplinary exchange programmes and a platform for joint India-Africa conferences, and symposia that offer training opportunities** inside and between disciplines. For this approach, the use of ITEC can be beneficial.
14. **More collaboration is needed between Indian and African universities,** and institutes in traditional medicine.
15. The need for Africans to be aligned with the Indian outreach efforts and offerings may be noted. Likewise, **capacity building should correspond to the continent's short, medium and long-term requirements.** The 'Skill India' programme could be replicated realistically in accordance with the continent's developmental needs.
16. African governments might get **assistance in creating the necessary ecosystems for fostering entrepreneurship and job creation,** particularly to get ready for the Industrial Revolution 4.0, which will be powered by AI as an equal partner.

17. **Trade and investment barriers should be addressed and eliminated.** As a gesture of goodwill, **duty-free benefits, expeditious visa processing, and work visas and residency permits may be extended** for additional ten years for the LDCs.
18. **The PPP model should be used to increase Indian investments in the infrastructure, agribusiness, food processing, renewable energy, information and communications technology and financial services sectors.** Through information technology, knowledge, and loan availability, SMEs need to be given more attention.
19. **A professional and independent impact assessment of capacity-building courses under ITEC** needs to be undertaken. While certain information such as the number of scholarships offered and the various institutes that offer them, are available in the public domain, the **real impact of these government-run scholarships needs to be evaluated and made public.** A thorough impact assessment that covers the entire range of technical cooperation frameworks would provide insights into what was successful and what aspects need to be reformed.
20. **Training programmes for technical skills, contract management and negotiations should be designed.** While India may not be able to develop infrastructure with the scale and speed of Chinese entities, it could help African partners by empowering their technical and legal teams through training in India's premier law/management schools to develop project-specific skills.
21. **Bureaucratic processes need to be fast-tracked.** While trying to understand the experience of Indian entrepreneurs coexisting with Chinese competitors in Ghana for a recently concluded study, it was clear that the challenges facing the Indian actor are multiple: access to funding, government support, and excessive reliance on Chinese supply chains, among others. However, an Indian executive in the power transmission sector interviewed stated that "China realises the power of tiny bureaucratic functions." He supplied the example of how the task of validating the authenticity of a report in a govt-accredited lab in India would take his company a significantly longer time than his Chinese competitors. It would be helpful if there was a channel through which Indian companies operating in competitive ecosystems abroad could fast-track select bureaucratic processes.

22. Indian entrepreneurs and contractors should receive the best possible support. The Government of India should **fully back its big contractors if it wants them to compete successfully with Chinese companies** gaining ground in Africa. The government can **collaborate with African partners to pinpoint critical projects and assist the large Indian infrastructure firms**, which have a reputation for timely delivery and successful project completion, in carrying out the requests of the host governments. **Indian small and medium-sized business owners also require assistance** in navigating regional laws and customs.
23. India may consider **establishing manufacturing zones selectively in African locations**, instead of focusing only on the export of goods. This will qualify the products as local and create local employment earning India much goodwill. In the meantime, this will also boost India's make-in-India mission.
24. The currency swap is an idea that may be considered seriously. **Invoicing in rupees could be a game changer for India-Africa trade**. Further, using the Indian Rupee and attaching certain conditions to the LOCs related to the procurement of raw materials could help in minimising the risk of debt repayment.
25. **LOCs may also be evaluated based on their lifecycle costs** rather than straightforward lending and repayment.
26. Representatives of Indian financial institutions need to spend more time in Africa to **understand local conditions better** and undertake their operations successfully.
27. For India's development partnership to be beneficial for Africa, there is a **need for Africa-led cooperation programmes**. To enable the African people to benefit better from the India-African partnership, there is a pressing need to **undertake an evaluation of the impact, sustainability and relevance of each of India's interventions** for the content and goals of Agenda 2063.
28. Concerning science and technology cooperation, three specific recommendations may be offered:
  - 28.1. With countries (Ethiopia, Mauritius, South Africa, Egypt and Tunisia) that have active MoUs with India, the **implementation should be reviewed and expanded**.

28.2. With countries (Botswana, Mozambique, Sudan and Zambia) where the MoUs are inactive, **a careful review of the reasons** behind this should be undertaken to determine if suitable remedial action could be taken.

28.3. In respect of important countries (such as Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Morocco), **fresh efforts should be made to initiate discussions** leading to the signing of MoUs.

#### **D. Socio-cultural cooperation**

1. Adequate **sources should be allocated for African studies in India**. Judging by what China has been doing in this domain, considerably more resources need to be given for the development of African studies through the existing institutions in India. Further, a new National Center for African Studies should be established with government funding.
2. **Existing faculties in India need to fill vacancies, provide contemporary course work to students, and host socio-cultural events introducing Indian students and a wider audience to contemporary African artists, performers, thinkers, and authors**. These departments could also become crucial to **Track II meetings, regularly hosting government officials and experts from the continent**. Funding for these departments needs to focus on **sending Ph.D scholars for fieldwork to Africa, learning African languages, building collaborations with universities in the continent, and co-organising seminars and conferences to help set up networks of researchers and scholars**. Reaching out to African diplomatic missions in New Delhi and Mumbai and inviting them to use the platform these academic spaces provide would also be useful.
3. The African agency should be given central focus. While India has done well to state that the continent's priorities shape its relationships with Africa, there is tremendous potential to **build around the IAFS framework and to design working groups of Indian scholars and experts** working on thematic issues with African counterparts in order to ensure that African sub-national and non-state actors have a platform to shape and inform their relationship with actors in India.<sup>26</sup>
4. It would be beneficial to **establish Track-II mechanisms at the regional or sub-regional level with former Indian ambassadors in Africa, defence attachés, think tanks, well-known NRIs and citizens** who can regularly interact with their counterparts and government organisations,

interlocutors and think tanks to provide constant feedback for adjusting the policy, where necessary.

5. India should also consider **opening new educational institutes in Africa** instead of merely giving scholarships. Indian agriculture education institutions, medical colleges, engineering institutes, etc., are in much demand in Africa. **As regards ICCR scholarships and ITEC fellowships, they may be named after famous personalities of Africa and India to raise their visibility.**
6. To bridge the awareness gap about Africa in India, **a National Museum on Africa and the latter's historical relationship with India should be conceived and established in the national capital.** Later, it may send out mobile exhibitions to other Indian cities.
7. The **absence of direct media linkages** between India and Africa is a serious constraint. The government of India should **convene a conclave of all relevant stakeholders** to craft a practical plan to remedy this issue of pivotal significance.
8. A **Network of India-Africa Think Tanks (NIATT) should be created** and managed with the government's financial support.
9. Universities are autonomous entities, but African and Indian governments should follow the policy **to encourage forging new, strong links** between them for mutual benefit.
10. There is a need to consider **granting visas for the duration of postgraduate or Ph.D programmes. Visa requirements should also be relaxed for African nationals coming to India for health tourism.** African students must complete the registration process with the Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FRRO) within six months; otherwise, there is a technical lapse of the visa that requires the student to return to his country for a fresh endorsement of the visa. There should be a two-month limit for the university authorities for issuing the bonafide certificate and for the FRRO to complete the process so that the registration process is completed within the six-month time limit. African students should be issued multiple entry visas if their study periods are longer than one year. For African students wishing to pursue a postgraduate course, the visa should be extended locally, instead of requiring them to return to their country for a grant of fresh visa.

## **Implementation Mechanism**

**India-Africa relations clearly cover many aspects of governance, involving multiple ministries and agencies. Hence a tightly coordinated approach is essential.** Should this task of coordination and the responsibility to process, prioritise and implement the above-mentioned recommendations be left to a single ministry or agency?

**After considerable reflection, the AEG suggests the establishment of an Inter-Ministerial and Inter-Agency Task Force. This may be co-chaired by the Secretary in charge of Africa in MEA and the designated Deputy National Security Adviser. The Task Force may be situated in the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS), with necessary personnel support from MEA. In addition to officials of the relevant ministries, it should have a representative of each NITI Aayog and Exim Bank. The Task Force should interact, as necessary, with the community of India's experts on African affairs and other stakeholders, with the facilitation of VIF, if needed.**

## **Conclusion**

Africa and India are destined to grow together through a mutually sustainable partnership for development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. India should not draw solace from the fact that countries like China will be discredited due to debt traps and other failings, thus yielding space to it. Instead, the need is for all Indian stakeholders to work proactively on strategies that produce mutually beneficial outcomes for India and Africa in the short and medium terms. High-level exchanges must give priority to Africa once again.

The AEG expresses its sincere hope that this report will trigger a wider debate among officials, diplomats, the business community, domain experts, young leaders, media and other sections of society, and that it will also receive thoughtful consideration from the governments concerned, both in India and Africa.

This team of experts and its Chair – Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia – are determined to be a catalyst for positive action in the future. The report is the first step. The AEG will consider it a privilege to disseminate the study's substance, explain its rationale to interested audiences and even undertake calibrated advocacy, given its abiding interest in and passion for expanding and deepening India-Africa

cooperation for mutual benefit. It will play a suitable role under the auspices of the Vivekananda International Foundation.

The time for action is now.

Let us remember what Swami Vivekananda said:

“Whenever you promise to do any work, you must do it exactly at the appointed time, or people lose their faith in you.”<sup>27</sup>



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<sup>3</sup> Email dated 25 March 2022 by Director VIF to Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia

<sup>4</sup> 'Prime Minister's Address at Parliament of Uganda during his State Visit to Uganda', *Ministry of External Affairs*, 25 July 2018. [https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/30152/Prime\\_Ministers\\_address\\_at\\_Parliament\\_of\\_Uganda\\_during\\_his\\_State\\_Visit\\_to\\_Uganda](https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/30152/Prime_Ministers_address_at_Parliament_of_Uganda_during_his_State_Visit_to_Uganda)

<sup>5</sup> 'Vision Statement for the U.S.-Africa Partnership', *The White House*, 15 December 2022. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/12/15/vision-statement-for-the-u-s-africa-partnership/>

<sup>6</sup> Wherever the \$ sign appears, it stands for USD.

<sup>7</sup> For details see, Victoria Kim, 'What is the Wagner Group?', *The New York Times*, 31 March 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/31/world/europe/wagner-group-russia-ukraine.html>

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<sup>9</sup> For details, see, Rajiv Bhatia, *India–Africa Relations: Changing Horizons*, New Delhi, Routledge (2022). Pp 190–91.

<sup>10</sup> 'Remarks by External Affairs Minister, Dr. S. Jaishankar at the Inaugural Session of 6th Indian Ocean Conference', Ministry of External Affairs, 12 May 2023. [https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/36547/Remarks\\_by\\_External\\_Affairs\\_Minister\\_Dr\\_S\\_Jaishankar\\_at\\_the\\_Inaugural\\_Session\\_of\\_6th\\_Indian\\_Ocean\\_Conference](https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/36547/Remarks_by_External_Affairs_Minister_Dr_S_Jaishankar_at_the_Inaugural_Session_of_6th_Indian_Ocean_Conference)

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. For details see Chapter 8, 'Bilateral Aspects', pp125–161.

<sup>12</sup> 'Building a Resilient Africa: Enhanced Role of India', Working Paper No. 110, Exim Bank. [https://www.imcnet.org/storage/content\\_gallery/Exim%20Bank%20WP%20110\\_BUILDING%20A%20RESILIENT%20AFRICA\\_ROLE%20OF%20INDIA.PDF](https://www.imcnet.org/storage/content_gallery/Exim%20Bank%20WP%20110_BUILDING%20A%20RESILIENT%20AFRICA_ROLE%20OF%20INDIA.PDF)

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.offshore-technology.com>

<sup>14</sup><https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/161111katsouris.pdf>  
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<sup>16</sup> OPEC Annual Statistical Bulletin, 2022 [https://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/data\\_graphs/330.htm](https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/data_graphs/330.htm)

<sup>17</sup> Dharmendra Pradhan, 'Africa can play a central role in India's oil diversification', *Mint*, 21 March 2021.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.oil-india.com/5International-business>

<sup>19</sup> OVL, <https://www.ongcvidesh.com/assets/africa/>

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<sup>21</sup> <https://iccr.gov.in/cultural/indian-cultural-center-map>

<sup>22</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/mandarin-language-courses-africa-intl/index.html>

<sup>23</sup> <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/publications/african-film-industry-trends-challenges>

<sup>24</sup> “When a sailing vessel is registered for international travel, one must choose a nation under the flag of which that vessel will sail. The term “flag of convenience” refers to registering a ship in a sovereign state different from that of the ship's owners.” <https://www.hg.org/legal-articles/what-is-a-flag-of-convenience-31395>

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.dgshipping.gov.in/Content/PageUrl.aspx?page\\_name=ListofallapprovedTrainingInstitutes](https://www.dgshipping.gov.in/Content/PageUrl.aspx?page_name=ListofallapprovedTrainingInstitutes)

<sup>26</sup> Scholars such as Paul Nantulya and Folashade Soule have been writing extensively on the African agency, with the latter arguing that African countries are using competition among external powers and the Africa+1 summit diplomacy to express and exert their agency in symbolic and substantial ways. Therefore, engaging with the many layers of African decision-makers and thinkers will be crucial while drawing a futuristic roadmap for a sustainable relationship.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to Swami Brahmananda from England, 4 October 1895.  
<http://www.vivekananda.net/KnownLetters/1895England.html>

## Annexure 1

### Africa Expert Group at VIF

1. Amb Rajiv **Bhatia**, Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House- **Chair**
2. Dr Arvind **Gupta**, Director, VIF
3. Mr Samir **Bhattacharya**, Senior Research Associate, VIF -**Secretary**
4. Ms Ruchita **Beri**, Senior Research Associate, MP-IDS
5. Mr Anil **Devli**, CEO, INSA
6. Mr Aditya **Ghosh**, Director Africa, CII
7. Mr Goutam **Ghosh**, Senior Director, FICCI
8. Prof Rajen **Harshe**, Founder and Former VC, Central University of Allahabad
9. Dr Suresh **Kumar**, Professor, Delhi University
10. Amb Rakshpaul **Malhotra**, Retd. Ambassador of India
11. Dr Renu **Modi**, Professor and Director, Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai
12. Ms Deepti **Pant**, Joint Director, FICCI
13. Mr David **Rasquinha**, Former Managing Director, Export-Import Bank of India
14. Dr Nivedita **Ray**, Director, Research, ICWA
15. Lt General R.K. **Sawhney**, Senior Fellow, VIF
16. Amb D.P. **Shrivastava**, Distinguished Fellow, VIF
17. Mr Kaushlendra **Sinha**, Regional Director, CII
18. Dr Neha **Sinha**, Senior Research Associate, VIF
19. Amb Anil **Trigunayat**, Distinguished Fellow, VIF
20. Dr Veda **Vaidyanathan**, Fung Global Fellow at the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies at Princeton University

### **The Promise and Peril of Africa in 2023**

**Samir Bhattacharya, Member AEG**

As the year 2022 ended, here is a brief recap of what happened in Africa over the past year. Most African countries were still battling to recover from the pandemic when the year began. However, a series of disruptions, such as supply shortages and swiftly rising prices, further fuelled by the worldwide effects of the Ukraine crisis, hampered the continent's economic recovery. Observing these trends, numerous observers anticipate that the continent will have a dismal 2023. Financial organisations like the IMF predict a financial crisis similar to the 1980s, with one-third of the world economy in recession.<sup>27</sup>

Conflicts and military coups continued to haunt the African continent in 2022. The most precarious were the Horn of Africa because of Ethiopia's metastasising civil war, the Sahel, Somalia in the east, and Mozambique in the south due to the rise of Islamist terrorism. Three new coups, two of which took place in Burkina Faso and one attempted in Guinea Bissau, continued the trend of previous years' coups.

In 2022, 13 elections, ranging from local to presidential contests, were held across the continent. Kenya, Somalia, and Lesotho all saw peaceful transfers of power. One of the candidates, political outsider Raila Odinga, had previously been involved in elections that had violent consequences. William Ruto, the final winner, was also accused of homicide, forced population transfer or deportation, and persecution between 2011 and 2013 by the International Criminal Court. With these two candidates in the fray, the election in Kenya was anticipated to be violent. However, the election happened relatively peacefully, thus setting an example.

The successful conclusion of the federal elections and establishment of the government in Somalia, despite numerous delays and against the backdrop of the Al Shabab's threat, is another impressive accomplishment. In this landmark election, delayed for almost 15 months, former leader Hassan Sheikh Mohamud

defeated the country's current president, Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo, who has held office since 2017.<sup>27</sup>

The win of Sam Matekane, perhaps the wealthiest person in Lesotho, drew applause from all over the world. In order to prevent another political crisis, Matekane has committed to implementing the election reforms as recommended by the Southern African Development Community.<sup>27</sup>

On the other end of the spectrum lies President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo's farcical election victory in Equatorial Guinea. The country witnessed one of the most one-sided elections in the world, where the incumbent, despite ruling for the last 43 years, garnered 99% of the vote in the presidential election.<sup>27</sup>

On the positive side, African countries voiced their opinion in unison on most international issues. At COP27 in Egypt, African leaders called for an end to a "climate injustice".<sup>27</sup> They opined that the continent continues to pay one of the highest prices for global warming despite contributing less than 4% of global carbon emissions.<sup>27</sup> Finally, the year ended with Morocco's success in the football World Cup as it became the tournament's fourth-best team. It was the first time an African country went to that level.<sup>27</sup>

In a nutshell, the year was mixed for the continent, showing mixed stories of democratic progress and resilience as well as the resurgence of unconstitutional changes to government and other threats to good governance. However, it wasn't all bad news, as there were many heart-warming developments throughout the continent. Now that the continent has entered 2023 with fresh optimism, the following trends and problems could define Africa in 2023:

### **Economic concerns**

In October 2022, IMF described the near-term outlook for Sub-Saharan Africa as "extremely uncertain".<sup>27</sup> The public sector debt in Africa has been increasing more expeditiously than ever before. Last time it was witnessed in the early 2000s, when the hugely indebted poor countries (HIPC) project was put into place, involving a significant debt restructuring. It is predicted that in 2022 and 2023, the public sector debt to GDP ratio in Africa will remain above 60%, with certain African nations likely exceeding this mark by a significant margin.

Consequently, in 2023, debt repayment is expected to remain a problem across the continent. Burdened by its growing national debt and high inflation, Ghana requested a \$3 billion loan from the IMF.<sup>27</sup> In 2023, many African nations will

be burdened by the need to service and refinance substantial sums of debt, particularly when domestic and international borrowing prices are rising.

Prices for commodities, particularly those related to energy, metals, and minerals, are likely to stay volatile through 2023. After two years of steady rise, they will still be reasonably high by historical standards, thus helping exporting countries benefit in terms of trade. Moreover, the continued international competition for long-term access to Africa's strategically significant energy products and industrial inputs, especially in the backdrop of international sanctions against Russian entities, should work in Africa's favour in 2023.

In the energy sector, the decision by European nations to switch from Russian oil and gas to alternative sources may raise demand for African energy suppliers such as Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Libya, Algeria, the Republic of Congo, Ghana, Equatorial Guinea, and Chad. The war may also bring the necessary investment to many parts of Africa, particularly for upcoming projects related to hydrocarbons. Nigeria, Niger, and Algeria were already discussing the development of a Trans-Saharan Gas Pipeline route just before the war. This crisis is expected to accelerate the discussion and its implementation.<sup>27</sup> The same may be said for mineral-rich nations when Western-based mining firms and commodity dealers are more inclined to steer clear of Russian mineral suppliers.

AfCFTA has another growth window as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act policy, which expires in 2025, is most likely to fail. For instance, billions of euros spent on buying grain from outside Africa could be reinvested in local agribusiness if intra-African food trade and production, as foreseen under the AfCFTA, proven effective. Despite the Covid19 slowdown, eight nations have already started trading under the AfCFTA's Guided Trade Initiative in 2022, including Cameroon, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Tunisia. Policymakers must expedite the implementation of the agreement's subsequent phases and enhance intra-African collaboration in order to capitalise on this momentum in 2023.

### **Ongoing instabilities and Military Coups**

In 2023, hotspots of instability will be present in the poor Sahel region, particularly in Mali and Burkina Faso, in fractured and contested Libya, all through the Horn of Africa, in northern Mozambique, and turmoil areas of Nigeria.

Recently, coups were carried out in the Sahel by the military in Mali (August 2020 and May 2021), Guinea (September 2021), and Burkina Faso (January 2022 and September 2022). There are grounds for concern regarding whether the run of coups in 2022 will continue or whether 2023 will be a fresh new year devoid of a single coup in the continent.

Since 2013, France has been offering security to the broader Sahel region, which includes conflict-torn Mali. Colonel Assimi Goita organised a coup in August 2020, overthrowing the elected president Keita. Mali's military staged their "second coup" in May 2021, and Col. Goita was sworn in as president of a transitional government.<sup>27</sup> Disgruntled with the back-to-back coups and the association of the Junta Government with the Russian private army, "Wagner Group, President Macron decided to end France's near counter-terrorism operation in Mali. As more and more European countries follow France in deserting Mali, the country may witness a state collapse, similar to Afghanistan.<sup>27</sup>

As early as January 2022, military authorities in neighbouring Burkina Faso removed President Kabore and installed Lieutenant Colonel Damiba. Hundred of locals angry with Kabore's leadership celebrated Damiba, a 41-year-old soldier who had promised to drive out the Islamist extremists in the country's north and improve the security situation.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, the security situation remained unchanged, and celebrations were brief as Burkina Faso faced a second coup on September 30, headed by Army Capt. Ibrahim Traore.<sup>27</sup> Since, he seized the Junta Government's presidency and ordered French forces to leave the country as soon as possible.<sup>27</sup> Going forward, Russia may begin providing security to Burkina Faso, once more through Wagner, after the 400-odd French special forces soldiers have left the nation.<sup>27</sup>

The security situation of northern Ethiopia (the Tigray region) is another concern which may continue to jeopardise the peace and security in the Horn of Africa in 2023. In November 2020, when the war started between the Ethiopian government and the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), it was anticipated that it would end quickly.<sup>27</sup> However, it was merely the start of a protracted, metastasising conflict that lasted almost two years until the two sides signed the peace agreement in November 2020.<sup>27</sup> The question is whether and how long the peace agreement can last without political reform, economic stability, and accountability.<sup>27</sup>

In Southern Africa, Islamist extremists have been carrying out many onslaughts in Mozambique's northern provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa.<sup>27</sup> In 2023, the threat of Islamist terrorism in Mozambique will continue to rise. Furthermore, it might extend to other nations like Tanzania, where the American Embassy has already raised a security alert for all Westerners.<sup>27</sup> Another trouble spot is Eastern Congo, where the M23 rebel group has been in combat with the country's military since May 2022. As it advances quickly toward Goma, the region's commercial hub and capital, it has driven thousands of people from their homes.<sup>27</sup>

### **Year of elections**

With 17 State or Parliamentary elections scheduled, African politics and democracy will undoubtedly have a busy 2023.

The Nigerian presidential election, expected to take place in late February, is the most significant among them. As the outgoing President Muhammadu Buhari stands down following the constitution after serving two four-year terms, the electoral environment has transpired with optimism, and a new wave of young people's civic and political participation has been observed in the lead-up to the election. However, there have been political turmoil and bloodshed as well that tarnished the run-up to the polls.

The summer election in Zimbabwe, expected to occur sometime in July or August, will be the second national election to be held since the overthrow of Robert Mugabe as the country's leader. That election took place one year after Robert Mugabe's oppressive 37-year rule was overthrown by a military coup and was alleged of rampant rigging. Unfortunately, this election may become a redo of 2018. This time, President Emmerson Mnangagwa will attempt to maintain his position by defeating experienced politician Nelson Chamisa, whose Citizens Coalition for Change organisation has been campaigning vigorously. Despite the surveys indicating that Chamisa is in the lead, President Mnangagwa and ZANU-PF will attempt to retain power by open rigging and violent repression.

In Sierra Leone, the Presidential and Parliamentary elections will take place in June, when President Julius Maada Bio will seek to retain his position. In Gabon, President Ali Bongo, who was previously delisted after having a stroke that left him unable to speak, now appears to be in line for reelection. In October, Liberia, the continent's oldest republic, will hold Presidential and Parliamentary elections. This will mark a significant turning point for a nation still recuperating from years of civil war and a deadly endemic.



Finally, the Democratic Republic of Congo will hold its general election to select a new President, National Assembly, and Senate at the end of the year. President Felix Tshisekedi, ruling since 2019, is anticipated to run for reelection. The election is expected to be violent due to the advances made by the M23 rebel group in the country's eastern region.

### **Climate change and fear of famine in the horn of Africa**

While the world will breathe a sigh of relief after the Ethiopian government and the TPLF rebels reached a peace agreement, the World Food Programme reports that other regions of Ethiopia as well as Somalia, are currently witnessing some of the driest conditions since 1981.<sup>27</sup> In 2022, the Horn of Africa saw its longest and most severe drought, while West Africa was subjected to significant flooding. Weather-related issues will have a detrimental impact on the domestic food supply. The food security problem already affecting much of East Africa, the Sahel, and portions of Southern Africa will be worsened by high costs for imported food products and farm inputs (particularly fuel and fertilisers). Localised warfare, social upheaval, and cross-border movement will continue to be significantly influenced by water stress and food shortages, particularly in Ethiopia, Somalia, and South Sudan, where the risk of famine and starvation will be very severe in 2023.

### **New Scramble for Africa**

Great power rivalries characterise contemporary Africa, termed the new scramble for Africa.<sup>27</sup> The contest between the three major global powers will increase in the upcoming year as China, the US and the EU try to enhance their economic, political, and security ties with Africa.

Africa holds an essential place for China and its ambitious Belt and Road Initiative. Africa is also crucial as a source of strategic supply chains, as well as open end-markets for Chinese goods and services. China has remained the top investor in Africa for the last decade, surpassing the US.<sup>27</sup> Although the large loans and megaprojects funded by the Chinese government may not continue in the backdrop of the global economic slowdown, China may shift its focus towards private sector investment in Africa. In 2023, the Chinese is also likely to project its soft power through its covid19 vaccine diplomacy, support for regional integration, and expansion into peace and security measures.<sup>27</sup>

Following a slight dip in relations during the Trump administration, the US has a new Africa strategy that it hopes will improve ties with the continent. Meanwhile,

the Biden administration organised the second US Africa Leaders' Summit in December 2022 in Washington. To make up ground, President Biden has pledged \$55 billion to Africa in the coming three years.<sup>27</sup>

As an international partner to Africa, the EU also plays a significant role. At the sixth EU-AU Summit, which took place in Brussels in February, leaders from the EU and the AU came to an understanding of the fundamentals of a new partnership and a shared vision for 2030.<sup>27</sup> Under its €300 billion Global Gateway investment strategy, revealed in December 2021, the EU designated 150 billion in Global Gateway investment funds for Africa in November. <sup>27</sup>

While hostility toward France's presence in Francophone West Africa is on the rise, Russia is expected to fill the void by riding the anti-France and anti-Western tide. Russia has upheld considerable goodwill in many countries of Africa since the Soviet era, particularly in the Central African Republic, Mali, Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, and Mozambique. In recent years, Russia has undertaken a concentrated effort to gain political support throughout Africa, including intense diplomacy, financial assistance, and military backing. Russia is slated to host the 2nd Russia Africa Summit in St. Petersburg in the summer of 2023.<sup>27</sup> However, its advance on the continent is expected to be limited by its conflict in Ukraine in 2023.

## **Conclusion**

Africa has faced a lot of hardship in 2022. After a promising 2021, when the continent's GDP rose by almost 7% and real growth was seen in every region, the economy slowed in 2022 amid rising inflation, tightening monetary policy, and geopolitical unrest. However, it was also the year when the African agency was fully displayed as African nations could finally speak in the same voice in different international forums, including United Nations.

The outlook for Africa in 2023 is far from smooth. It is not difficult to list the concerns. Issues, including debt, civil war, internal strife, and climate change, present considerable difficulties. But it also offers opportunities for African nations to rise to the occasion.

There was reason to celebrate Kenya's coalition politics, which focused on broader issues rather than ethnicity and Somalia's peaceful power transfer. However, the example of Equatorial Guinea shows that 2022 was a year of stark disparities in terms of democracy.

Democratic growth in Ethiopia, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and other Sahel countries has been impeded by an escalating perilous security environment. While the Sahel and the DRC may still experience continued war, it seems as though the turmoil in northern Ethiopia may finally be coming to an end.

Trade appears to be one bright spot. Despite being hurt by the high cost of imports, the African nations whose goods are in demand in the international market will earn significant benefits. The other area with potential for expansion is intra-African trade. Though slower than anticipated, the AfCFTA is still moving forward, and an increasing number of African governments are realising the value of developing their local and neighbouring markets, considering the global market volatility. It will be interesting to observe how this strategy works in 2023.

The year 2023 will be significant for the continent because it may mark the return of unlawful government changes and other perils to good governance, as well as a mixed record of democratic growth and resiliency. African citizens must maintain a high level of alertness to prevent their democratic accomplishments from backsliding. In order to successfully attain Agenda 2063, African nations, the African Union, and Regional Economic Communities need to address the various challenges to democracy and good governance decisively. The instability brought on by election cycles, geopolitics, war, and the continuing threat of food shortages will remain significant causes for concern in 2023. In a nutshell, 2023 will be challenging for many African countries. But there are grounds for optimism that many will end the year better than they started it.

### Chinese Engagement in Africa – A Brief Overview

Dr Veda Vaidyanathan, Member AEG

#### Introduction

China is quickly becoming a partner of choice for many African countries. It is not only Africa's largest trading partner, biggest investor and creditor, but has emerged also as an important development partner and aid provider for the continent.

China –Africa trade increased 35 percent from 2020 levels to an all-time high of \$254 billion in 2021.<sup>27</sup> Annual foreign direct investment (FDI) flows from China to Africa grew from \$75 million in 2003 to \$4.2 billion in 2020.<sup>27</sup> China's top five African trading partners accounted for over half (54 percent ) of all trade between China and Africa and consisted of the three largest consumer markets in Africa (Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt) and the two largest sources of extractives (Angola and the DRC).<sup>27</sup>

While China's growing engagement with Africa is said to have had a positive effect on the region's economic growth, it has also received a pushback—with allegations of unfair business practices, violation of local laws, poor compliance with safety and environmental standards and increasing indebtedness.

This brief examines the five essential characteristics of China's engagement in Africa spanning economic, geopolitical, cultural and strategic themes.

#### Essential Characteristics of China's footprint in Africa

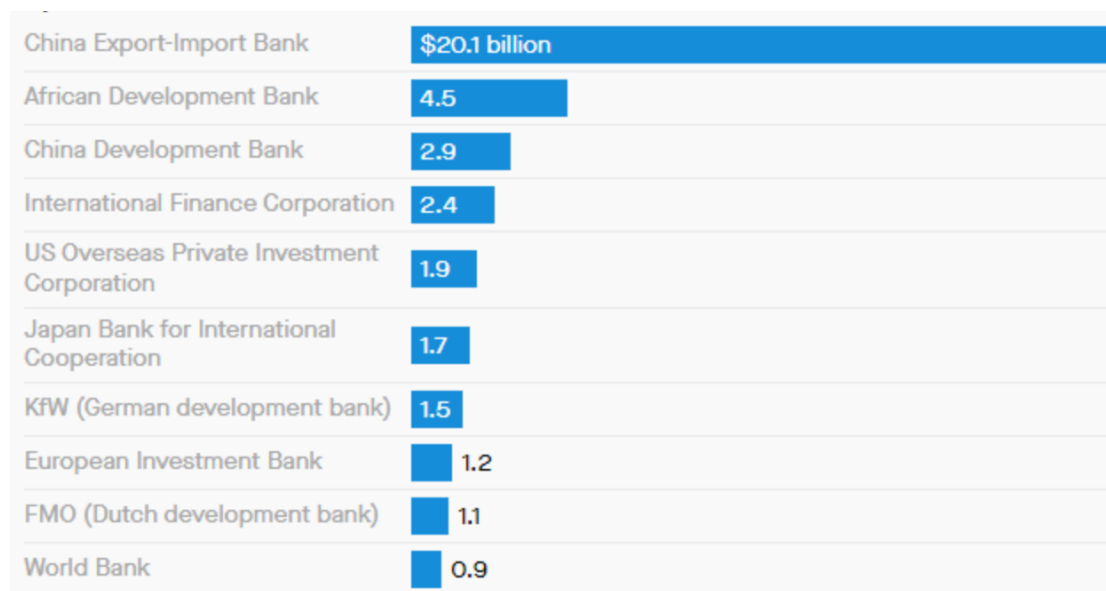
##### 1) China – The infrastructure developer

Chinese construction companies have developed successful strategies that allow for high speed, enormity of scale and low costs for infrastructure projects, and enjoy 30–60 percent of the market share, outpacing competitors. What sets Chinese companies apart is the scale, scope and diversity of actors, and innovative financial instruments.

Africa's infrastructure gap is estimated to be between 130 and 150 billion. Data from the Center for Global Development show that between 2007 and 2020, China's two main overseas development banks invested \$23 billion in

infrastructure projects on the continent. That’s \$8 billion more than what the other top eight lenders combined, including the World Bank, African Development Bank and US and European development banks contributed.

**Cumulative infrastructure investment in sub-Saharan Africa from 2007-2020, by source<sup>27</sup>**



Source: Quartz, data from the Center for Global Development

This is not for altruistic purposes - African countries are an important market for Chinese construction companies. Chinese companies’ engineering and construction projects won over \$250 billion around the world in 2019 and in Africa totalled \$38 billion in 2020.<sup>27</sup> Africa made up 24.6 percent of global revenues for these companies. Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, Kenya and Ethiopia account for 45 percent of all Chinese companies’ 2020 construction project gross annual revenues in Africa.<sup>27</sup>

**2) Africa – The resource provider**

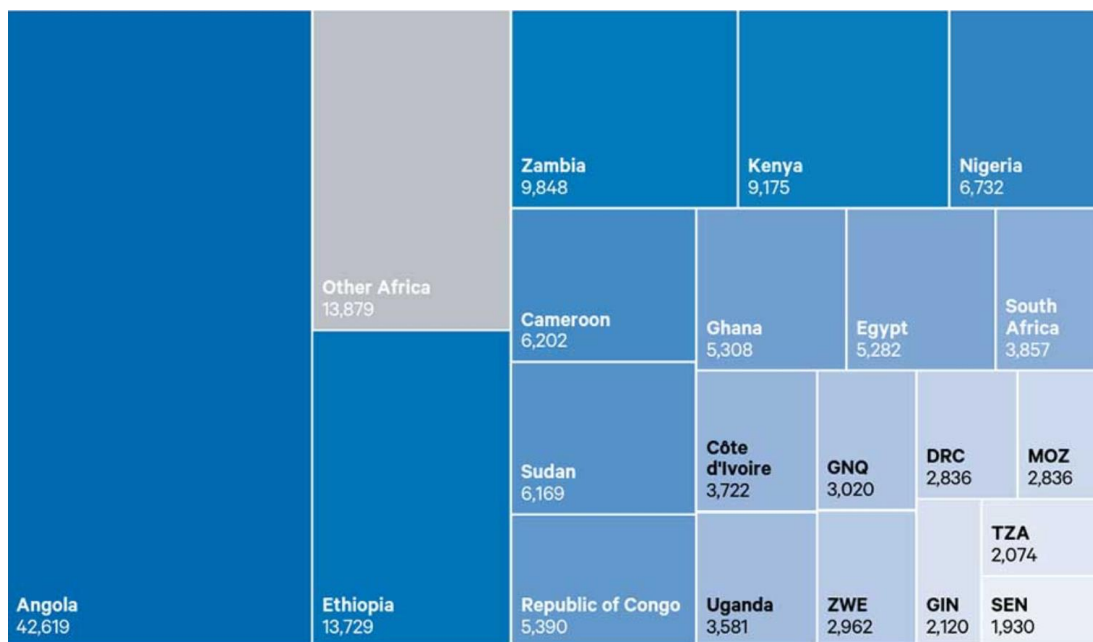
China accounts for roughly half of global copper demand. A few Chinese companies control around 30 percent of the African copper production and as much as 50 percent of the cobalt production in Africa through their strong position in the DRC and Zambia.<sup>27</sup> According to the British Geographic Society Report, China largely controls the lithium off-take agreements in Africa.<sup>27</sup> In Zimbabwe, a country that holds some of the biggest hard rock lithium deposits in the world, for instance, there are a growing number of Chinese companies investing. Most recently, Suzhou TA&A Ultra Clean Technology Co. is planning to inject \$35 million to construct a high-capacity pilot plant at Zulu, which is

expected to produce 50,000 tonnes of Spodumene concentrate from the lithium mine annually.<sup>27</sup>

### 3) China – The financier

China has become one of the most important financiers for countries in Africa, beyond the traditional donors. According to SAIS-CARI and Aid Data databases, in 2000 there were three Chinese lenders in Africa, mainly China EXIM, providing concessional loans below-market interest rates or long grace periods. However, by 2019, there were 30 creditors who mostly provided commercial loans at non-concession rates.<sup>27</sup> They also point out that between 2000 and 2020, China loaned about \$160 billion to African countries and signed around 1,188 loan commitments. However, according to reports from the China-Global South reporting project, China’s share of Africa's \$696 billion of debt borrowed between 2000 and 2020 is only 12 percent.

#### Chinese Loans to Africa Database - Top 20 recipients of Chinese loans in Africa, 2000–2020<sup>27</sup>

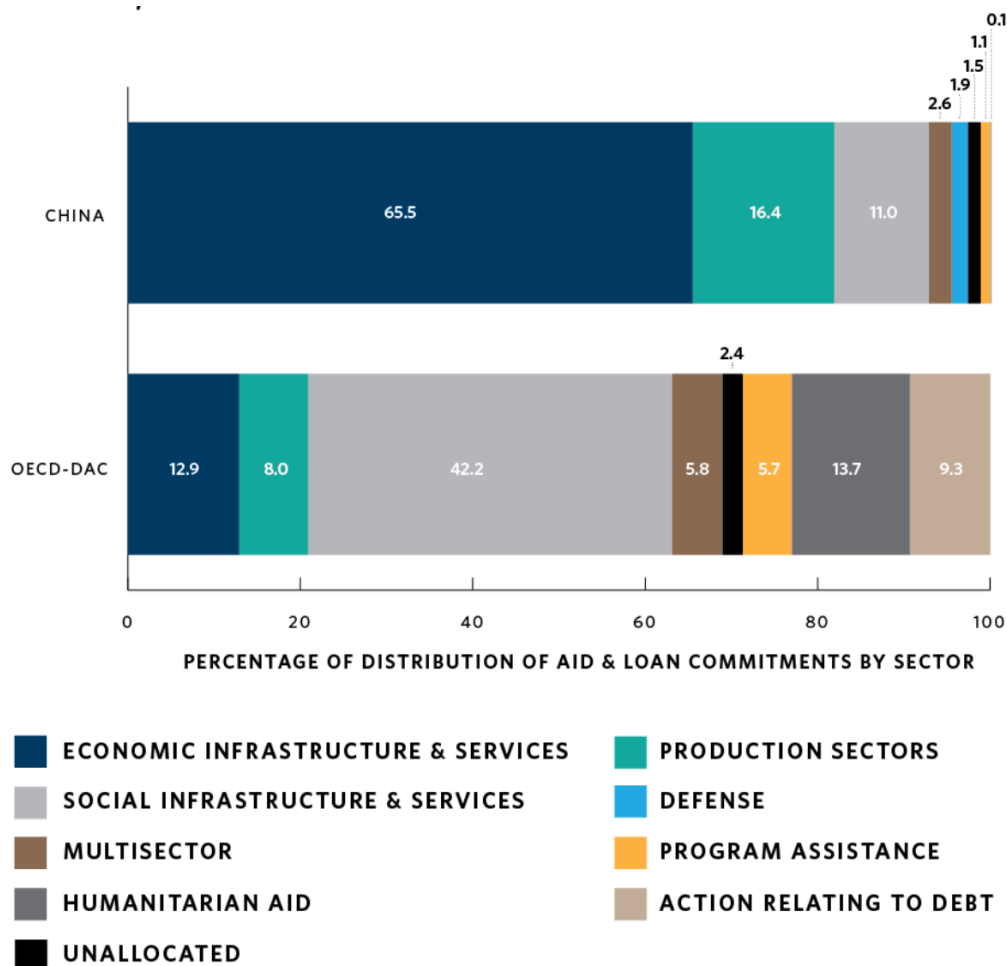


Source: Boston University Global Development Policy Center (2022). Note: These figures are based upon loan commitments and should not be regarded as equivalent to African government debt, as a portion of signed loans are not disbursed and a significant portion have been repaid as scheduled. (\$ millions, unadjusted).

A sectoral decomposition of Chinese loans shows that more than 65 percent of lending goes to infrastructure sectors: industry, mining, construction, energy,

communication, transport and storage, water supply and sanitation. Traditional lenders—mostly from Europe and North America as well as Japan in the OECD-Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries—focus more than half (55 percent) of their financial assistance—a mixture of grants and loans—on social sectors like health, population, education, and humanitarian aid.

### **Distribution of Bilateral ODA and Loan Commitments by OECD-DAC Countries and China, 2005 - 2019<sup>27</sup>**



Source: Zainab Usman, ‘What do we know about Chinese lending in Africa?’, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 2021.

#### **4) Africa – The new destination for Chinese migrants**

Young Chinese graduates and others exploring the job market in China explain that the competition within the country is fierce, with youth unemployment reaching new highs. For those working in state-owned enterprises, moving to an office in Africa means a better standard of living, higher remuneration and quicker growth within the organisation. For entrepreneurs, African countries

become geographies of opportunity and workers in companies also suggest it is easier to navigate the job market among Chinese firms in Africa than it is in China. An article that follows Zhu Yuing, a 24-year-old recent graduate in China, who sent out around 70 applications and received offers under 90, 000 yuan per annum, and then hears about high paying jobs in Africa on the Chinese social media platform Bilibili and receives a job at a construction company for 240, 000 yuan, highlights this point. While Zhu doesn't know which African country he will be sent to he tells the publication "It's easier to find a job in Africa right now." The article continues:

In many African countries, Chinese workers spend almost all their time confined inside their employer's compound due to tight security measures. But the advantages — high salaries, generous vacations and a less frenetic pace of work — look enticing to a generation that has come of age amid China's pandemic-stricken economy. Some graduates also value the opportunity to see the world, develop their foreign language skills and experience new cultures.

### **5) Chinese Diplomatic traditions and Africa**

China has a 33-year-old diplomatic tradition of the country's foreign minister making his first overseas trip to Africa. Since 2007, Chinese leaders have visited the continent 123 times, while 251 African leaders have visited China during the same period.<sup>27</sup> In line with this, the new foreign minister, Qin Gang, recently visited Ethiopia, Gabon, Angola, Benin and Egypt. Two of the highlights of the trip was the ribbon-cutting ceremony of the Chinese-built headquarters of the Africa Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC).

**Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang and AU Commission Chair Moussa Faki Mahamat inaugurating the Chinese-financed and built headquarters for the Africa CDC in Addis Ababa on January 11, 2022.**





Source: China – Global South Project, January 12, 2023.<sup>27</sup> Image via @AUC\_MoussaFaki.

Qin Gang also addressed the 8<sup>th</sup> China-African Union Strategic Dialogue with the African Union Commission Moussa Faki Mahamat at the AU headquarters. In his address he stated:

China has always prioritised Africa in its diplomacy and inheriting and carrying forward the China-Africa friendship has become a glorious tradition and defining feature of China's diplomacy.” He added that “China has taken the lead in supporting the AU’s admission to the G20 and supporting African countries’ greater representation and voice at the UN Security Council and other international organisations to safeguard the common interests of developing countries.<sup>27</sup>

A special envoy to the Horn of Africa where Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya are located - Strategic Importance, increased political and economic clout.

## Conclusion

Narratives that China is ‘neo-colonising’ Africa, or that it is trying to further its ‘debt-trap diplomacy’ in the region, fail to analyse the nuances of these many interactions and simply put, misses the point. The reality is far more complex. Afro-barometer national surveys in 34 African countries in 2019/2021 show that Africans hold positive views of China’s assistance and influence on the continent, though its perceived level of influence on African economies has waned over the past five years. China remains second to the United States as the preferred development model for Africans.<sup>27</sup>

While a majority of those who are aware of Chinese loans and development assistance to their countries are concerned about being heavily indebted to China, an increasing number of African students are heading to China to study and over 40 Confucius institutes have been set up in the region. This means that a new generation of Africans are becoming increasingly comfortable with the ‘China model’ of growth and development. It is by taking into consideration this new reality that we need to reimagine New Delhi’s engagement with the African continent.

### UN Peacekeeping

**Dinkar Shrivastava, Member AEG**

India has contributed to peace and security in Africa through participation in UN peacekeeping operations. This included some of the most critical operations - in Congo, Namibia, Somalia, Rwanda, Angola, Mozambique and Sierra Leone. This was not in quest of some strategic gains, but out of a commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. This also expresses India's solidarity with Africa and its people.

One of the earliest UN peacekeeping operations in Africa in which India participated was the ONUC in Congo in the early 1960s. India provided two infantry brigades between 1960–64. The operation has a special significance in the history of the United Nations. Dag Hammarskjold, the then UN Secretary-General, lost his life while on a visit to the mission. Thirty-nine Indian contingent personnel also laid down their lives. This was a complex operation under the Chapter VII mandate for preserving the country's territorial integrity against the secessionist movement in Katanga, a diamond-rich province.

The end of the Cold War saw an upsurge in ethnic conflicts in Africa. This also coincided with greater activism on the part of the U N Security Council. During the Cold War, decision-making in the council was often paralysed due to differences between the US and the USSR. This deadlock was removed as the P-5 positions moved closer after the Cold War.

One of the earliest UN peacekeeping operations established in Africa after the Cold War was the ONUMOZ in Mozambique on Africa's eastern seaboard. Between 1992–94, India provided two engineering companies, the HQ company and the logistics company, with a total of 1,083 troops and personnel. Today, Mozambique has emerged as a major gas producer and could meet India's LNG requirements in the future.

UN peacekeeping operations in Africa were primarily defined by the UNOSOM II in Somalia (1993–94). Initially, the U N Security Council approved a US-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF). With increasing casualties, American public opinion soon moved away from involvement in distant Africa. The council then mandated that the operation be placed under UN command and control. India

provided a brigade of troops to UNOSOM II to be stationed in Southern Somalia. The Indian Navy too participated in this operation. The Indian contingent also provided medical assistance to the local people

The Somalia operation caused many casualties and engendered a more cautious role on the part of the US. This resulted in some delays in the UN's response when trouble broke out in Rwanda. India provided one battalion to the UN Operation in Rwanda (1994–96), which delivered an excellent performance.

India provided a Deputy Force Commander, an infantry battalion and an engineering company to the UN Mission in Angola (UNAVEM). The presence of the Indian battalion helped defend Angolan capital Maputo against a rebel onslaught. Brigadier Y.K. Saxena played a major role in the planning and implementation of the operation. The UN's presence helped restore peace to the country, which today is one of the most prosperous countries in Africa.

India was the lead troop contributor to UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone, where she provided 3,000 soldiers between 1999 and 2001. An Indian general was appointed as the Force Commander to lead that operation. The breakdown of the peace agreement with the rebel RUF changed the context, but India managed to extricate not only its troops, but also its military observers from other countries.

India returned to Congo with an augmented infantry brigade group for the MONUC/MONUSCO operations in January 2005. It also provided two infantry battalions groups for UNMIS/UNMISS in Sudan in 2005. This is a country where India has a presence in upstream oil exploration and production.

India has provided more than 260,000 troops and personnel for UN peacekeeping operations over the past six decades. Most of these have been in Africa. Security is an essential precondition for development and India continues to be Africa's partner in this quest.

### **Constraints to further expansion of economic relations with Africa**

**Aditya Ghosh, Member AEG**

While there are enough reasons to invest in Africa, several others are there to discourage it. Even a cursory search of risks associated with setting up and operating a business in Africa throws up a common concern, which is, frequent changes in legislation and regulation. This has been emphasized in all reports beginning with Deloitte in its 2016 publication “Your essential guide to de-risking Africa | Unlocking the value in Africa.”

Sudden changes in government policy are a major risk for foreign investors in Africa as they tend to create uncertainty and in turn deter investment, and thus damage the business environment.

There are several examples of policy flip-flops that have hurt foreign investment:

1. Zimbabwe: In 2007, the government implemented a policy of indigenisation, which required foreign-owned businesses to sell at least 51 percent of their shares to local Zimbabweans. It caused widespread uncertainty and led to a decline in foreign investment. In 2017, Zimbabwe announced the suspension of that policy, but subsequently reinstated it in 2018, leading to further uncertainty and a decline in investment.
2. Kenya: In 2017, Kenya capped commercial lending rates, intending to make credit more affordable for businesses and consumers. The cap was repealed in 2018, leading to a decline in lending by banks.
3. Ghana: In 2017, Ghana started taxing foreign exchange transactions to curb flight of capital to raise revenue, but repealed it next year following opposition from businesses and concerns over its impact on the economy.

These examples illustrate the risks foreign investors faced and these were especially hurtful in the maritime space as assets are expensive and their deployment involved long-term planning and massive costs.

In order to gain a perspective, the cost of a ten-year-old tanker like the Very Large Crude Carrier (VLCC) was approximately Rs.574 crores in December 2022 and keeping the ship afloat without business cost Rs.8.2 lakh/day.

Similarly, the cost of a 2200 TEU ten-year-old container ship was Rs.164 crores in December 2022 and keeping that afloat without business also cost Rs.5.33 lakh/day. And, the cost of a ten-year-old bulk carrier was Rs.574 crore in December 2022 and keeping it afloat without business cost Rs.5.33 lakh/day. Therefore, no ship can afford to remain standing without work for too long as it can lead to cash flow bleeding for the owner/operator and be a disaster for the company as well in the waters it remains. Floating assets that are inoperable are marine/ environmental/economic disasters in the making.

All in all, doing business in Africa presents several challenges and risks, some of which are listed below:

1. Political instability: Many African countries have a history of political instability and civil unrest, which can affect businesses there too.
2. Corruption: Corruption is a significant problem across Africa and businesses face demands for bribes or other forms in order to operate or to obtain necessary licenses and approvals.
3. Poor infrastructure: African countries by and large suffer from poorly developed infrastructure, including inadequate transportation, limited access to electricity and clean water. This can make it expensive and difficult to conduct business.
4. Limited financing: Access to financing can be limited in many African countries, making it difficult for businesses to obtain the capital they need to grow.
5. Limited skilled labour: Many African countries have a limited pool of skilled labour, making it difficult for businesses to operate effectively.
6. Legal and regulatory risks: The legal and regulatory environment across Africa is by and large complex and uncertain. Businesses may face challenges in navigating various regulations and requirements.
7. Exchange rate risks: Many African countries have volatile currencies, which exposes businesses to exchange rate risks, making it difficult to plan, or budget effectively.
8. Long-term visibility of contracts: The availability of long-term contracts make it easy for investors to back a project. In the maritime space, investment in ports or shipping can happen on the basis of availability of contracts that stretch over long periods of time. Illustratively, contracts for carriage or storage of cargo should ideally stretch to between 18 to 25 years, while contracts for terminal and port operations should stretch to between 30 to 50 years.
9. Contractual risks: It is often found that in order to ensure ease of qualification of vendors, or to create hurdles in competition, tender and

contractual conditions are inserted that make the project and the service non-bankable.

It is important to carefully assess and manage the risks of doing business in Africa to succeed in these markets.

While there are several methods to mitigating and managing political and regulatory risks, one way could be to get the African Development Bank (AfDB) to partially or wholly underwrite and support PPP businesses involving India and Africa. The structure and mandate of the AfDB must ensure sustainability of these joint venture businesses. The EXIM Bank of India could also partner with the AfDB in such matters.

The AfDB is owned by its member countries, which include all African countries and several non-African countries. It provides a range of financial and technical assistances to its member countries, including loans and grants. It also works to mobilise resources from other sources such as bilateral and multilateral donors in order to support development projects in Africa.

Oversight by such an organisation will ensure fair play, equity and continuity of opportunity regardless of political developments at play.

### **India-Africa Cooperation in Science, Technology and Innovation**

**Dr. Bhaskar Balakrishnan, Science Diplomacy Fellow, RIS, New Delhi**

#### **Introduction**

Africa, comprising 55 countries and territories, presents many opportunities for cooperation, including in science technology and innovation. This is evidenced by the efforts of countries like China, Japan, EU, US, etc. However, this potential remains to be exploited by India. By 2050, Africa will have a population of 2.5 billion (from 1.36 billion in 2020) and India 1.66 billion (from 1.40 billion in 2020). This huge increase in population will fuel demand for various services, including education and jobs, which can be generated through science and technology.

#### **Science and Technology Cooperation through DST**

The Department of Science and Technology (DST) has signed bilateral S & T agreements with 83 countries, including seven Sub-Saharan African countries. Of these, four agreements are inactive (with Botswana, Mozambique, Sudan and Zambia) and three active (Ethiopia, Mauritius and South Africa). In addition there are two agreements with North African countries - Egypt and Tunisia -- which are both active. There are no agreements with major countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Morocco in North Africa. Consideration should be given to filling these gaps, as well as activating the four inactive existing agreements. S & T cooperation has been fairly active with South Africa and Egypt, with regular meetings and joint research activities. (see below)

#### **Cooperation under World Bank support**

In March 2019, the Department of Science and Technology (DST) initiated collaboration with the World Bank to strengthen selected African Centers of Excellence (ACEs), which have been established by the latter across Africa, including in places like Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda. Ten Indian institutions, including eight premier Indian Institutes of Technology and two research and development institutions of DST were involved in this programme. About 54 scientists from Africa have visited



India under this programme from various ACEs, which include 13 faculty, 11 masters and 30 PhD students. This programme ended in 2020.

### **India Africa S & T Initiative**

During the India-Africa Forum Summit III held in New Delhi from October 26-30, 2015, both India and Africa agreed to continue cooperation in scientific and technological development, and in ICT. Both sides also emphasized the need for enhancing collaboration in technology transfers and demonstration, training and joint research and development for specific applications to address many of their common challenges like energy, health and agriculture. This programme was implemented with financial support from the Ministry of External Affairs under IAFS-III, which is currently dormant. The DST has requested the MEA for new support to continue the programme.

### **Scholarships for Africa**

India has also offered C V Raman Fellowships for 1,000 African researchers under the India-Africa Forum Summit to promote human capacity building through scientific and technological bilateral cooperation. The programme implemented by the FICCI allows African researchers to advance their own research capabilities while contributing to the progress of research in India. More than 40 African countries have participated and about 400 scholarships have been availed by African researchers in partnership with Indian host institutions across different areas of science and technology. The fellowships are for one to six months duration and the fellowship is up to Rs.50000. It may be necessary to review the terms of the fellowship to make it more attractive, especially to senior researchers.

### **India South Africa cooperation**

India South Africa cooperation in S & T has been progressing well. India and South Africa signed a bilateral agreement on S&T cooperation in July 1995. Since then, both countries have cooperated on 96 research and development projects in areas like astronomy, astrophysics, biotechnology, science and technology policy studies, right-sizing of technologies for rural application, indigenous knowledge systems and energy technologies. DST-India and DST-South Africa signed a MOU in 2017 for establishing cooperation in grass-root innovations, co-development of affordable technologies, technology demonstration, capacity building and sharing of open source technologies. S & T cooperation has also been pursued under IBSA and the Indian Ocean Rim forums. Recently an

agreement for the reintroduction of Cheetahs in India was signed and is being implemented. India is also one of member states of the Square Kilometer Array (SKA) project, the next generation radio telescope hosted by South Africa.

### **India Egypt cooperation**

An agreement on cooperation in science and technology was signed in October 1995. ICAR and the Agricultural Research Centre of the Ministry of Agriculture & Land of Egypt signed a MoU for cooperation in the field of agricultural research in March 1998. Cooperation in agriculture and S& T is implemented through biennial executive programmes approved by a joint committee. The latest round of India-Egypt joint calls for proposals was announced in September 2018 in the area of Information and Communication Technology, Nanotechnology and Biotechnology. Twenty five research proposals (out of 120) were selected. Other joint meetings have taken place, including the Joint Working Group on Cyber Issues (New Delhi, 2016), ISRO-NARSS JWG (Cairo, 2017). The India-Egypt Workshops on Agriculture-Biotechnology (Shillong, 2018) and one on Nanotechnology (Mumbai, 2019). Space cooperation is an emerging vertical of cooperation in the India-Egypt relationship. Joint Working Group meetings and discussions between ISRO and NARSS (National Authority for Remote Sensing and Space Sciences) have been held since 2008. A Centre for Excellence in Information Technology (CEIT) in Cairo, Egypt, was set up by India for cutting-edge IT technology. Located at the Al Azhar University, the CEIT has been operational since February 2019.

### **Pan Africa E Network Project**

India has launched the Pan Africa e-Network Project (PANEP), an information and communications technology (ICT) project between India and the African Union, that seeks to connect all 55 member states through a satellite and fibre-optic network to India and to each other to enable access to and sharing of expertise in the areas of tele-education, telemedicine, voice over IP, infotainment, resource mapping, meteorological services, e-governance and e-commerce services. The entire cost of the project, amounting to \$125 million is to be borne by the Government of India through a grant. The first phase of the project was launched in February 2009 and included eleven countries ( Benin, Burkina Faso, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal and Seychelles). The second phase covering twelve countries ( Botswana, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Libya, Malawi, Mozambique, Somalia, Uganda and Zambia) was launched in 2010. Forty seven

African countries have joined the project out of which implementation in 34 were completed by 2010 and the remaining were to be completed by the end of 2011. The second phase of the project called e-VidyaBharti (Tele-education) and e-ArogyaBharti (Tele-medicine) was launched in October 2019.

The e-network is made up of cable network and satellite connectivity. A Hub Earth Station of the project, located in Senegal, is connected to the participant universities and super specialty hospitals, through an International Private Leased Circuit (IPLC) that links it to a submarine cable landing station in India. Each partner nation from Africa has a tele-education terminal, a telemedicine terminal and a VVIP communication node for the head of state linked to the network. The network is designed to have 169 terminals and a central hub that delivers services using state of the art technology. The network can also be scaled up to support increases in user numbers and to cater to different applications. The project is being implemented by Telecommunications Consultants India Limited (TCIL). It links seven Indian and five African universities, twelve Indian and five African super-specialty hospitals and fifty three telemedicine and tele-education centres in Africa. The success of the Pan African e-Network project prompted India to propose the establishment of a India-Africa Virtual University during the India-Africa Forum Summit at Addis Ababa in 2011. The project won the Hermes Prize for Innovation awarded by the European Institute of Creative Strategies and Innovation in 2010.

### **International Solar Alliance and Africa**

The International Solar Alliance (ISA) is an alliance of 123 signatory countries to promote the efficient use of solar energy to reduce the dependence on fossil fuels. This initiative was proposed by India in 2015 and supported by France and it has evolved into a treaty-based inter-governmental organisation. Membership is now open to all UN members. The initiative was formally launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the India Africa Summit, The framework agreement of the International Solar Alliance opened for signatures in Marrakesh, Morocco, in November 2016, and 102 countries have joined. The Indian government has dedicated five acres of land on the NISE campus near Delhi for its future headquarters; it also has contributed US\$22 million to the fund to build a campus and for meeting expenditures for the first five years. Forty two African countries have joined the ISA so far. However some major countries like Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tunisia, Libya, etc. have not joined. The expansion of the membership in Africa needs to be pursued. The potential for solar energy in

Africa is huge, and the development of an all-Africa energy grid, which could also include major hydroelectric resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo, could go far to meet Africa's energy needs in a sustainable manner.

### **ICGEB and Africa**

The International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (ICGEB) was established as a project of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) in 1983. The ICGEB is unique amongst all international and research organisations in pursuing its goals through a combination of international technical cooperation with advanced experimental research in its own state-of-the-art laboratories, located in Trieste, Italy, (which also hosts the headquarters), New Delhi, India, and Cape Town, South Africa, with over 45 ongoing research projects in infectious and non-communicable diseases, medical, industrial and plant biology biotechnology. In 1994, the ICGEB became an autonomous International Organisation and now has over 65 member states, including 28 African countries. Its main pillars of action comprise research, advanced education through PhD and post-doctoral fellowships, international scientific meetings and courses, competitive grants for scientists in member states and technology transfer to industry. The ICGEB has observer status within the Meeting of the States Parties of the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC). Its research on infectious diseases and capacity building in diagnostics and surveillance are of particular interest to the States Parties to the Convention. In addition to assessed contributions by member states, the Governments of Italy, India and South Africa provide funding through voluntary contributions. These cover all costs of respective components. India's voluntary contribution in 2020 was Euro 4.6 million. There is a need to increase the membership of the ICGEB from the African region, given the importance of biotechnology in agriculture, health and industry.

### **S and T cooperation through other Agencies**

Some agreements have been signed by other ministries with African countries. These are briefly the DAE, ISRO, ICAR, ICMR, MoES, DBT, CSIR, etc. These will be discussed in a separate article.

### **Nuclear energy sector cooperation**

Several African countries have resources of uranium and thorium, which are of interest to India's nuclear industry. Niger, South Africa and Namibia have large uranium resources. South Africa also has a well-developed nuclear industry.

Therefore, cooperation could focus on these three countries. Egypt and South Africa have large Thorium reserves, as well as significant nuclear technology activity, so cooperation in exploitation of Thorium for nuclear energy could be beneficial.

India signed a nuclear cooperation agreement with Namibia in 2009, after it got exemption from the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in September 2008. However, given that Namibia is a signatory to the Treaty of Pelindaba on the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, uranium exports to India—a non-signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)—have not materialised, ostensibly due to non-proliferation restrictions arising from the Pelindaba Treaty. Further efforts are required to resolve these issues, including leveraging India's special exemption granted by the NSG and similar agreements with other suppliers.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership (GCNEP) and the African Commission on Nuclear Energy (AFCONE), was signed in 2020. AFCONE is a body under Treaty of Pelindaba, 1996 and has 42 members of the African Union. South Africa is the AFCONE HeadQuarters. The MoU focuses on capacity building through organizing training, seminars, workshops and lectures by research experts from both sides on topical issues to develop a pool of trained human resource in the areas of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

### **Cooperation between scientific academies**

The Indian National Science Academy has signed MoUs with 19 foreign science academies, of which four are in Kenya, Morocco, South Africa and Sudan. It would be useful to explore such MoUs with other countries like Nigeria, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Mauritius and Ethiopia.

### **Cooperation through Higher Education Institutions**

Higher education is a win-win sector for cooperation and Africa is set to become the most populous region in the world, this has high potential for growth, including in science, technology and engineering education.

India's higher education initiatives are aimed at helping African countries develop scientific human resources, bridge the digital divide, upgrade skills and at attracting more African students to the subcontinent. This was unveiled at the India-Africa Higher Education and Skill Development Summit in 2021. India is one of the top five destinations for African higher education students, with more

than 25,000 African students studying in 500 public and private universities across the country.

### **Conclusion**

It can be seen that there is huge potential for India Africa cooperation in STI, especially for tackling development and global challenges. As Africa's population grows to 2.5 billion by 2050, the importance of strengthening African human resources in STEM fields, research infrastructure building and joint efforts to commercialise R & D outcomes has become very important for achieving Agenda 2030 and Africa's Agenda 2063. India can play a key role in all these areas.

## EXPERT GROUP MEMBERS

**Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia** is Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House, and a former Ambassador of India. As Director General of the Indian Council of World Affairs, he helped strengthen India's Track-II research and outreach activities. During a 37-year tenure in the Indian Foreign Service, he served as Ambassador to Myanmar and Mexico and as High Commissioner to Kenya, South Africa and Lesotho. South Asia is a region of special interest to him. A prolific columnist, he is also a regular speaker on foreign policy and diplomacy in India and abroad. He was Senior Visiting Research Fellow from 2011 to 2013 at the Institute of South East Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. He holds a Master's degree in political science from Allahabad University. His three books – India in Global Affairs: Perspectives from Sapru House (KW Publishers, 2015), India-Myanmar Relations: Changing contours (Routledge 2016) and India-Africa Relations: Changing Horizons (Routledge 2022) have received critical acclaim.

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Author of five books, his last book Opportunity for India in a Changing World was in 2021. His book How India Manages Its National Security was published in 2018. In 2020, Sage India published a coedited (with Anil Wadhwa) volume titled India's Foreign Policy: Surviving in a Turbulent World. He also co-edited with Arpita Mitra, a volume titled Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: The Relevance of India's Ancient Thinking to Contemporary Strategic Reality.

**Mr Samir Bhattacharya** is Senior Research Associate at Vivekananda International Foundation, where he works on geopolitics with particular reference to Africa in changing global order. He is holder of prestigious Charpak scholarship and did his Master's in Economics from the University of Auvergne, France. Currently, he is pursuing his doctoral study at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Previously, he has worked with organizations such as the French Embassy in New Delhi, Saciwaters (Research Organisation) and CUTS International (NGO).

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**Mr Anil L Devli**, Chief Executive Officer of Indian National Shipowners’ Association (INSA) is a lawyer by training. Mr. Anil Devli is an active member of the Indian maritime fraternity. He has been involved with the Indian shipping industry for over 20 years. He is currently the Chief Executive Officer of the Indian National Shipowners’ Association, an organisation which is involved in furthering the interests of the Indian flag. He has varied experience in the business of ship owning & operations. In addition to his experience in pursuing policies for the growth of Indian shipping industry, he engages in thought contribution towards other maritime related activities. He is a strong believer that the growth of India as a world maritime power is of paramount importance and India's relevance and standing in the world is irretrievably linked to the growth of Indian flag shipping industry.

**Mr. Aditya Ghosh** is Director – Africa in Confederation of Indian Industry. He is having more than 16 years in International Business working with multiple stakeholders like industry members, local and International partners including government agencies like embassies, Ministries etc . He has the experience of promoting businesses in Africa, Middle East, South Asia across Multiple sectors.

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**Prof. (Dr) Suresh Kumar** is a former Head and Coordinator (2015-19), Department of African Studies. He has traveled widely more than 40 countries in the world for research and teaching assignments. He deliberated his opinion in UNO, WPC, ECAS, CODESRIA, IBSA, BRICS-IKS and international media channels of BBC, Aljazeera (English), ABC (USA), Yomiuri Shinbun (Japan) and All India Radio. About 165 articles have been published in different books, journals and newspapers.

**Amb Rakshpaul Malhotra** served in the Ministry of External Affairs for over 33 years before retiring as India's Ambassador to Niger in 2017. Has served in various capacities in Sri Lanka, Italy, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Japan, Cyprus, Zimbabwe and Niger. He has keen interest in Africa and is presently a member of the Africa Expert Group in the prestigious VIF.

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## About the VIVEKANANDA INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION

The Vivekananda International Foundation is an independent non-partisan institution that conducts research and analysis on domestic and international issues, and offers a platform for dialogue and conflict resolution. Some of India's leading practitioners from the fields of security, military, diplomacy, government, academia and media fields have come together to generate ideas and stimulate action on national security issues.

The defining feature of VIF lies in its provision of core institutional support which enables the organization to be flexible in its approach and proactive in changing circumstances, with a long-term focus on India's strategic, developmental and civilisational interests. The VIF aims to channelize fresh insights and decades of experience harnessed from its faculty into fostering actionable ideas for the nation's stakeholders.

Since its establishment, VIF has successfully embarked on quality research and scholarship in an effort to highlight issues in governance and strengthen national security. This is being actualized through numerous activities like seminars, round tables, interactive-dialogues, Vimarsh (public discourse), conferences and briefings. The publications of the VIF form the lasting deliverables of the organisation's aspiration to impact on the prevailing discourse on issues concerning India's national interest.



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