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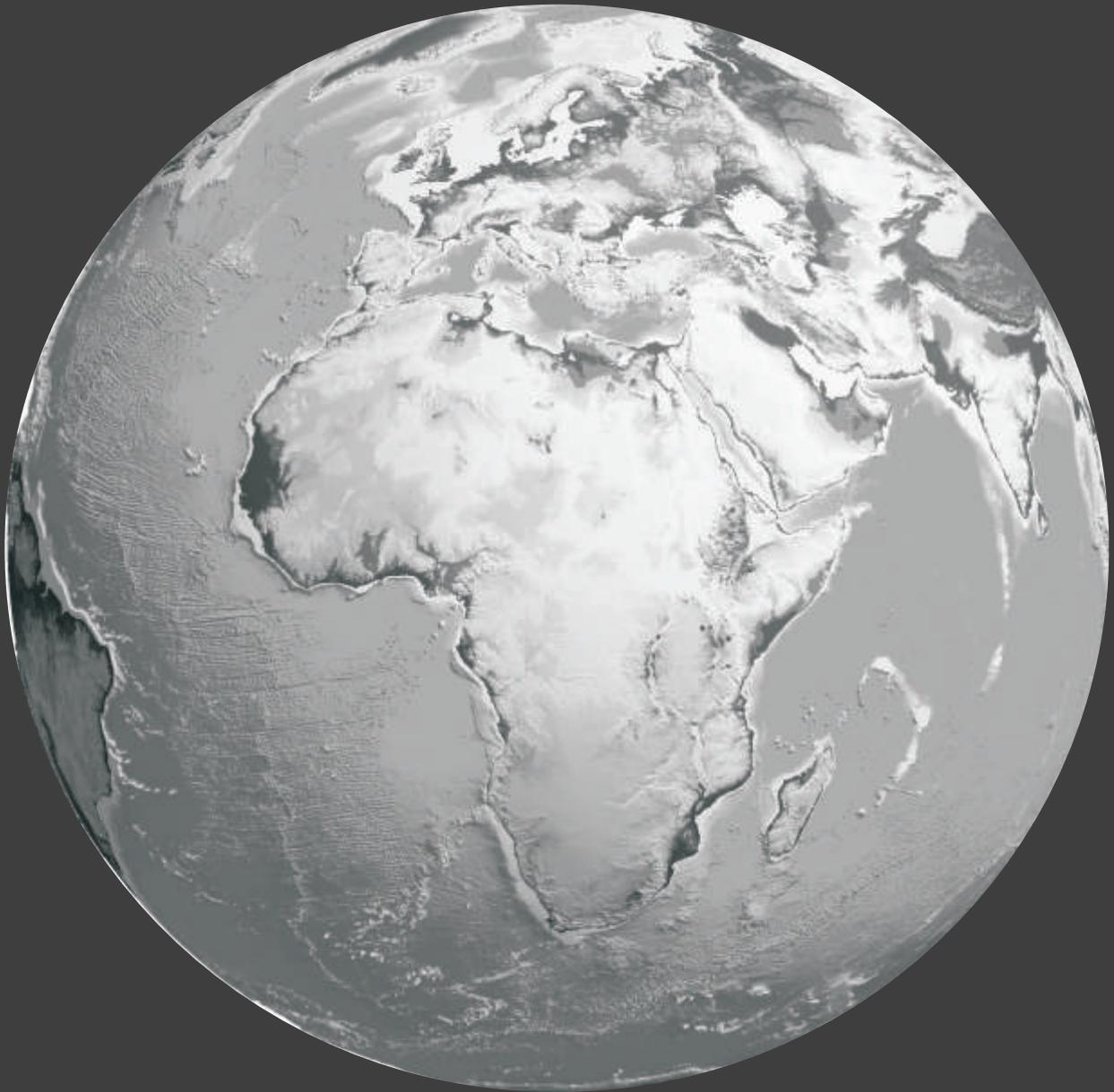
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*A Biannual Magazine on Africa*

**Special Issue**

on

**India- Africa Partnership in a Changing World**



**idsa**

INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE  
STUDIES & ANALYSES

रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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## ***Disclaimer***

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## Editor's Note

It gives us great pleasure to bring to you this special issue of Africa Trends with proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Africa Day Roundtable entitled “**India- Africa Partnership in a Changing World**” held on May 29, 2019 at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. The event was attended by a galaxy of representatives from the diplomatic missions of African countries in New Delhi, India.

In the welcome remarks Ambassador Sujan R. Chinoy, DG, IDSA highlighted the many hues of the historical relationship shared by India and Africa. In the opening remarks, H.E. Alem Tsehay Woldemariam, Ambassador of Eritrea and Dean of African Heads of Missions emphasised the potential for greater cooperation in the context of a rising and more economically integrated Africa.

In the Keynote Address, Mr. T.S. Tirumurti, Secretary (ER) gave an overview of India-Africa partnership in various realms and said that India-Africa partnership will play a defining role addressing the challenges of the world in the future.

In the panel discussion that followed, H.E. Michael A.N.N. Oquaye, High Commissioner of Ghana, dwelt on the inequitable nature of the global order and explained how an integrated Africa would be in a position to have a greater say in new global order. Ms. Ruchita Beri, Centre Coordinator, ALACUN Centre, IDSA, highlighted the four key factors of political, security and economic nature that have helped Africa emerge as a major pole of growth in the world today. H.E. Nejmeddine Lakhel, Ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia, spelt out several features of strategic and sustainable Africa-India economic partnership. Ambassador Gurjit Singh, Chair CII Taskforce on Trilaterals with Africa, identified the drivers of change in Africa and in that context highlighted five areas where there is greater scope for strengthening India-Africa partnership in the next decade.

We welcome your feedback!

## Welcome Remarks

**Ambassador Sujan R. Chinoy, Director General, IDSA**

The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses has hosted the Africa Day Roundtable annually since the last three years in order to commemorate Africa Day, which was earlier referred to as African Freedom Day and African Liberation Day. The IDSA Africa Day Roundtable has evolved into a well-established platform to discuss India-Africa ties. It contributes to the giant strides that India has taken under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to re-define and transform its ties with the dynamic continent of Africa.

Africa Day is an epochal event. India has been closely associated with it on account of our shared colonial past and rich contemporary ties. India had long supported Africa's liberation from colonialism and from apartheid, both before and after attaining Independence. We have a long history of sympathising with one another in the endeavour to realise our true destinies as free nations.

### **Africa Day is an epochal event.**

In the year 2019, Africa Day assumes a special significance since 2 October 2019 marks the 150<sup>th</sup> Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government of India as well as Indian Missions abroad are engaged in year-long celebrations and events leading up to that momentous milestone. Therefore, this event is dedicated to the eternal memory of Mahatma Gandhi, whose values and teachings contributed to the emancipation from colonial yoke of the peoples of India and Africa.

Historically, India has enjoyed close ties with the African continent, whether through ancient maritime trade driven by the monsoon winds, or on account of the presence of a vast Indian diaspora that once included a young Mahatma Gandhi who perfected his ideals of truth and non-violence through years of struggle in South Africa. It is no wonder that the late Nelson Mandela once said, "You gave us Mohandas; we returned him to you as Mahatma Gandhi". On the other hand, the *Siddis* in Gujarat and Karnataka trace their roots to the Bantu people of East Africa. They are part of the cultural splendour of India.

The world today is in flux. Change and uncertainty are the only constants. Key drivers of globalisation such as the liberal trading order and the flow of goods, services, capital and technology are being reassessed. Protectionism has reared its head. Easy developmental finance comes with conditions that erode sovereignty. Anti-migrant sentiment thwarts the free movement of human talent. Technology, that vital pillar of progress, is open to misuse in the digital age.

What is more, power is fractured. States and non-state actors have acquired the means and the skills-set to overcome asymmetry. Traditional and non-traditional security threats such

as economic and military competition, climate change, cyber threats and energy and food security have grown in magnitude. The spectre of terrorism, especially cross-border terrorism, continues to challenge peace and prosperity. Yet, amidst all these challenges, we must continue to strive to achieve peace and progress. There are multiple opportunities for India and Africa to work together on the basis of our national interests.

Africa's on-going modernisation blends in with India's rapid economic transformation. While India remains the world's fastest-growing emerging economy, Africa is home to several of the top 20 IMF ranked emerging countries. Africa is on course, like India, to become an engine for global economic growth and a key player in shaping the global narratives.

**Africa's on-going modernisation blends in with India's rapid economic transformation.**

Pan-African cooperation has been strengthened by the recent conclusion of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). African countries have also made commendable progress in resolving regional conflicts and initiating sustainable development.

India has designated Africa as a 'top priority of its foreign and economic policy'. Prime Minister Modi's government has carried out unprecedented outreach and engagement over the past five years through high-level visits. The India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) has brought us even closer together. India-Africa trade has grown from US\$ 1 billion in 1990 to US\$ 62 billion in 2018, making India, Africa's fourth largest national trading partner.

India continues to be a reliable development partner for Africa through multiple capacity building programmes, having implemented 180 Lines of Credit worth about US\$ 11 billion in over 40 African countries. India is also the fifth largest investor in Africa. The focus on adding capacity received a new impetus at the 2015 New Delhi IAFS summit when India announced a US\$ 10 billion concessional line of credit and US\$ 600 million grant assistance.

Our development partnership remains anchored in the principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit with demand being driven by African priorities. As Prime Minister Modi had stated while outlining India's 10 guiding principles of African engagement in Uganda in 2018 - 'India's development partnership will be on terms that will liberate African potential and not constrain African future'.

India has also partnered Japan, U.S., and the UAE to build capacity and develop quality infrastructure in Africa. The India-Japan initiative of the Asia Africa Growth Corridor is an example. India also remains an active participant in the African Union's pan-African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) which is a vital instrument of Africa's economic transformation. Much remains to be done.

There is potential for deepening our engagement in through digital programmes and in areas such as maritime, energy, food and cyber security, humanitarian and disaster relief, counterterrorism and military training.

India has made rich contributions to UN Peace Keeping Operations in Africa, and to anti-

piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden and the wider Indian Ocean.

Our shared maritime interests remain anchored in developing a blue economy, particularly in the context of SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region), and in ensuring unimpeded commerce and freedom of navigation and over-flight along key sea lanes of communication.

The concept of the Indo-Pacific, which underscores the importance of treating the terrestrial and maritime domains of two great oceans as one seamless strategic space, binds us together. Several African states are also members of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) which is an open and inclusive Indian initiative that seeks to promote maritime co-operation among navies of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region. Strong India-Africa ties can strengthen multi-polarity in the Indo-Pacific region. There is no place for a re-emergence of neo-colonial versions of economic or security domination. A just, representative and democratic world order remains a key objective of South-South cooperation, manifested in IBSA, BRICS and BASIC.

## Opening Remarks

**H.E Alem Tsehaye Woldemariam, Ambassador of Eritrea and Dean of African Heads of Missions**

It is my pleasure to be here for this important Africa Day roundtable dialogue on *India-Africa Partnership in a Changing World*.

Indeed, Prime Minister Modi and his entire government have worked tirelessly and unprecedentedly to strengthen partnerships between India and Africa. The Prime Minister and other top Indian leaders including the President and Vice President's visits to different African countries over the last five years are a clear testimony to this growing partnership.

The partnership between India and Africa is rooted in their shared historical experience dating back to the fight against apartheid and colonisation as well as many other shared battles in peace keeping missions and in the non-aligned movement as well as in the UN General Assembly. Recent initiatives by the Indian government such as the International Solar Alliance and the government decision to open more Embassies and High Commissions in different African countries have brought India and African countries much closer in partnership than ever before.

**Recent initiatives by the Indian government such as the International Solar Alliance... have brought India and African countries much closer in partnership...**

The India Africa Forum Summit has served to shape the partnership between these two blocks in an unprecedented way and in a mutually beneficial manner. The mechanism is one of the first ever South – South cooperation platforms for the leaders of the two blocks to chart their future together regarding cooperation in important sectors.

The commitments under the India Africa Forum Summit and their implementation in different African countries in form of Lines of Credits for financing several projects or grants in institutional establishment and capacity building programs have played an important role in the socio- economic transformation of the many African countries.

The India-Africa partnership has grown exponentially in the last decade. India is Africa's fourth largest trading partner with over 21 per cent of Indian foreign investment directed to the continent between 2008 and 2016; and no doubt the figure has even grown much bigger today.

The Indian Diaspora is growing on the African continent and its contribution to economic development to their second homes is commendable.

## **Africa Rising**

We are gathered here to reflect and discuss openly on the strategic partnership that India and African Nations has forged over the years, this in the current global context characterised by uncertainty, rising instability in some parts of the world and temptations of many in the developed world to turn to inward looking protectionist policies.

The good news is Africa is rising. This is not a perception anymore. It is becoming a reality. On 30 May 2019, the Africa Continental Free Trade Area Agreement will enter into force. The Agreement is an important step towards removing the fragmentation of African economies and markets, creating a large market that is critical to increasing trade and investments on the continent.

The consolidation and integration of the continent is indeed progressing at a satisfying speed in the recent years. The institutional reforms of the African Union launched in 2016 also signalled the determination of African leaders to reposition the Union and ensure it has the requisite institutional capacity and capabilities given the evolving economic, political, and social needs of the continent. The African Union is geared towards increasing its relevance to citizens, political and operational effectiveness as well as sustainable financing, with the view of reinforcing Africa's Global voice. Today's dialogue is therefore timely.

## **Vistas of Cooperation**

Our world is confronted with global challenges that require closer international collaboration: climate change, terrorism, migration crisis, cyber security and the pledge we all made to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. This obliges us to rethink our partnership and give it the impetus needed to confront together these challenges with renewed confidence that desire objectives will be achieved.

The roundtable dialogue we will have today with your valuable contributions will provide conceptual and pragmatic guidelines which should drive India-Africa partnership to greater height.

## Keynote Address

### INDIA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP IN A CHANGING WORLD

**Mr. T.S. Tirumurti, Secretary (Economic Relations),  
Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India**

I am privileged to be a part of the Africa Day round-table discussions on “*India-Africa Partnership in a Changing World*”. It is an honour to be able to address such a distinguished gathering. I thank the Director General and IDSA for taking this initiative. I also welcome all Heads of Mission and representatives from African countries.

The bonds between India and the African Continent have been forged over several centuries. It is on the strong foundation of these age-old spiritual, cultural and civilizational ties that we are striving to build a contemporary relationship, one that is based on our shared commitment to the ideals of peace, security and freedom.

There can be no doubt about the potential of Africa. I am happy to say that the day when we will see Africa fully come into its own is not far. That is because Africa has already taken charge of its own destiny. Vision 2063 is an important guiding light to the path Africa has already started to tread.

There are three important areas where change is already coming in. First, Africa is taking firm steps to fight terrorism and ensure that terrorism does not disrupt their social fabric and their development. Second, the Continental Free Trade Agreement will be a game-changer for intra-Africa trade and removal of barriers to trade, investment and growth. Third, political transitions are becoming more responsive to people’s aspirations and, consequently, smooth and peaceful. Respect for democracy has increased.

There are certainly many other changes too happening in Africa and Africa is well poised to address the challenges of the changing world. Africa is a continent of growth and opportunities. With the young and fastest growing youth population in the world and considerable natural resources and human capital at its disposal, Africa is poised to be a significant growth factor in the global economy.

India’s partnership with Africa is based on a model of cooperation which is responsive to the needs of African countries. It is demand-driven and free of conditionalities. It is based on our history of friendship, historical ties, and a sense of deep solidarity. As Prime Minister has underlined, African priorities are our priorities. Over the years, our relations have acquired greater depth and breadth across a range of areas.

There has been unprecedented intensification of our political engagement with Africa with 29 visits to African countries at the level of President, Vice President and Prime Minister apart from several Ministerial visits. The visits have been in both directions. Subsequent to the visit of 41 Heads of State/Heads of Government who attended IAFS-III, we have hosted over 35 leaders from Africa for various events in the last nearly five years. India has already opened 6 of the 18 additional Missions in Africa.

Our engagement is not limited only to the bilateral political level. Today, India and Africa have comprehensive diplomatic mechanisms at all three levels - continental, regional and bilateral and through multilateral fora. In addition to Summits (IAFS I, II, III), we have had three meetings with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) of Africa. We are looking at ways to enhance cooperation in IORA, Indo-Pacific and other groupings.

India was one of the first few countries, after the Hong Kong World Trade Organization Ministerial in 2005 that announced duty free, quota free access to low income countries in 2008. Even during recession from 2009- 2012, trade between India and Africa grew by nearly 32 per cent annually. In addition, India has also signed bilateral trade agreements with more than 20 African countries.

India-Africa trade has multiplied and diversified in the last 15 years. Our bilateral trade stood at 62.16 billion USD for 2017-18 which reflects an increase of 21.56 per cent over the previous year. India is ranked as the third largest export destination in Africa. India sources nearly 18 per cent of its crude oil and also its LNG requirement, mostly from the West African region.

With the African continent, our investments are steadily growing in a range of sectors and India has become the fifth largest investor in Africa with cumulative investments at over 54 billion USD. Sizeable investments have been made in Oil and Gas, mining, banking, pharma, textiles and other sectors in African countries. Several Indian companies have entered into Joint ventures in Africa. They have the experience, technology and capital to unlock these African resources and create value for host governments. Many important firms from Africa also have established their presence in India.

The Duty-Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) Scheme announced by India for Least Developed Countries (LDCs) benefitted African nations and has contributed towards steady increase in our trade figures by extending duty-free access to 98.2 per cent of India's total tariff lines. 38 African countries enjoy the benefits of our DFTP Scheme.

The African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AfCFTA), which is expected to boost intra-African trade by elimination of import duties and non-tariff barriers providing opportunities for expansion of trade ties, will make Africa the largest free trade area in the world. India views this development as yet another opportunity to boost trade and economic ties with Africa.

Africa is a continent which receives nearly 20 per cent of India's pharmaceuticals. India hosted the first India-Africa Health Sciences Meet in 2015. Many Indian Pharma companies

have established units in various parts of Africa, including Ethiopia, Uganda, DRC, Zambia and Ghana. Our medicines and medical equipment such as *Bhabhatrons* and phototherapy machines are saving lives in Africa. Many Indian hospitals have entered into joint ventures for establishing health care facilities.

Interestingly, in pursuance of trilateral cooperation with Africa, India is collaborating with Japan and Kenya to build a cancer hospital and is collaborating with UAE and is in discussion with Ethiopia to set up a Centre for IT Excellence. Trilateral partnership has considerable potential. This is also in line with the nascent Asia-Africa Growth Corridor and there is much scope to further this area of cooperation.

Capacity building and human resource development are at the core of India's engagement. India is proud of its educational and technical ties with Africa and wants to build genuine partnerships that create jobs and opportunities. It is with this in mind that 50,000 scholarships were offered to Africans under ITEC scholarships, ICCR scholarships and other training programmes under IAFS-III. African countries have been the largest recipients under the ITEC Programme. More than 2300 ITEC slots has allotted to the African Countries for the year 2018-19. New Public-Private-Partnership training programs for medical professionals of Africa with some of the prestigious hospitals in India have also been initiated.

India is also helping African countries to bridge the digital divide. The second phase of the Pan Africa e-Network project - e-VidhyaBharati and e-ArogyaBharati Network Project (E-VBAB) have been launched. They aim to provide 5 years free tele-education to 4000 students, free medical education to 1000 doctors/nurses/paramedics and free medical consultancy.

Every year, thousands of bright minds from African Continent come on self-financing basis to universities and colleges in India. These young people show the world that Africa has the drive to forge a new future. 13 current or former Presidents, Prime Ministers and Vice Presidents in Africa have attended educational or training institutions in India. The list includes current President of Nigeria, President of Mozambique and Vice President of Tanzania. Six current or former chiefs of armed forces in Africa trained in India's military institutions.

Development cooperation is a key feature of our engagement with the continent. After South Asia, the African continent is the largest recipient of Indian overseas assistance. 181 Lines of Credit (LoCs) have been extended to 41 countries for a total amount of 11 billion USD, which is 42 per cent of the total amount under LoCs. India is working together with EXIM Bank to streamline the development assistance delivery to our African partners, especially after the adoption of 2015 IDEAS guidelines.

Our projects have made a great difference to the quality of life in these countries, ranging from drinking water schemes to irrigation, solar electrification, power plants, transmission lines, cement plants, technology parks, railway infrastructure and many others. India's development cooperation ranges from power projects and dams in Sudan and Rwanda to water treatment in Tanzania, sugar factories in Ethiopia and IT Parks in Mozambique and

Swaziland. India has also built the Presidential Palace in Ghana and National Assembly building in the Gambia.

India's training centres are spread out across the continent. During the last 4 years, 6 IT Centres were established in South Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Lesotho, Ghana, Namibia and Tanzania; a CGARD *Technology Centre* in Madagascar; 7 *Vocational Training Centres* in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Burkina Faso, The Gambia, Zimbabwe, and Egypt. A *Technology Centre* was also established in Zimbabwe. *Entrepreneurship Centres* are being set up in some countries. Several similar projects are at various stages of execution.

During the Third India-Africa Forum Summit, India offered 10 billion USD for development projects over the next five years, along with a grant assistance of 600 million USD. Those targets will be met in due course. Under the grant in aid programs, food grains, vehicles, IT equipment, books and miscellaneous items were provided to several countries in Africa.

Perhaps the most prominent sustainable development partnership between the two regions is reflected through the International Solar Alliance (ISA). Africa has taken a leadership role in solar expansion with half of ISA member states coming from the continent. India has pledged more than 1 billion USD worth Lines of Credit for solar projects in Africa.

India and Africa share the same development challenges and are both driven by similar imperatives. This allows for knowledge, capital and skills to flow from both regions, and provides the impetus for meaningful research collaborations.

To facilitate easier movement of people, e-visa facility has been expanded from the Indian side to cover 33 countries from Africa. From the African countries, many countries have announced simplification of visa rules for Indians. Ethiopia, Ghana and Zimbabwe provide visa on arrival to Indians. Air connectivity has improved with commencement of direct flights from Rwanda Air from April 2017, increase in frequency of Ethiopian Airlines, and Kenya Airways flight to Mumbai. Air Tanzania has announced direct flights from Dar-e-Salaam to Mumbai in December 2018.

Under an expanded cultural outreach programme, 15 Festivals of India were held in Africa in the last 4 years, in 12 for the first time such as Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania and Senegal. The number of African countries participating in International Surajkund Crafts Mela has been increasing.

Cooperation in the areas of defence and security has only strengthened over the years to reflect new threats and transnational crimes. Maritime security links have been strengthened. Two Naval vessels were given to Mozambique. Terrorism now comes in various shapes and the two sides are determined to fight it together. India is one of the largest contributors to UN Peace Keeping Missions in Africa which have played an important role in bringing peace and stability to the African continent.

Our engagement with African countries is not only at a bilateral level but also at multilateral forums. India and Africa support each other at the various elections at international level

and we are grateful to Africa for their continued support to India's candidature. Apart from scope for enhancing cooperation in the area of mutual interests like tourism, medicines, governance, science and technology, space, IT, education, health, mining etc., India and Africa have common interests on many international issues like UN reforms, counter-terrorism, peacekeeping, cyber security, energy security etc.

Africa and India have come a long way and have a long path into the future in which we are emerging and rising players. Our efforts are to stress on continuing to move the partnership beyond government-to-government contacts to a larger interaction between businesses, media and civil society. Increasingly, there is an alignment of India's growth agenda and Africa's Vision 2063, which is set to unleash new possibilities of partnering in key areas which are central to unfolding African resurgence.

While relationship with Africa is on an upswing, the challenge is to maintain the momentum, ensure follow up on our successes as well as find new areas of cooperation. The 10 guiding principles enunciated by Prime Minister Modi for enhancing cooperation with Africa will take the relationship to greater heights and unlock the immense potential that our partnership still holds. India-Africa partnership is going to be an important and, in some ways, a defining partnership to address the challenges of the changing world.

## Panel Discussion

### AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL ORDER: AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

H.E. Michael A.N.N. Oquaye, High Commissioner of Ghana

By way of definition -the Global order refers to global issues among States within the international system, including climate change, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), financing a better future, effective United Nations, overcoming inequalities and defending Human Rights, Humanitarian Crises, Trade and Development. Historically, Africa, as some other parts of the world has been excluded from the design and construction of the global order. Given its historical exclusion, exploitation and oppression, it is vital in terms of global justice for Africa to assert its right to shape the future global order.

Currently, the reality of negotiation processes in the United Nations Security Council perpetuates and reproduces this paternalistic exclusion of the African continent. More than 60 per cent of the issues on the UNSC agenda are focused on Africa, paradoxically, the continent doesn't have any representation among the P 5. Given the fact that the P5 can veto all manner of decisions before the Council, it is a travesty of justice at its most basic level that African countries can only participate in key deliberations and decision-making processes as individual non-permanent members of the Council. There is, therefore, the need to accelerate the global democratic transformation to enable the societies in the so-called developing regions of the world, including Africa to benefit from the global order.

#### African Vision

It is in response to this that the African Union (AU) envisions "an integrated, prosperous, equitable and well governed and peaceful United States of Africa effectively managed by its own citizens and representing a creative and dynamic force in the international arena". The last component of this vision establishes the need to cooperate strategically with other regional groupings, international organizations and states to market Africa's position, attain Africa's objectives, increase Africa's international standing and obtain the global leverage that would enable the continent to maximise the impact on the world scene.

Comprising of seven aspirations, Agenda 2063 roadmap was prepared for continental development, setting a number of achievable ambitions. It is a strategic framework for the

socio-economic transformation of the continent, pledging a path to growth and sustainable development.

- Aspiration 1: A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development.
- Aspiration 2: An integrated continent; politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance.
- Aspiration 3: An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.
- Aspiration 4: A peaceful and secure Africa.
- Aspiration 5: An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics.
- Aspiration 6: An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children.
- Aspiration 7: Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner.

For the past two decades, Africa's participation and engagement in global diplomacy has grown immensely. The continent has played a pivotal role in the fields of world trade, migration, security, climate change, and terrorism. We have been successful in creating new allies and ties with emerging powers, as well as prevailing and strengthening its old relations with our western partners. The AU has become the most significant regional body in Africa and its role in coordinating common African interests in multilateral organizations brings forth our choice of being more than just a passive receiver.

**Africa's participation and engagement in global diplomacy has grown immensely.**

Consequently a series of ground breaking partnerships have been launched, including continent to continent partnership - Africa - Europe, Africa- South America and Africa - Asia; Continent to country partnerships-Africa-India, Africa - Turkey, Africa - China, African o Japan, Africa - US through AGOA and Africa-France; Partnership in gestation; Afro -Arab partnership and Afro-Caribbean partnership.

### **Challenges and Solutions**

Africa's unique physical, economic and political geography also poses many challenges to economic development and management of shared public assets. It is a matter of fact that political borders are often not aligned with the economic and natural resources and many of the countries of the continent are landlocked. National economies and populations are generally quite small but cover large geographic expanses with poor connective infrastructure.

The issues have prompted African countries to come to the realisation that collaborative actions and regional approaches are critical to achieving their goals in development, governance and society. It is in the light of this realisation that the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa, followed by the 1991 treaty to establish the African Economic Community (popularly referred to as the Abuja Treaty), proposed the creation of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as the basis for African integration. Consequently, several RECs have been established under separate regional treaties and recognised by the African Union.

**...several RECs have been established under separate regional treaties and recognised by the African Union.**

Formation of African Union is proof that Africa has moved ahead of paternal handholding and has become, strong and mature, to make its priorities known as a Continental Order. New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), AU and many other pivotal regional organisation's initiatives represent the pinnacle of this victorious decade for African diplomacy and demand for equal partnership with the world powers

### **New Initiatives**

Now a new player is emerging with the potential to defragment Africa and boost the productivity of its economies. The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), one of the Flagship programmes and projects of the African Union Agenda 2063, is intended to help in significantly accelerating growth of intra-Africa trade and to use trade, more effectively, as an engine of growth and sustainable development, through doubling of intra-Africa trade by 2022, strengthen Africa's common voice and policy space in global trade negotiations and establish the financial institutions within agreed upon time frames.

**The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)...is intended to help in significantly accelerating growth of intra-Africa trade...**

Africa's emerging markets offer great opportunities for economic growth and prosperity. With roughly 1.2 billion people, it is the world's second largest and second most populous continent and boasts of natural and human resources which have the potential to power economic development across the continent. Notwithstanding challenges such as high unemployment, according to the World Bank and Focus Economies, Africa is home to seven of the world's fifteen fastest growing economies. This growth rate is expected to boost consumer spending from USD 860 billion in 2008 to more than USD 1.3 trillion by 2020, with 128 million households possessing discretionary income.

The AfCFTA will create a single market for goods, services, and movement of persons in order to deepen the economic integration of the African continent. create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of businesspeople and investments, paving the way for the establishment of Continental Customs Union etc.

Currently intra-Africa trade stands at about 16 percent, compared to 19 percent intra-regional trade in Latin America, 51 per cent in Asia, 54 per cent in North America and 70 per cent in Europe. It is estimated that AFCFTA can increase intra - Africa trade by 53 per cent through elimination of import duties and non-tariff barriers. It could also create an African market of over 1.2 billion people with a GDP of 2.5 billion USD, thus making Africa a global competitor in trade negotiations.

On 29 April 2019, two more African Union Member states deposited their instruments of ratification of the Agreement establishing the AFCFTA. This brings the number of ratifications for the AFCFTA Agreement to 22. Thirty days after the 22nd instrument of ratification is deposited the AFCFTA Agreement enters into force. It has been announced that this will happen on 30 May 2019.

### **An Equitable Global Order**

The Global order has seen power shifts in these recent years. The rise of nations from the Global South have become ever more evident and prominent. That combined with multi-polarisation of the international system and rise of institutions like the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) and IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa), have pivoted the reconceptualisation and reinterpretation of changing global order. Incidentally, this has made South Africa very relevant in the New global order and African countries can benefit if we leverage this in the AU context as well as in the Global South (South-South Co-operation).

Africa is fully aware that the asymmetrical distribution of global political, economic and military power has remained relatively unchanged since the end of the cold war, and there was the need to forge a united front and speak with one voice if the continent is to assume its rightful place in the global order. Africa has embraced integration as a developmental process through the RECs and the African Union, poised to work with other continents and countries such as India to raise the standard of living of its people and for the global good.

## Panel Discussion

### AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL ORDER: INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

**Ms Ruchita Beri, Senior Research Associate & Coordinator, Africa, LAC & UN Centre, IDSA, New Delhi.**

As a continent with vast natural, mineral and energy resources, Africa's global significance in today's world cannot be disputed. In recent years, Africa has become the centre of global attention with both traditional powers and emerging powers like China, India, Japan, and others engaging the countries in the region. Four specific developments denote the growing importance of Africa in the global order.

#### **Africa has become a major growth pole**

Africa is no longer considered a "hopeless continent" as suggested by the *Economist*, rather it possesses all the prerequisites to become a major growth pole of the world.<sup>1</sup> According to the IMF, in 2019, Africa is home to several of the fastest growing economies in the world.<sup>2</sup> This positive outlook is the result of several steps taken by the African countries, guided by the spirit of African solutions for African problems.

Economically, the Africans have taken steps towards integration. In 2015, African leaders adopted Agenda 2063 as the continent's new long-term vision for the next 50 years. A central theme is the integration of the AU's 54 member states, opening up borders, merging markets and speaking with a common voice in global fora. The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) signed by 44 member states of the African Union on March 21, 2018, aims to deepen the African integration process, and will allow free movement of people and trade across the continent. Similarly, other initiatives led by the African Union, such as, the Programme for Infrastructure Development (PIDA) aim for reducing the infrastructure deficit across the continent.

Politically, with the aim of not having to face the equivalent of the Rwandan genocide, the African Union in 2002 launched the African Peace and Security Architecture, a continental framework dedicated to promote peace and stability in the region. It is designed as a system of institutions, norms and policies, whose purpose is to manage and prevent conflicts in the region.

#### **Common positions on major international issues**

In order to enhance its position and voice in the global arena, and conscious of the sheer power of numbers in multilateral diplomacy, the 54 member states of the African Union

who constitute about 28 per cent of the UN membership, have evolved a policy to harmonise their individual negotiating positions on major international issues into common African positions.<sup>3</sup> While there were very few independent African states at the time UN charter was being drafted, an official group of African states has existed in the UN since the 1960s. In the recent decades African countries have evolved a proactive approach for advancing distinct positions in key international negotiations. The growing pace of regional integration in the continent has also pushed the African countries towards evolving joint approaches at international forums. The Ezulwini Consensus on the UN reform and Common African Position on Climate change, Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda are some examples of this strategy.

### Contribution to Global Peace and Security

African countries have assiduously contributed to global efforts to promote restore and sustain peace in conflict ridden areas of the world.<sup>4</sup> They have discharged these tasks through the African Union Peacekeeping mechanism or through the United Nations. African countries comprise of over half of the UN peacekeepers today. In fact, African countries like Ethiopia and Rwanda have displaced India and Bangladesh to become the top two troop contributing countries to UN peace keeping efforts in the world. Similarly, a key pillar of the African Peace and Security Architecture are the African Standby forces. They have been raised primarily to enhance African capacities to enforce peace in various conflict zones in the continent. In the last two decades, the AU has launched peace operations to deal with conflicts in, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, Mali, Central African Republic and Comoros.

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### Promotion of Reconciliation

Africans have provided examples of how to promote reconciliation between various groups, societies and communities around the world. It is epitomised by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, which offered a model of state-led reconciliation through transitional justice to heal the suffering caused by decades of apartheid rule. Recent studies highlight Africa's contribution to the global norms related to transitional justice.<sup>5</sup> The TRC moved away from the process of punishment as suggested in retributive justice approaches. It evolved the innovative ideas of restorative justice that focused on reconciliation. The Commission has set an example through acknowledging, both South Africa's troublesome past and the bringing out the perpetrators and victims narratives. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who led the TRC in South Africa attributed the success of this mechanism to the fact that it was grounded in the African philosophy of Ubuntu or humanness that encourages forgiveness.<sup>6</sup>

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The TRC has also inspired other countries to confront their violent past. Similar national reconciliation mechanisms were set up in several countries in Africa. For e.g., the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission in Rwanda, Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission in Kenya, Equality and Reconciliation Commission in Morocco.

In conclusion, it is important to highlight the positive vision of late Kwame Nkrumah, Former President of Ghana. He said, "...I believe ... the African race, united... will emerge as a great power... whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, but founded on hope, trust and friendship and directed to the good of all mankind."<sup>7</sup> It is hoped that through collective efforts African countries may be successful in realising this dream.

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<sup>1</sup> "The hopeless continent." *Economist*, May 13, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> "IMF: sub-Saharan Africa World's Fastest Growing Economies in 2019", *Kenyan WallStreet*, January 21, 2019, at <https://kenyanwallstreet.com/imf-sub-saharan-africa-worlds-fastest-growing-economies-in-2019/> (Accessed May 22, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Siphamandala Zondi, "Common positions as African agency in international negotiations: an appraisal", in William Brown and Sophie Harman (eds.), *African Agency in International Politics*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2013, pp. 19-33.

<sup>4</sup> Cedric de Coning, "Africa and UN Peace Operations: Implications for the Future Role of Regional Organisations", in Cedric de Coning and Mateja Peter (eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 213-229.

<sup>5</sup> Tim Murithi, "Localizing Transitional Justice Norms", in Katharina P. Coleman and Thomas K. Tieku (eds.), *African Actors in International Security: Shaping Contemporary Norms*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2018, pp 153-173.

<sup>6</sup> Graham Fox, "Remembering Ubuntu: Memory, sovereignty and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa", *Platforum*, 12, 2011, pp.105-106.

<sup>7</sup> "Kwame Nkrumah's Vision of Africa", *BBC World Service*, September 14, 2000, at [https://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/highlights/000914\\_nkrumah.shtml](https://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/highlights/000914_nkrumah.shtml) (Accessed May 24, 2019).

## Panel Discussion

### AFRICA - INDIA PARTNERSHIP: AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

**H.E. Nejmeddine Lakhal, Ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia**

It is now the 56th anniversary of the birth of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), precursor of the African Union. The advent of the African Union in 2002 marked a significant milestone and important chapter in the history of the continent. The vision and objectives of the African Union focus very much on "people -centered development" and on a transformative agenda. The principal goal of the African Union is to accelerate progress towards an integrated, prosperous and inclusive Africa, at peace with itself, playing a dynamic role in the continental and global arena.

Many still remember that Africa was referred to as a "hopeless continent". But today Africa is steadily becoming one of the fastest growing regions and turning into a "rising and hopeful continent". Today Africa is a key partner at the global stage. It is an important hub for investment and trade exchanges, and a market with a huge potential, especially in light of the challenges of the growing protectionism to global trade.

Over the past decade, Africa has gained considerable ground in consolidating peace and democratic governance. Significant progresses that have brought to our continent peace and stability, economic growth, human development, reverse the trend of poverty, and promote democracy and the rule of law. According to the World Bank, six out of the top 10 fastest growing economies 2018 are in Africa (Ghana, Ethiopia, Cote D'Ivoire, Djibouti, Senegal, and Tanzania). More than any time before, there is a growing level of confidence in the bright future of Africa.

Building on its great accomplishments to achieve its ambitious socioeconomic development goals and, thus, making Africa's full integration a reality, African countries adopted "Africa Agenda 2063", an impressive transformational development plan. One of the key agenda of the 2063 flagship projects is the establishment of the continental free trade area, which will be launched on July 7, 2019 in Niger during the upcoming African Union Summit.

It is important to underscore here one of the key points of strategic importance: The Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) was signed in the Kigali extraordinary summit of 21 March 2018. One year later, it enters into effect after 22 ratifications. This is a unique accomplishment. As indicated by the chairperson of the African Union Commission H.E

Moussa Faki Mahamet, "our hope is that Africa as a bloc will become a major and an indispensable partner in world trade".

**The CFTA is both a strategic requirement for the continent and a business imperative...**

The CFTA will establish an integrated market of more than 1 billion people, making Africa a powerful and vast market. The CFTA is both a strategic requirement for the continent and a business imperative, as it will put Africa in a much better position to engage with partners globally, including India.

### Renewed International Partnerships

Africa's international partners are forging closer strategic relations with the continent because they see unique opportunities for sustainable engagement. Africa is increasingly important to a wide range of economic, security, and political goals. Africa's international partners seek access to the region's growing consumer base and mineral wealth, and clearly do not want to be shut out of a dynamic marketplace. With the region set to add another 1.3 billion people by 2050, many countries see significant potential to build partnerships and employ the region's labour force.

A strong believer and advocate of international and the values of solidarity between nations, Africa has forged fruitful relations of partnership with Europe, Japan, USA, China, Brazil, and India not only to address the challenges the continent faces, but also to advance shared values and common interests. The strategic partnerships that Africa is building reflect Africa's priorities. They focus on areas that will unleash the continent potential: investment in people, industrialization, intra-African trade, regional integration, infrastructure development...etc.

**...when more countries invest responsibly in Africa, it creates more jobs and prosperity for us all.**

We strongly believe that when more countries invest responsibly in Africa, it creates more jobs and prosperity for us all. The African Union encourages everybody to do business with Africa; there is place for every partner. It is not a zero-sum game. It is a win- win relationship.

### Africa-India Relations

Since their revitalisation couple of years ago, Africa-India relationship has grown exponentially. And since the launching of the India-Africa Forum Summit in 2008, India has become Africa's fourth largest trading partner with around 21 percent of Indian foreign investment directed to the continent between 2008 and 2016. India has also increased its visibility in Africa through high-level visits and increased its diplomatic ties with all African countries. Recent years have witnessed tremendous increase and deepening of economic, trade and cultural exchanges between the two partners.

According to the Exim Bank, India's exports to Africa are projected to reach an all-time high of us\$ 325-330 billion in the coming years, compare to around us\$ 62 billion in 2018.

But while the Africa-India partnership is impressive, the full potential has not been tapped yet. New areas need to be included where the two sides can potentially become greater partners. Thus, there is a need for further avenues of cooperation leading to real holistic partnership between the two partners. Africa has continental frameworks, policies and strategies in virtually every area of importance that can be seized.

In a globally volatile political and economic environment, Africa and India need to further expand and diversify their partnership to help mitigate the impact of uncertainty and unpredictability that characterize the current world order, a partnership firmly aligned to the aspirations of Africa and India and priorities that will build on the significant advances and progresses accomplished so far. With their growing economic and shared vision for an inclusive multilateral world order, Africa and India have the opportunity of complementing their economic ties with vibrant strategic orientation.

**...Africa and India have the opportunity of complementing their economic ties with vibrant strategic orientation.**

A strategic, inclusive, cross-sectorial partnership between Africa and India is today crucial for achieving the wider Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) guaranteeing grassroots development in the long term.

### **Sustainable Partnership with Africa**

To steadfastly cement a win-win Africa-India sustainable economic partnership, we must make sure that our partnership is innovative and strategic and founded on a sustainable equation that preserves Africa's natural resources which are vital to the continent's own industrialisation, infrastructure development and urbanisation. Such a partnership will be strategic if:

- it promotes more Indian investment in Africa through expanding value-added processing plants to reduce dependence on imports of finished goods, boost employment and promote a stronger business culture.
- it advances a smart combination between ensuring India's access to Africa's key minerals and soft loans for infrastructure projects such as railways, highways, telecommunications, and renewable energies in order to boost inter-Africa connectivity, and also gradually decrease the continent's vulnerability to climate change.
- it promotes low cost loans for agriculture projects, food security, health, rural development projects, industrial parks and focuses on training and scholarship programs with a high impact on the ground.
- it enhances a deep collaboration between African and Indian research institutions, particularly with regards to sharing knowledge on technology, research and innovations.

Research and innovation have been the vital engines for development in USA, in Europe, in Asia and in India itself. We need a partnership that strategically prioritises Africa's and

India's medium and long-term aspirations and objectives for peace, security, and socioeconomic development.

A strategic partnership should also include a constructive political and security dialogue between Africa and India. The Indian government decision to open 18 new African embassies and take the total to 47 embassies is a step in the right direction.

The successful implementation of such an ambitious strategic innovative partnership will not be possible without a vibrant private sector whose role is more than crucial as a global development player and a driving force for Africa economic growth. And finally, we should recognize the important role of the civil society in ensuring ownership of the development process in Africa.

The deepening of economic ties between India and Africa through a strategic and innovative partnership needs a common vision, a strong and sustained commitment based on our longstanding historic relations, our shared values of solidarity and co-development, and the enhancement of people-to-people interaction. Such a visionary vision would allow us to position Africa and India as indispensable actors and partners in the 21st century landscape and beyond.

Looking ahead, the common future looks very bright for Africa and India given that our ultimate objective remains to build a sustainable strategic partnership for the advancement of the shared aspirations of African and Indian people for a better future.

## Panel Discussion

### AFRICA IS A CHANGING: OPTIMISM, GROWTH AND CHANGE

**Gurjit Singh, Former Ambassador of India to African Union & Chair, CII Taskforce on Trilaterals with Africa**

It has been a time of great change in the world in the last few years. There is also great change in Africa with greater democratisation, political stability, economic growth and regional integration. There is more movement towards trade and investment and a greater consciousness to use aid with responsibility and not overdo borrowings so that debt management can be well-ordered. A more business-like approach is visible in Africa and among its partners.

**A more business-like approach is visible in Africa and among its partners.**

The Africa day marks the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963, at the Congo hall in the present building of the UNECA in Addis Ababa. In 2002 following the discussions at NEPAD and the ideas emanating from the African renaissance, the African Union was born in July 2002 in Durban. As someone present on that occasion as part of the Indian delegation and one often wondered if the winds have changed which took the OAU into the AU would also change the celebration from Africa Day in May to the Union Day in July. However, Africa Day on 25 May has crossed the transition to the African Union and is now more widely celebrated.

It is important that Africa Day should not become another day of mutual admiration and bonhomie alone. It should be an occasion to certainly recall our history and partnership but also to seek further avenues for partnership in the years ahead. Today Africa as an opportunity is considered much more positively and is seen as conducive to bankable projects. Positive socio-economic indicators, increasing growth rates, improved human indices and political stability have given impetus to positive considerations for Africa. Optimism, growth and change are the significant buzz words when we think of Africa now.

#### **Six Drivers of Change in Africa**

Six significant facts about Africa need attention to give our thinking a new impetus on Africa.

First, by 2050 75% of global growth in the number of people in the working age group will be in Africa. This is a significant fact. Conversely, about 200 million people will need employment annually in Africa which is a challenge. Labour growth in Africa, in the current century, is faster than in India or China. This indicates that there will be significant challenges to ensure that the addition to the labour force have a proper education, good access to health care, nutrition and proper skills so that they can become a comforting factor of the demographic dividend that Africa could earn. Thus, education, health, nutrition and skilling are all opportunities for investment, be it by government, civil society, impact investors or private investors.

Second, poverty has reduced in Africa by 15per cent in the 21st Century. This adds to the factors pointed out above and shows that positive socio-economic impact has taken place due to development policies of African governments, the positive role of partnerships and the better use of funds for development cooperation. Certainly, there is scope to do more but poverty elevation and reduction need to continue to grow at the pace and contribute to rising of Africans into the consuming middle class.

**...India's penetration in the Fintech market in Africa is very low and not commensurate with India's digital prowess.**

Third, it is expected that smart phone ownership in Africa will reach 700 million by 2030. Of these 300 million phones are likely to have Fintech applications. There is a huge demand in Africa as manifested in this one item and its services. Africa calls for new business models, which need not only subscribe to appropriate technology. It is significant that while Indian companies are participating

in the telecommunication sector in Africa, India's penetration in the Fintech market in Africa is very low and not commensurate with India's digital prowess.

Fourth, by 2050, Africa is likely to have 90 cities of population of 1 million or more. In 2015, when IAFS-III was held, Africa had six cities with a population of 5 million or more. By 2030, there will be 20 such cities in Africa. Thus, along with a rapid increase in population and the youthfulness of it, there is a strong trade towards urbanisation. Besides nearly 30 per cent or more of the African population lives within 100 kilometers of the sea. These provide opportunities for smarter cities, waste management, e-mobility, city transport systems, sustainable environment, and the like.

Fifth, it is significant that Africa has nearly 700 companies with earnings of trillion dollars annually. 13 have revenues over 10 billion USD while 300 have turn over between 500 million USD and 1 billion USD. This shows that successful business and profits can be generated in Africa.

**...there is an immense scope for building more successful companies for sub-Saharan African countries particularly using regional integration of markets.**

However, of these 700 companies, half are in South Africa and 25 per cent in the countries of North Africa, mainly Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt. For the rest sub-Saharan Africa there are only 175 such companies in about 50 countries. Thus, there is an immense scope for building

more successful companies for sub-Saharan African countries particularly using regional integration of markets.

The sixth significant point is that of Africa's 25 top brands, the Nigerian company, Dangote, is at the top position. Six companies each are from South Africa and Kenya while 4 are Nigerian. Two companies each are from Ethiopia and Zimbabwe according to the African business magazine. 10 countries in Africa get tourist arrivals of over 1 million annually. Morocco, South Africa and Tunisia are the lead tourist destinations. This indicates that there are individual countries and brands in Africa which are built for commercial success; however, they are not evenly spread over the Continent, and sometimes are also visible in countries not normally associated with good business opportunities. Thus, a change in mind set, an open view of opportunities and a new intensive engagement keeping in view changing facts would be a good starting point for the third decade of the 21st century.

### **India and Africa Together**

India and Africa have had a steady history of being mutually respectful partners. For the common fight against decolonisation and apartheid, we went into the successful utilisation of the ITEC programme. India and Africa have a common desire for a better place in the international order which could be more responsive to our requirements. India and Africa have engaged more intensively since the launch of the processes of the India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) since 2008. Indian trade investment and development cooperation in the 21st Century has been far higher than envisaged at the turn of the Century.

In the vast agenda of cooperation, India and Africa collaborate at 3 tiers. The traditional bilateral tiers remain the more vigorous and well pursued with the decision to open 18 new Embassies in Africa, India will be far better represented and be able to take the bilateral agenda deeper. India has a unique system of collaboration with the Regional Economic Communities, eight of which are recognised by the African Union. India's engagement with African Union has been quite exemplary and among the best of all Africa's partners. The Chairman of the AU Commission, Mr. Jean Ping, who was part of the IAFS-II often said that the India's model of cooperation with Africa was perhaps the best because we operated at 3 levels which gave African institutions the responsibility to take decisions and not be faced with projects given to them. With this positive background as we head towards IAFS-IV, five ideas can be further pursued to bring greater diversity in the agenda.

First should be climate change. India and Africa are fully aware that whatever fate of climate change negotiations, the impact of climate change on our countries and peoples will be severe. Adaptation and mitigation, as well as sharing of experiences irrespective of what international negotiations achieve, can be an important asset in our engagement. Building smart cities, waste management in growing urban conglomerations dealing with air and water pollution and to prevent desertification remain extremely important areas. The United Nations Convention on Combating Desertification (UNCCD) has evinced India's interest and later this year India will, for the first time, host

**India and Africa are fully aware that... the impact of climate change on our countries and peoples will be severe.**

the conference of parties of the UNCCD. While desertification is important for India, much of the work of UNCCD needs to be focused on Africa.

**India has decided to commit 1 billion USD from its total commitment of 10 billion USD credit for African projects for the development of solar power in Africa.**

Similarly, while fossil fuels are an important part of India Africa trade and contribute to Africa's trade surplus in India it is the development of solar energy which India is supporting in Africa that will give a new meaning to India Africa partnership and bring significant contribution to the amelioration of climate change. The unique initiative of Prime Minister, Narendra Modi to launch the International Solar Alliance at the climate change in COP in Paris in 2015 and India's decision to host the ISA Secretariat in Gurugram are important leads. The mandate of ISA includes many

African countries who fall within the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Significantly, several African Heads of States or Government participated in the launch of ISA in Delhi last year. India has decided to commit 1 billion USD from its total commitment of 10 billion USD credit for African projects for the development of solar power in Africa. These ideas need to be built upon and expanded.

Secondly, terrorism is not merely an Indian problem but now afflicts several African countries. Nairobi witnessed the Al Qaeda bombing of the US Embassy there in 1998. Terrorism had truly come to Africa that day when a similar attack also took place in Dar-es-Salaam. Subsequent movements of Al Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria and the Sahel countries remains a challenge. In between piracy was the major challenge around the Gulf of Aden and the western Indian portion. India has collaborated closely with African countries particularly with Eastern and Southern Africa on these issues. And the time is right for more treaties for mutual legal assistance, so that criminal dealing with drugs, money laundering, etc. which feed terrorism can be arrested.

Third, the time for converting aid to business is upon us. More private investment, reduction of debt, cost effective investments and conversion of G2G and B2G into more B2B activity is the call of the time whether it is in infrastructure, agriculture, manufacturing or services. In the case of India itself, about 10 billion USD in credit lines are in operation in 44 African countries. Another 10 billion USD is available as a pipeline for further projects. However, as compared to government soft loans of about 20 billion on offer, Indian investment in Africa is about 54 billion. Thus, what has happened quietly without much publicity is that private FDI from India in Africa is nearly 2.5 times bigger than government credit lines. It is this idea which needs to be further pursued particularly because the Indian model of investing in Africa is better appreciated than that of many partners. It is due to this that several countries wish to engage with India for trilateral partnerships. The Indo-Japanese idea of the Asia Africa Growth Corridor, the German initiative for the Compact for Africa and some bilateral dialogues which India has with other partners of Africa like UK, France and the UAE have given rise to a greater focus on trilateral partnerships. The CII has brought out an initial report on India in Africa: developing trilateral partnerships which give some ideas on how

these could be developed and focuses on expanding of manufacturing and services where B2B operations can be taken up more easily.

Fourth, related to this is the utilisation of grant-in-aid models and converting them to business opportunities. The movement for social impact investment has caught on and many African youth seek support for such investment where they can bring change to their communities by providing localised solutions through new business partners. Social entrepreneurship funds are attracting traditional donors to putting money into them so that grants become business oriented. India's own PAN African E-network project with its tele-medicine and tele-education component have been re-launched in a digital version as e-VidyaBharati and e-ArogyaBharati Network Project. But these remain grant models. How do we convert the large commitment that India has for grant-aid projects in Africa to becoming self-sustaining unless we give them an impact investment style so that they become sustainable and not remain dependent on Indian assistance? More partnerships are indeed the call of the hour.

The fifth area of enhanced cooperation is to revive engagement with the Regional Economic Communities. From the beginning of the IAFS process, the RECs have been an integral part of the Indian engagement. In the follow-up of IAFS-I & II, three special meetings for representatives of RECs were held in India but since IAFS-III, no such engagement has been undertaken in the four years since. The benefits of engaging with the RECs are now increasing since the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) has been approved by the AU and its implementation will start soon. The AfCFTA in any case is the result of successful negotiations for a combined FTA among 3 RECs, namely COMESA, EAC and SADC. The real impact of the FTA will be on reduction of regional barriers which are more likely to be the leaders of expanded Intra-African trade. India has had a natural relationship with most of the RECs and needs to revive and nourish it in this new context.

## Call for Contributions

IDSA invites articles, commentaries and book reviews for publication in *Africa Trends*, a biannual magazine on Africa. Submissions can focus on security, political and economic issues relating to African countries. Articles may focus on analysing bilateral, regional and multilateral developments of strategic significance to India's engagement with African countries.

Articles could be of approximately 2000 words. Commentaries can range between 1,000-1,500 words (excluding footnotes) and book reviews between 600-1,000 words. Guidelines for contributors may be found at: <http://www.idsa.in/africatrends>. Submissions may be emailed to the Editor at [idsa.africatrends@gmail.com](mailto:idsa.africatrends@gmail.com).

## **About Africa, Latin America, Caribbean & UN Centre IDSA**

The Centre's research focus includes understanding developments in the African region and analysing various hotspots like Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and the Indian Ocean Region. It also focuses on bilateral, regional as well as multilateral engagements between India and the countries of Africa. The Centre also endeavours to analyse India's engagement with Latin American countries, particularly in forums such as the IBSA and BRICS.

In addition, the Centre carries out research on the broader theme of India and the United Nations. It deals with important topics that come up in the Security Council and those that have relevance and significance for India's foreign policy.

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