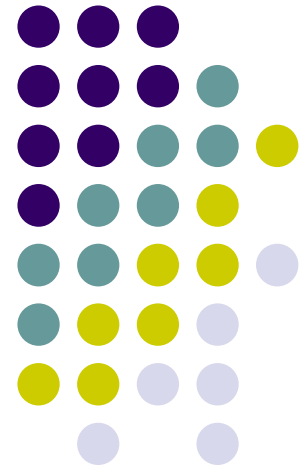


# Indian Foreign Policy and Africa: Continuity and Change

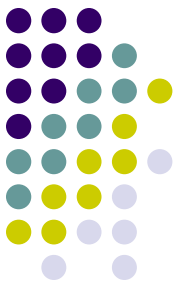
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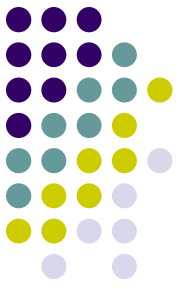


# Main Argument



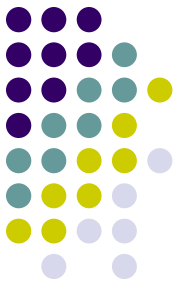
- Rise of India, changing contours of India's foreign policy, particularly with respect to Africa, have become the focus of scholarly attention. With some exceptions most of the writings have clubbed China and India together, suggesting rise of "Asian drivers" or 'Chindia in Africa.'
- This paper attempts to analyse India's evolving foreign policy with particular reference to Africa. It argues that the emerging pragmatism in India's foreign policy and has led India to take the path of economic diplomacy with energy cooperation as a central pillar. It also posits that there are indications that India has not shed its policy of Third Worldism.

# India's foreign policy



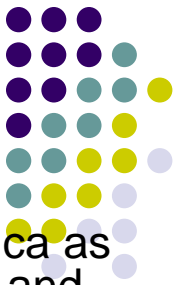
- The origin of India's foreign policy could be traced to the tenets set forth by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru -ideas of independent foreign policy, non- alignment and third world solidarity.
- The Non Aligned Movement (NAM) was created out of the desire to orient India's foreign policy towards the group of newly decolonized states, hoping to create a larger area of peace by fighting common dangers of imperialism and racialism together. Nehru wanted India to be the leader of the developing world, in this way carving out a global role for the country. The principle of India's leadership was to be based on moral rather than economic power.Nehru's idealistic policies at the global level were followed by India till 1991.
- The 1991 economic reforms saw the birth for a new role for international economic and trade relations. India suddenly had to engage with the post cold war world and reassess its foreign policy priorities. The opening up the economy to international players also meant that foreign relations had an economic dimension and trade became a foreign policy tool. Leaving economic self-sufficiency behind and engaging in international trade was India's new way forward.

# Indian Foreign Policy



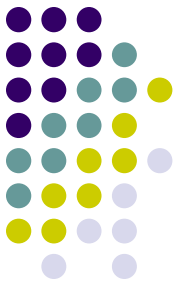
- The Congress government under Narasimha Rao initiated economic reforms. The BJP government continued the Congress policy of economic reforms and intensified the engagement with rest of the world. It established diplomatic relations with Israel, entered into a strategic dialogue with the United States, reworked its relations with China and has also endeavoured to re-establish linkages with South American countries and Africa.
- The Manmohan Singh government has reemphasized the need economic development and also suggested that the “real challenges are at home”. A second element is the recognition to improve relations with major powers on the basis of economic cooperation. A third element is need for security of various hues- energy security, economic security, maritime security, environmental security, food security and of course conventional security. India emphasizes the need for security of all these types particularly energy security and is ready to cooperate both with developing and developed world in pursuit of these security goals.

# India's Africa Policy



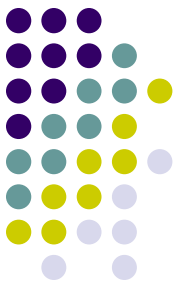
- The main emphasis of India's post independence policy towards Africa as shaped by Jawaharlal Nehru, was providing support to anti- colonial and anti- apartheid struggle in Africa. Further his championing of the philosophy of non alignment, which called for a truly independent path in the international relations, attracted the African countries.
- Support for anti-colonial movements and the anti-apartheid struggle were pillars of India's Africa policy during the Cold War. The emergence of a democratic South Africa in 1994 was indeed a victory for India, as it was the first country to bring the issue of apartheid to the United Nations. But the fact remains that Africa was largely viewed in the context of solidarity with the developing world.
- Successive Indian government's continued Nehru's policy of supporting national liberation movements in Africa both financially and politically – ANC, SWAPO, since 1986 through the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund.
- In economic sphere from mid 60s India strived for supporting development initiatives in Africa under the banner of South- South cooperation.
- In the post cold war era with the emergence of democratic South Africa the most important plank of India's relations with the African continent – the support to liberation struggle vanished, making economic diplomacy the main thrust.

# India's Africa policy



- Of late India has made efforts to elaborate its approach towards Africa. The emphasis has been on building an enduring partnership with sustainable development, resting on principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit.
- In the Energy sector in particular India has identified five thrust areas for cooperation with the African countries. These include,
  - buy more crude from Africa, invest more in upstream opportunities on bilateral basis,
  - explore opportunities to source more LNG from Africa, make available India's skills,
  - talent and technology in cost-effective manner for the benefit of Africa.
  - Finally, India will also take up community development programmes there for inclusive growth.

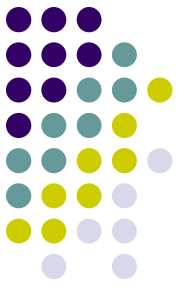
# India's Africa Policy : Energy Cooperation



- India's growing energy needs have pushed it towards energy cooperation with the African countries.
- India's economy is projected to grow at the rate between 8 to 10 percent between the next two decades. The economic growth in conjunction with population growth (India accounts for 1/6th of world population) and lack of petroleum resources has left the country facing a potentially serious energy crisis. It is expected to become the largest energy consumer after United States and China by 2030.
- Currently it imports 70 percent of its oil mainly from the West Asian countries and around 18% from Africa
- The Oil and Natural Gas Corporation's overseas division ONGC Videsh (OVL) has been successful in acquiring exploration and development stakes across the continent primarily in Sudan, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Libya, Egypt, Nigeria, Sao- Tome Principe and Gabon.

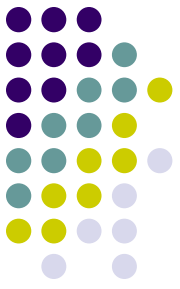


# India's Africa Policy



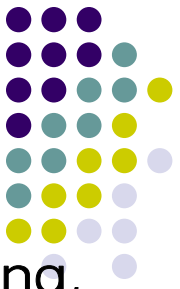
- However it is argued that there is a continuity in India's Africa policy. Indian engagement with Africa is not being driven by its self interests primarily by the growing need for energy resources it is more nuanced, development friendly and Third Worldist.
- Trade statistics as well as certain special initiatives give support to this argument.
- Trade flows between India and Africa have increased dramatically in the recent years. Trade was around \$1 billion in 1990-1991. It has grown to \$ 36 billion in 2008-09.
- Moreover the direction of India's trade is not limited to the energy rich countries. Main trading partners of India are South Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania and Kenya. Moreover India's trading pattern appears to be more diversified with ores and metals constituting 61% of African export shares to India followed by manufactured materials 14%. This implies that Africa's trade with India thus constitutes other products besides oil.

# India's Soft approach: Partnership in Development



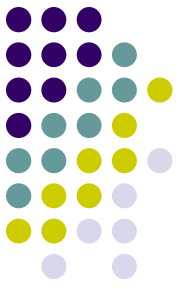
- Focus Africa
- TEAM Nine Initiative
- HIPC initiative
- Pan African E Network
- ITEC Scheme expanded
- Duty Free Tariff Preference Scheme
- India Africa Institutions
- India Africa Forum summit

# India's Soft Approach: Capacity building



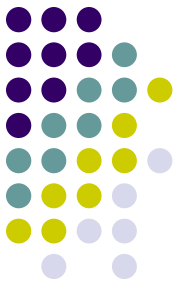
- US \$ 1 billion worth of assistance including training, deputation of experts and implementation of projects in African countries.
- Over one thousand officials from Sub Saharan Africa receive training, deputation of experts and implementation of projects in African countries.
- Over 100 officials from Sub Saharan Africa receive training annually in India under the ITEC programme
- Annually over 15,000 African students study in India
- In 2005, India became the first Asian country to become the full member of the ACBF with a contribution of US \$ 1 million for building capacity for sustainable development and poverty elevation in Africa.
- At present, nearly \$2 billion in Indian lines of credit is operating in Africa either through bilateral, regional or Pan African institutions

# India's Soft Approach Capacity building



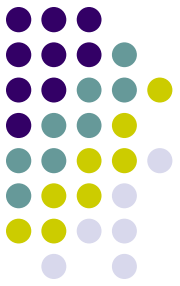
- Angola - **Railway rehabilitation** project
- Burkina Faso - **Agricultural projects**;
- Chad - cotton yarn plant, steel billet plant assembly of agricultural equipment plant
- Cote d'Ivoire - **renewal of urban transport system** in Abidjan and for agricultural projects;
- D R Congo - a cement factory, rehabilitation of manganese mine
- Djibouti – **Cement plant**
- Ethiopia - **Energy transmission and distribution project**; development of sugar industry;
- Gambia - Setting up of a tractor assembly plant;
- Ghana - **Rural electrification**, agriculture, communication and transportation projects;
- Mali - agro machinery electricity transmission and distribution project
- Mauritius –sewerage project;
- Mozambique - Gaza electrification project;
- Rwanda - **Power projects**
- Senegal - rural SMEs, irrigation project, and acquisition of railway coaches and locomotives from India;
- Sudan - power plants.
- Gabon –**housing project.**

# Commitment to Africa: multilateral level



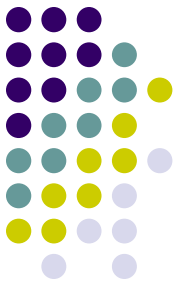
- It was the leading ally of Africa group in the run up to Doha Development Agenda
- Party to successful campaign on access to Medicines at Doha
- Submitted various proposals jointly with African states at Doha negotiations
- Led G 20 coalition of developing countries on Agriculture

# Multilateral cooperation



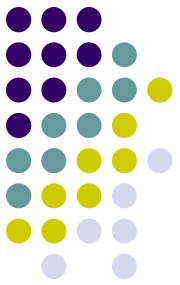
- It has also struck trilateral partnerships like IBSA Dialogue Forum that attempts to bridge continental divide towards enhancing South- South cooperation
- Inaugurated in June 2003, the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Trilateral Dialogue Forum is a unique model of trans-national cooperation, as the three countries come from three different continents and yet share similar worldviews and aspirations.
- IOR-ARC

# Soft Approach : Strategic Gains



- Greater Legitimacy and Prestige at International multilateral Institutions
- Support for a seat for India at UNSC
- Sympathetic base of African politicians and bureaucrats
- Improved Maritime Security in IOR region

# Conclusion



- India's soft approach towards Africa showcases its foreign policy towards the regions and has curious blend of Third Worldism and pragmatism indicating continuity and change.





भारत - अफ्रीका  
मंच शिखर सम्मेलन  
नई दिल्ली  
8-9 अप्रैल, 2008



India - Africa  
Forum Summit  
New Delhi  
8-9 April, 2008



THANK YOU