

# Aii Discussion Paper

OCTOBER 2013

DISCUSSION PAPER N° 01

## **Africa & India: Strengthening connections and advancing opportunities**

*“It is essential for our common future on the planet that the marginalisation of Africa be ended and that all parts of the world be accorded equal attention and focus within our globalised world”*

— Nelson Mandela, Rome, Italy, April 2004

### **Executive Summary**

**A**FRICA, A CONTINENT OF 54 COUNTRIES was once infamously relegated as ‘The Hopeless Continent’ by The Economist. Much has changed in recent years across Africa, from the strengthening of democratic governance and economic growth experienced by many African states. Such is the euphoria on Sub Saharan Africa, that even The Economist dedicated an ‘Africa Rising’ cover to the increasingly positive narrative of Sub Saharan Africa’s development trajectory. However, in as much as the positive press and euphoria is justified, Africa is diverse and the challenges that states face are reflective of such diversity. Furthermore, global power structures have also evolved, and numerous partners from across the globe are committed to include Africa as an equal partner in a multipolar global environment.

Africa and India’s relations are witnessing increasing attention, due to the altered geography of power that is emerging, with Asian countries like China and India coming to the fore as aspiring global powers. The growing interest in Africa and India’s relations has extended itself to many academic publications such as Elizabeth Mawdsley and Gerard McCann’s *India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power* to an equally stimulating *The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions* by Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi. The interest in Africa and India relations, are not only confined to the commercial and scholarly spheres, as the recent exhibition ‘African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean World’ tracing the historical presence of Africans in India at the Schomburg Centre in Harlem, New York and BBC’s award winning series ‘Indian Ocean with Simon Reeves’ exploring the interconnected histories of countries along the Indian Ocean. Clearly Africa and India’s relations are slowly sidling into public imagination and popular culture. Still, given there is interest on Africa and India ties, much more attention is concentrated on China and the United States role in Africa and burgeoning powers such as Brazil and Turkey who exert tenacious energy in securing their position on the continent.

The recent recurring narrative of Africa as a land of opportunity and the next frontier of growth, India's foreign policy pertaining to Africa and as a development partner in Africa, should be re-examined and rejuvenated. Through focusing on key thematic issues that characterise current relations between India and the continent and challenges that impede progress between Africa and India. The potential of advancing a mutually beneficial agenda for Africa and India are available, however dialogue and decisions need to be initiated in order to foster a new fruitful direction of cooperation.

To address the pitfall and opportunities present in the current relations between India and Sub Saharan African countries, the following paper shall continue with examining seven key thematic areas urgently in need of address:

- Africa and India Development Cooperation
- Public-Private sector cooperation
- Energy and Security Issues
- Education
- The Media Landscape
- The Indian Diaspora in Africa
- Scaling up India and South Africa's relationship to enhance Africa- India ties

The tendency amongst many Africa and India observers, lies in post-colonial nostalgia on cooperation between newly independent states across Africa and India's own post-colonial experience. Jawaharlal Nehru's prolific speech at the Bandung 'Asian African' Conference in 1955 would guide India foreign policy approach towards African states for decades to come. However, the onus is both on India and African states to build on historical ties and general goodwill in order to truly capture and gain from each other's strengths.



## Africa & India Development Cooperation

**M**ANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES BESIDES Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa which are not aid depended countries, are still spoken of in terms of being aid recipients. However in recent years numerous scholars such as international economist Dambisa Moyo with her book *'Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way For Africa'* and former World Bank economist William Easterly with *'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much ill and So Little Good'* have raised critical arguments on the failures of global development governance, the assumptions, and practice of actors and institutions of development. Hence, the current debates on rethinking or reforming development programmes.

African states have historically been on the receiving end of egregious abusive behaviour from external sources and aid has done little to none to improve many African country's fortune. The recent tendency in Africa is to look elsewhere for inspiration especially countries such as China, India and Brazil who have made significant transformation in their economic fortunes. India's initial role as a development partner to developing countries, particularly in Africa came in the guise of the famed Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation programme (ITEC) first initiated in 1964. Such an initiative that focused on capacity building and technical expertise amongst Africa, earned India a superb reputation on the continent. Nonetheless, India's priorities in development cooperation has evolved due its aspiration as global power, based on a

strategy informed by economic diplomacy and ‘south-south cooperation’. Consequently one assumes that India’s approach to Sub Saharan African countries is based on the tenants of south-south cooperation which calls for a multi-stake holder approach including national governments, private sector actors, civil society led by the national development agenda of partner country. Erstwhile, economic diplomacy implies economic engagement with external states in order to garner the most opportune economic prospects based on beneficial trade relations and promotion, network governance and a favourable regulatory environment. Therefore if economic diplomacy along with south- south cooperation is India’s strategy in its relation with Africa, it is indeed a commendable approach but nonetheless one riddled with challenges that must be overcome.

To conduct its economic diplomacy cum south-south cooperation as a development partner in Africa, India’s development assistance is vested in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), in conjunction with various departments and institutions. Given, the enormity of development cooperation which India performs in developing countries across Asia and Africa and the MEA’s overstretched mandate and limited staff it is surprising the choice to administer development cooperation within the MEA. Two approaches are usually taken to the administrative arrangement of development cooperation. The first being the decentralised development agency which cooperates with the ministry tasked with overseeing external relations as in the case of the UK’s DfiD (Department of International Development) and UK Aid, Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) other developed countries adapt the same approach as creating autonomous administrative agency for development cooperation prove be the most efficient conduit of transparency and accountability development cooperation practice. Such an administrative arrangement is also increasingly used by democratic emerging donors in Africa such as Brazil with Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), Turkey’s Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) and South Africa’s newly formed South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA).

Alternatively the model used in China which bears some similarities to India’s development cooperation, whereby development cooperation is embedded in the PRC’S central authority namely through the Ministry of Commerce in conjunction with the Department of Foreign Aid, Bureau of Economic Cooperation and various other departments. Unlike India however, China is the largest development assistance donor in Africa has a comprehensive model of cooperation between ministries and a department solely dedication to foreign aid characterized by twelve divisions within the department ranging from the comprehensive division, division of finance and planning and the division of rule of law to name a few. Compared to China’s development assistance, which is neither perfect in itself but what some analysts refer to as ‘exceptional delivery of development assistance’, India needs to pursue a more effective cooperation approach. Since, both India and China utilise tied aid which is perceived as ‘productive assistance’ as goods and services must be procured from donor countries for large public infrastructure projects in recipient countries, mutual beneficitation or what the Chinese call ‘win-win’ is the expected outcome of undertaking development cooperation with other developing countries.

On the other hand India’s current development cooperation practice has earned it disrepute from disgruntled corners in Africa especially due to the case of the India’s development cooperation in Ethiopia. Such a case illustrated some deficits in India’s approach of economic diplomacy meets ‘south-south’ cooperation earning the headline ‘Indian land grabs in Ethiopia show dark side of south-south co-operation’<sup>\*1</sup> in the Guardian newspaper. The decision to extend credit via the state owned Export-Import Bank of India to what is deemed a controversial project involving what some Ethiopian civil society groups claim to be dispossession of land for profitable gains for Indian investors. Of course, India is not the only emerging donor accused of such conduct or violations in Africa. However given that India proudly boasts to be the world’s largest democracy and a ‘responsible power’, it came as a shock to some that such that India would be associated with such conduct. Furthermore, the MEA’s supposed unwillingness to provide an official statement on the situation, has left many in Africa wondering what to make of India’s development assistance on the continent.

The India–Africa Forum Summit, could serve as an opportune platform for Africans to gauge India’s development cooperation priorities in Africa as other countries that possess such a platform, use it to engage with various development stakeholders across Africa. Unbeknownst to many, Japan is the first country to have pioneered a pan African external development partner forum with the inception of TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development) in 1993, years before the first EU-Africa Summit, the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and more recently the India–Africa Forum Summit. TICAD’s innovative approaches on addressing development challenges in Africa including cooperation with multilateral institutions, development economists and follow up/peer review mechanisms of pledges made and projects undertaken since the platform’s inception. Hence TICAD is considered with great admiration across Africa, and attendance by African leaders, Japanese public and private sector actors, and officials from development institutions is imperative. China’s Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is very much based on Japan’s TICAD model, and receives great fanfare as it is one of the few platforms where China displays a surprisingly uncharacteristic display of transparency on its priorities in assisting Africa’s development trajectory, announcing pledges and commitments to various sectors and candid reviews of errors and misunderstandings that are addressed by both African and Chinese leaders in bolstering the relationship between the continent and China.

Due to the future of the India–Africa Forum Summit as an opportune however underutilised platform for greater understanding and development cooperation between India and African countries, the lack of clarity on the progress or the continuing existence of the platform is worrisome. Therefore to some degree, China’s FOCAC and Japan’s TICAD holds many valuable lessons for India on how to engage effectively as a development partner in Africa without losing its own history, identity and ethos as a development partner. First, India’s foreign policy, let alone foreign aid policy to individual African countries or at a pan African level is largely perceived as ambiguous, the same can be said holds true for China however the PRC’s State Council recently released a white paper on its foreign aid policy objectives to Africa something that India has yet to produce. If India were to reinvigorate the India-Africa Forum Summit and execute an exciting agenda in Africa, perhaps much of the enthusiasm on India as an important development partner in Africa could be restored and clarity could be gained for both India and respective African partners on the way forward. China’s clarity on development cooperation in Africa is aided by the continual dialogue that it pursues in various platforms whether it be through FOCAC, numerous high level events and the media. Case in point, would be the innovative approach adopted by Lu Shaye, director-general of African affairs at China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs using social media websites to address Chinese netizens queries as to why China assists in Africa’s development, clarifying China’s objectives in Africa and the challenges and opportunities of China Africa ties. Surely, many Indian citizens are too wondering how India can gain from aiding in Africa’s development and why fostering ties between Africa and India is essential, however MEA has yet to articulate a strategy to convey the important role India can play in Africa’s development trajectory.

Secondly to enhance or better inform what unique contribution that India can play in Africa’s development, Indian embassies in Africa should be a better conduit of informing and guiding India’s development cooperation policy to Africa. For a country that aims to foster its position as a global power, south-south partner, and ensuring beneficial economic relations with Africa, India should be more visible or assert itself as an important development partner in Africa. Again for comparison sakes, when you compare China’s Special Representative on African Affairs Ambassador **Zhong Jianhua** or “Mr Africa” as he is known in many circles, his approach is informed through close collaboration with Chinese embassies in Africa and state owned enterprises and private enterprises on the continent and African leaders. Therefore, China is then able to offer better informed development cooperation policies and programmes in Africa and also emphatically defend criticism charged at China. When one thinks of a visible figure that represents India’s development cooperation on the continent let alone the go to person or spokesperson in Africa, there is no clear authority on this matter. The case of a lack of an official statement to rebuke the claims of Indian investors “land grabbing” in Africa for instance speaks to the lack of an coordinated effort by authorities in India and consulates in Africa to address any criticism and exchange informed ideas based on dialogue with various individuals from the public and private sector across Africa on how to best assist in overcoming Africa’s development deficits.

Third, due to a wide variety of developmental partners in Africa particularly emerging ones such as Brazil, Turkey and South Africa for instance, some development experts speak of a ‘crowded donor space’ in Africa’s development sector meaning too many actors whose programmes and activities may overlap without any measurable results. To combat or distinguish themselves as a development partner, many countries pursue a development niche. In the case of Brazil for instance, one could not conduct a conversation on agricultural development in Africa without the mention of Brazil’s resolute efforts in introducing innovative agricultural technologies and capacity building in the agriculture sector across Africa. India, however expands its energies from ICT for development to Health care development in Africa, this dilutes India’s role as a partner in Africa’s development so perhaps it would be wise for India to solely focus on an area or areas crucial to Africa’s development and in areas that few countries could produce the expert quality that India could.

Recent reports speak of an impending reduction of India’s development assistance budget in the forthcoming years. Although much of India’s overall budget for development assistance is largely directed to neighbouring South Asian and West Asian countries, it is still a valuable contributor especially to the less developed countries in Africa. Therefore India should perhaps either initiate innovative development finance programmes or leverage its position as a respectable emerging power to advocate for better financing of development projects in Africa. To advocate for a better approach of development finances from traditional donors in which India engages with in various platform such as the G20 summit to draw attentions to the long awaited reforms at international development financial institutions, would serve India’s reputation very well on the continent. Possibly even reignite the initial admiration of India a power concerned with a more equitable world system.



## Public-Private Sector Cooperation

**M**UCH OF INDIA’S INCREASING PRESENCE in on the continent is owed to and driven by India’s private sector actors or brand India Inc. Though Indian companies enjoy, relatively profitable markets in India, the current sluggishness in India’s economy have encouraged India enterprises to look elsewhere. Thus commercial interests, opportunity for growth and the diversification of investment are the catalysts for India Inc.’s drive outside of India and since the turn around being experienced by most of Sub-Saharan Africa, it is a little wonder that Indian enterprises are exerting their presence on the continent. However, as other non-Western enterprises have come to realise, Sub Saharan Africa is made of fragile and developmental states, and businesses have to operate according to their strengths in a country specific and regional context. Furthermore, issues of poor infrastructure, lack of access to finance and trade particularly for small traders both in Africa and India, and logistics impede the extensive opportunities that are available. Therefore, impediments and current strategies have to be addressed in order to harness the unprecedented opportunities that Africa presents for Indian companies and the opportunity that India’s economy affords Africa in greater integration in the global economy.

The operations of Indian enterprises are often compared to those of Chinese enterprises in Africa, however such comparison is problematic given the differences between Indian enterprises who often are privately owned and less vertically integrated compared to Chinese companies. Whereas Chinese companies operating in Africa are either private small to medium sized enterprises or large state owned enterprises, often collaborating with the Chinese government outbidding competitors for procurement contracts from African governments. Such a strategy has encouraged Indian multinationals to call for closer cooperation with the MEA, hence the “economic diplomacy” strategy that India pursues on the continent.

However, this has proven to have many pitfalls to experts on India's public-private economic diplomacy approach to Africa much of it due to insufficient coordination, lack of vision and energy, and a lack of African markets intelligence. Indeed Minister Salman Khurshid concurred in an article posted on DNA India, that "MEA seeks innovative methods to improve economic diplomacy"<sup>2</sup>. Given the resources which MEA and industry actors have amongst themselves to spurn their energies in Africa, some reflection and renewed commitment is necessary.

Private sector agencies and Indian industrial organisations, must play a greater role in encouraging India's economic presence in Africa. The current perception amongst many African analysts, especially after the 5th BRICS summit held in Durban, South Africa where the theme was "BRICS and Africa – partnerships for integration and industrialisation", India's central government and private sector actors were perceived as passive compared to other BRICS nations. Deals made by BRICS countries amongst each other and African countries made headlines in South Africa but few mentions were made of what brand India Inc. under took with African countries doing the summit. Instead the outcomes of India's presence and participation as opined by former Ambassador M.K. Bhadrakumar's opinion piece entitled 'PM's pointless African Safari, no lions in view...' was widely circulated on social media sites post the BRICS summit.

Given the immense resources the central government and private sector have to spurn India Inc.'s presence in Africa, initiatives such as the CII (Confederation of Indian Industry)'s 'CII-Exim Bank Conclave on India Africa Project Partnership' are a valuable platform to enhance private sector and public sector actors in Africa and India to engage on economic affairs. Such a platform should be enhanced and integrated into other initiatives, perhaps as part and parcel of the possible impending India – Africa Forum Summit, or continuously work in conjunction with pan-African mechanisms such as NEPAD (The New Partnership for Africa's Development), AU (African Union) and AfDB (African Development Bank Group). Such a route is currently being utilised by Japan, which recently formed a Council on Public-Private Partnerships prior to the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in July 2013 whereby Japanese private sector in conjunction with the government held intensive meetings with pan African mechanisms and public and private sector actors on mutually beneficial operations that can be initiated. According to some analysts in Africa on a review of the outcomes of TICAD V, Japan's industry and government are upon the impetus of pioneering an era of exciting public-private initiatives in Africa. The fanfare of this new initiative earned it the cover 'Japan-Africa: Why this time Japan means Business' in the August 2013 edition of the renowned industry publication, African Business, the by-line continued "Japanese companies in Africa have been clamouring for more support from their government and now their wishes will come true"<sup>3</sup>. With increased coordination, vigour and commitment, private sector actors and central government in India can enhance a comprehensible approach in order to profit from the immense commercial opportunities available in Africa. Although, recently announced measures by central government on foreign direct investment by Indian enterprises, may derail any aspirations for greater India Inc. presence on the continent.



## Energy & Security Issues

**A**CCCESS TO OIL IS ONE OF THE MAIN DRIVERS of India's increased presence in Africa as former Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas Murli Deora, emphasised "Africa is pivotal to our energy security and we have decided to have a sustained engagement with them."<sup>4</sup> Due to the political upheaval in the Middle East and volatility in West Asia, analysts expect that India will have to increase oil imports from Sub Saharan African countries that includes Nigeria, Angola, Algeria, Sudan and the Congo that currently supply 20% India's fuel imports.

However there are challenges that India faces in increasing fuel imports from traditional oil rich countries particularly in the West African region that are very much related to security and stability issues. Whereas in Angola, which is its own right is a subtle power in Africa, leveraging power in the Central African and Southern African region. Security and stability are not an overwhelming issue in oil supply from Angola, although as many experts acknowledge, Angola's oil industry is firmly captured and entrenched in China's resource diplomacy or as seminal research of the relationship between the two countries states 'China and Angola: A Marriage of Convenience'<sup>55</sup> giving very little opportunity for other external actors to fully benefit from Angola's vast oil reserves, same could be also said of Sudan's oil industry.

Consequently, as India aims to import more oil from traditional oil producing countries in Africa, security strategies should be part and parcel of further oil imports. In Africa, India largely acquires oil from Nigeria, which is facing two security crises one internal and the other external. Nigeria's internal security crises refer to the violent Islamic sect in the country known as Boko Haram, although located in the impoverished Muslim majority north of Nigeria, the strength of this violent outfit not only causes havoc to human security but as recent news reports state the growth of this sect has crept into the country's oil industry and threatens oil production through vandalising of pipelines and hindering further oil exploration in inland basins. Boko Haram, is not the only outfit that threatens oil production in Nigeria, other factors from various factions' compound oil production and security in the country. As for external security issues, in recent years it has become well documented that piracy in Africa has been gradually shifting from East African region to the West African region, newly oil rich countries in the west African region such as Ghana will soon be affected by this trend of piracy in the region. Furthermore, many of the countries of the West African region through the regional grouping Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have attempted to address the scourge of piracy on the west coast. However, even though training and security apparatus to deal with this issue are partially subsidised by the European Union (EU) funding and training and technology still lacks to truly conquer the issue of piracy in ECOWAS countries.

This presents an opportunity for India, an opportunity that will also assist India in securing oil from the region. India has a wealth of experience as part of the UN's peacekeeping efforts throughout Africa, spanning from East Africa to Southern Africa. Additionally, India's defence capabilities and familiarity with wide ranging security concerns would empower ECOWAS to address insecurity caused by rising piracy on the region. India does currently have defence cooperation with various African countries and has developed a niche for itself in training programmes it has provided to many African military and naval personnel. However it should enhance maritime and defence cooperation on the continent, especially in regards to countries that it relies upon for fuel imports. Perhaps assisting with some of the deficits currently experienced by ECOWAS states it should pursue trilateral cooperation with the EU and ECOWAS member states, to pursue such an initiative would prove valuable for India's reputation on the continent whilst enabling secure oil exports to India.

Alternately, much has been made of the impending 'Golden Age' of natural gas in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states. Southern African countries including Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Tanzania are expected to defy expectations with impending natural gas and oil outputs. India's state-owned energy Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) has been proactive in venturing into investing in offshore gas fields in the region, especially in Mozambique because it is currently earns the label of the world's largest gas discovery in a decade. The acquisition of Anadarko Petroleum stake by ONGC has earned much fanfare amongst oil and gas industry watchers in India, yet Mozambique suffers severe infrastructural deficits in accelerating its forthcoming gas and oil industry therefore India would need to address this through possible innovative finance to spur the industry in Mozambique. Japan, also heavily invested in Mozambique's oil and gas industry has been proactive in regards to the infrastructural deficits in Mozambique through a public private partnership initiation cooperating with Mitsui E&P, JICA, DBSA (Development Bank of Southern Africa) and SADC in order to finance infrastructure that can facilitate gas production in the country. Whereas China's state owned Petroleum and Chemical Corporation (Sinopec) and South Africa's state owned company PetroSA will build a state-of-the-art oil refinery to catapult South Africa's gas finding for export purposes to China whilst

enabling the country its own oil refinery in addition to financing renovations of state owned ports around SADC member states. Therefore it would serve in India's interest to pursue infrastructural projects surrounding these countries in order to enhance facilitation of gas outputs.

Compared to the issue of piracy that cause grave concerns in ECOWAS countries, SADC countries experience relative stability and peace around its maritime surroundings. However the recent gas discoveries in Tanzania have increased tensions in the region owing the discontent from locals in the southern region of Tanzania who have been victims of historical economic marginalisation making anti-pipeline protests a common feature in the area. In this context, India can provide assistance through collaborating with the fragile national government in natural resource management aiding in facilitating an environment where production can take place, assisting in providing economic opportunities for locals and aiding in security personnel training through the already present Indian naval presence in Southern African countries along the Indian Ocean.

Thus, India should consider initiating economic diplomatic strategy consisting of maritime defence cooperation and innovative infrastructural financing mechanism that will be beneficial for local development in gas and oil producing countries in Africa while securing imports that could assist in India's insatiable need for fuel.



## Education

**A**FRICAN STATES HAVE COLLECTIVELY moved towards faster and broader progress in the education sector and one of the most pronounced priorities in the midst of this progress is the institutionalizing of assistance in education development cooperation.

In respect to development cooperation on the education sector, donors in Africa usually aim to align and assist recipient countries in achieving global education goals such as the UN's Millennium Goal (MDG) 2 'Achieving Universal Primary Education' and UNESCO's six EFA (Education for All) goals. The 2nd MDG is aimed at achieving universal primary education which entails assisting and ensuring children in developing countries have access to basic education. Whereas, the six EFA's are aimed at improving universal primary education, eliminating gender disparity in education, improving the quality of education in essential education outcomes such as literacy and mathematic skills and the pursuit of training and further education skills for adult learners. India's own cooperation with various African states confirms to the established practice in education cooperation in Africa, as much aid from India has gone to assisting less developed countries in Africa to meet the 2nd MDG through imparting lessons from its own progress in achieving universal primary education.

However the reliance of MDGs and EFA's to steer improvement in education in development has come under increasing scrutiny particularly from development practitioners, development economics scholars and NGOs. In the case of the use of MDGs and EFAs to guide basic education programmes in Africa, have resulted in unforeseen outcomes such as countries needing more aid to meet MDGs and EFA's at the neglect of other pressing issues in Africa such as access to universal health care and teacher training institutions racing to meet MDGs and thus producing under qualified staff to teach at primary schools. Furthermore, due to rising incomes across African countries and perceived failures of primary education public

schooling even though many countries have received cash injections from donors who prioritize meeting MDGs and EFA's, many parents across Africa are opting for private education instead. Hence the irony, in that private schools whether it be primary or high school are growing in popularity as an alternative to public schools in many African countries even though donors, particularly western donors have stressed commitment and monetary funds to improve basic education in Africa.

Therefore an emerging challenge in Africa's basic education sector, is improving the quality of education received through addressing where there are deficits and what to focus on, this is where some countries have developed a niche for themselves as development partners in Africa. For instance, Japan's development cooperation arm, JICA has displayed exceptional foresight on education development issues in Africa through the introduction of initiatives such as targeting enhancing math and science skills in learners at primary education schools working with existing structures instead of introducing drastic curriculum reforms, and building consensus with African educators and policy makers on best practices and approaches. India could follow suit by sharing or promoting best practices in subjects that Indian students perform remarkably well at in primary and high school through teacher training of teachers in Africa, offering curriculum reform advice and sharing best practice approaches. As the saying goes in Africa "To assist an African child in education is to assist Africa", so in this respect India has a lot to offer in terms of innovative education approaches that it has used in the education sector and therefore contributing to India's skilled labour force. To share such valuable lessons with African states would do wonders in enhancing human resources on the continent which are desperately lacking.

Africa's higher education institutions have long suffered neglect since much emphasis is on basic education. With many students matriculating from high schools, and number for higher education enrolment increasing even though many institutions are unable to accommodate the scores of students due to limited infrastructure, staff deficit and administrative hurdles. The 'youth dividend' Africa experiences, as the continent with the youngest population, needs education that will assist in fostering development across the continent, and the provision of higher education plays a catalytic role in harnessing gains made so far in the continent.

Recent events however, indicate that many donor countries to Africa are beginning to view higher education in Africa as a source of improving skills and capacity on the continent. President Barack Obama's recent state visit to strategic African countries (Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania) in June 2013, saw the commitment to the 'YALI: Young African Leadership Initiative' programme, this to many illustrates the US's renewed commitment to developing higher education in Africa. Such an initiative aims, to improving higher education through Africa by long term investment in higher education in Africa, forming networks between American universities and African universities and strengthening work and entrepreneurial opportunities for African graduates. Whereas, Japanese Prime Minister Shinto Abe, in July 2013 at TICAD V announced the 'ABE Initiative: The African Business for the youth'. The initiative which will fall under the responsibility of JICA and MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), states it will offer both undergraduate and graduate education to African students to study in Japan whilst offering opportunities for internships and employment in Japan and for Japanese multinationals in Africa for graduates of the ABE initiative. China has incrementally implemented the 'African Talents Program' to train 30,000 personnel in various sectors, offer 18,000 government scholarships and build cultural and vocational training facilities With the focus on training personnel in various sectors, China aims to enhance and assist African countries capacity in sectors that enhance economic development and social development.

India's role in higher education and training in Africa, is primarily expressed through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation programme (ITEC). Many African students and professionals have benefited from ITEC derived projects like the Pan-African e-network project and the Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Programme (SCAAP), however much improvements can be made to these initiatives. In terms of the Pan-African e-network project, it currently consists of three African universities, one from Ghana, Cameroon and Uganda and five India universities, the number from of universities as part of this initiative should increase whereas SCAAP seems indistinguishable from what ITEC already offers.

Therefore, it would be recommendable that the MEA releases a Human Resource Development policy paper on its strategy as an education and training partner to Africa. Such a document would clearly outline a coherent agenda in India's interest in forming education cooperation with higher learning institutes across various African nations, it would articulate what areas of higher education India can bolster in Africa, the motives of concentrating on specific areas of learning and training, what specific targets or timetable would be pursued. Another recommendation is that universities in India in conjunction with the MEA should work on promoting, pursuing further education in India as an option. As previously stated, many young Africans are pursuing higher education and offered more opportunity to do so. Seemingly many African students studying in India have been awarded scholarships by the Indian government. Realising the importance of pursuing further education many young Africans are looking beyond their border and actively pursue and even fund their own higher education not only in Western countries but increasing in China, this presents an opportunity for Indian universities.

China has two higher education councils in Africa, one in Egypt and the other in South Africa promoting Chinese universities as an alternative to local or other international universities. India should create an educational council in Africa. This would allow students from Africa to receive advice on how to enter Indian universities, suitable programmes of study, arrange exchange programmes and actively promote Indian universities as a desirable destination for further studies to African students. Additionally, centres of Indian studies or South Asian studies would be a great mode to promote India amongst young people in Africa to actively want to engage and learn more about India and ties between India and Africa. Other Asian powers are and have pursued such a strategy, Japan with Centre for Japanese Studies (CJS) established at the Gordon Institute of Business Science in South Africa. It is the first centre of its kind to be established in Africa and offers South African business students lectures on Japan's trade and industry, and since its establishment invited and hosted a range of seminars on Japanese multinationals, and political analysts on enhancing strategic ties. Whereas China offers Confucius Institutes, a global Chinese-language learning network managed by the central government affiliated with the PRC's Ministry of Education. Essentially, Confucius Institutes are funded in order to meet vocational interests in acquiring expertise in Chinese for foreign learners. Confucius institutes, which are demand based, meaning the PRC funds according to demand from local university, currently<sup>23</sup> are based in universities across Africa as part and parcel of China's assistance strategy for providing linguistic and cultural knowledge of China for African students.

The closest semblance to an institute that promotes India in any realm to African students in Africa is the Centre for Indian Studies in Africa (CISA) and the India-Africa Network at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, both in South Africa. Both institutes that has potential to promote genuine interest in India from African students and perhaps decision makers in India should consider financial commitment to the institutes in efforts to rebrand India's potential as an area of study for African students, promote Indian higher education institutions as an alternative place for study and use it as an avenue to disseminate Africa-India relations.

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## The Media Landscape

**A**FRICA'S MEDIA SECTOR HAS EXPERIENCED growth at an above average rate, proving to be opportune investments for many investors. The increase in literacy across Africa coupled with the growing middle class with disposable incomes that can afford to buy TV's, newspapers, magazines etc. has encouraged an upsurge in international media presence in Africa, and Africa's own media conglomerates profiting impressively.

The most spoken of the upsurge in international media, is China's staggering media presence on the continent, Beijing had earmarked an astronomical although unconfirmed amount for global media expansion. China's engagement and investment in the media operates on three levels, first as a soft power exercise to 'win the minds and hearts' of African audiences, second to dispel fear mongering and stereotypes of Chinese presence in Africa and then claims to "democratize" the narrative on Africa, not just focusing negative imagery of the continent but also to acknowledge the positive progress and of course it a profitable venture to invest in Africa's fledgling media. The outcome of Beijing's strategy in investing in Africa's media includes the establishment of CCTV Africa, state news agency Xinhua, and China Daily Africa. Of course, Chinese investment are not the dominant force in Africa's media market, the honour of such a title belongs to South African multi media conglomerate Naspers. Neither do, South African media conglomerates on the continent consider China nor emerging investors in Africa's media landscape, as competitors. As the recent acquisition of Irish media conglomerate Independent News and Media (INM) in South Africa led by a consortium consisting of South African Indian business magnate Dr. IqbalSurve's Sekunjalo Independent Media, South African state owned Public Investment Corporation (PIC) and two Chinese state-owned companies proves that there are many modes of cooperation that can be pursued in venturing into Africa's mass media market.

Compared to China's presence in Africa's media, unfortunately India's presence is barely to non-existent, which is regrettable given the opportunity that such a sector has not only for profitable gains but also as a channel for greater understanding between Africa and India. As Dr Sumit Roy, from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) succinctly stated "India's poor knowledge about Africa, often based on colonial stories and selective reports on famines, droughts and wars, have created distorted images. These need to be corrected through informed media and cultural exchange. In Africa, too, images of India, based on a mix of romantic Bollywood movies and songs, the behaviour of Indian traders, and stories about its recent growth, have tended to mask the challenges faced by the nation and the majority of its people."<sup>6</sup> Again, an opportunity presents itself for India especially media conglomerates to tap into the mass media market in Africa, owing to their experience in India's own vibrant mass media market. Moreover, creating specific India related content for African audiences in order for the general public across Africa, to have a better understanding of India , erstwhile possibly working in collaborating with local media experts in Africa to create content for Indian audience to gauge a more nuanced view of Africa. Such initiatives taken by media players both in India and across Africa could prove rewarding for cultural understanding and bilateral ties.



## The Indian Diaspora in Africa

**T**HE INDIAN DIASPORA IN AFRICA, SHARE a fascinating history of travail and upward mobility. This large diaspora community stretches from Southern Africa all the way to East Africa. Having achieved many accomplishments along the way, garnering positions in politics and being industrial magnates. Many experts on India's position in Africa speak of how compared to other emerging actors in Africa, India is at an advantage due to People of Indian Origin whose population according to census survey is community of 3 million people, with South Africans of Indian decent being the largest group of community totalling at 1,300,000. Furthermore, as some research claims, more Indian émigrés are relocating to Africa due to the economic prospects on the continent. This presents an interesting opportunity for India to leverage their diaspora community in Africa to lobby and encourage greater interaction between Africa and India.

The central government in India seems to have heeded to the message, especially since the Ministry of Overseas Affairs to engage the largest PIO community, in South Africa to resuscitate the African chapter of the Global Organisation of People of Origin Chapter of April 2013.

However, to collaborate with local PIO's needs careful sensitivity to local and regional contexts. For instance, due to the historical tensions between the black population and Indian population in many East African countries, PIOs tend to be apolitical and largely relegated to establishing and running small to medium sized enterprises. Whereas as PIOs in South Africa, although more politically visible due to a long history in the anti-apartheid movement and gaining powerful positions in office in post- apartheid South Africa. Owing to South Africa's complex racial politics past, many PIOs may identify more with being South African. Nonetheless if India's decision makers are able to capture the attention of the Indian Diaspora in Africa, and commit to a conducive relationship integrating the diaspora strength to enhance India's position on the continent.



## Scaling Up India and South Africa's Relationship to Enhance Africa-India Ties

**S**OUTH AFRICA AND INDIA, HAVE LONG historical relationship peppered with many interesting occurrences from Indian iconic figure Mahatma Gandhi experiences in South Africa to India's involvement and influence in South Africa's anti-apartheid movement.

Much has changed for both countries since then, ties have grown and both countries harbour their own emerging power ambitions. More interesting though to industry watchers is the trade relations between the two countries, with FDI from Indian companies in South Africa high and South African FDI into India ranking higher than rich nations such as Norway and Saudi Arabia. Both countries are members of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India, China – a climate change-specific forum), the G-20 and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) and share similar enlightened values in regional and global stages. Moreover, South Africa possess a much more comprehensive relationship with India compared to other African countries, much of the deficits apparent in India's 'Africa strategy' are not present in South Africa. For instance both countries engage in naval activities in the Indian Ocean via an IBSA initiative, India has a media presence in South Africa ranging from a staple on South African national TV (SABC) 'Eastern Mosaic' covering the Indian Diaspora in South Africa in addition to contemporary news and events in India, and the newly formed new 24-hour news channel, Africa News Network (ANN7) in conjunction with Indian satellite giant Zee-TV. The depth and range of South Africa and India's relation are staggering and much more could be initiated that could also hold immense opportunities for development across Africa.

One misconstrued assumption by some, is that India and South Africa are competitors in Africa. This is an erroneous misconception, as both countries have their own strengths and weakness and diverse priorities and commitments across Africa. For one, South Africa is considered the 'Hegemonic power' or 'Gateway to Africa' in Africa and it must meet high expectations from all corners of Africa or as Anglo-Sudanese billionaire and philanthropist Mo Ibrahim urged 'South Africa should be pulling Africa forward'<sup>7</sup>. This is a duty that South Africa is well aware of and one it takes seriously, hence its

involvement in every aspect across Africa. Secondly, South Africa is Africa's largest source of foreign direct investment in Africa active in providing investment in non-extractive industries in Africa and investing in services that integrate African economies, because the integration of economies across Africa is considering a catalyst for greater growth in Africa.

South Africa has committed itself as a cooperative partner with emerging powers across Africa, engaging in various public-private partnership schemes for development across Africa as it has the political and economic leverage to engage in various developments across the continent with partners who possess technical expertise and financial clout to spur economic growth and development on the continent. New initiative such as the BRICS Bank and BRICS council could be a catalyst for India and South Africa to engage as partners in Africa's development. South Africa and India through an alliance of substantial economic and political engagement could prove to be valuable partners for development in Africa which can hold benefits for both countries.



## Policy Recommendations

**T**HE RENOWNED THINK TANK, Chatham House once published a report which stated "India needs to do some soul-searching as to why it does not hold more appeal for Africans"<sup>8</sup>. I would argue instead that India has been unable to articulate and translate its appeal to Africa, in my short experience thus far in India I'm overwhelmed by the potential and value India possess in stimulating development and economic growth across Africa. Therefore a few policy recommendations could possess some future directions India could take in advancing its relations with the continent.

- India, should articulate a coherent Africa Policy, even though the India-Africa summit in Ethiopia in 2011 gave rise to the 'Delhi Declaration, Africa-India Framework for Cooperation'. The MEA should as other emerging power in Africa have done, produce a comprehensive white paper that details India's objectives in Africa, the value of India-Africa cooperation, initiatives and values that bolster India-Africa ties, and provide set targets of deliverables to African states.
- India's development cooperation to Africa is unclear whether it is facilitated through the MEA or the Development Partnership Administration (DPA). Therefore a clear separation between the ministry and the agency should be defined as it obscures where responsibility lies.
- If the DPA is in essence the entity that facilitates development assistance to Africa, it should undergo an extensive branding and marketing campaign, as it is not visible as a development assistant participant in Africa.
- The DPA, should develop a niche for itself in the kind of development assistance it can provide in Africa, so far activities seem to be diluted in numerous field and therefore diminishing the visibility of India's assistance to Africa and the outcomes of this leaves the general public and development practitioners slightly unaware of India's value in Africa's development sector.
- The MEA and the DPA should act with greater coordination with Indian embassies across Africa, in doing so it would enhance India's understanding of the regional contexts and desires that India could possibly supply.

- An overhaul of India's media especially digital media promotion of its Africa initiative, many of the website endorsed by the MEA pertaining to Africa, are outdated such as the India-Africa Forum website, prove to be uninformative and speak of neglect. Digital media and print media should also be seen as an opportunity to promote India's development assistance in Africa as these forms of outreach can be very effective.
- A visible spokesman and ambassador of India's development assistance in Africa should be appointed. Such a person would be able to address issues arising on India's development assistance in Africa and clarify perceived ambiguities.
- Greater efforts needs to be dedicated to the India-Africa Forum summit, it needs to be a platform actively promoted as the premier space where India and Africa's leaders meet and engage with public and private actors on the progress of India and Africa.
- India needs to strengthen cooperation with Indian private sector actors in Africa, furthermore coordination between them should not only apply to bilateral interests with particular African countries but should also be applied in Africa's regional and continental governance frameworks.
- To address looming naval security issues that threaten energy supply, India should strengthen naval defence cooperation especially with West African states, as it is a costly venture, perhaps a trilateral initiative with already present EU naval presence is advisable.
- To benefit from impending gas production in countries along the Indian Ocean and acting against possible threats the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) should be resuscitated.
- An HRD (Human Resource Development) policy paper in conjunction to India's African policy paper should be created, clearly stating the role India can play in reducing the education deficit in Africa
- An Education Council, should be created that actively promotes opportunities for studying in India for aspiring higher education students across Africa. India has many tertiary institutions that focus on primary areas crucial for Africa's development especially in terms of vocational and technical skills, therefore India should place more emphasis on this.
- Encourage the study of India or South Asia across African universities, India has many professors and faculties well versed in African studies, and yet unfortunately there are little to no expertise on India in Africa.
- The MEA should work in collaboration with state owned media and privately owned media in India to facilitate and encourage more cover of Africa on Indian media to give a more nuanced view of the continent. Additionally, it should take a similar strategy in Africa requesting and collaborating with state owned media or media players across Africa, to pay attention to Indian media and dedicate more coverage of India on the continent.
- Actively engage with the PIO diaspora in Africa, but also focus on new Indian émigrés to Africa to act as 'unofficial ambassadors' and 'Indian cultural informants' in Africa as to give a better impression amongst the local general population.
- Enhance economic and political engagement with South Africa not with the intention of bilateral relations but through mutually beneficial continental aspirations based on public private partnerships and shared expertise that would be beneficial to Africa's development agenda.

- In essence, India has plenty to offer to Africa and Africa too has much to offer to India. If already present connections are strengthened, and challenges are effectively and substantially addressed, mutually beneficial outcome can be advanced.



## About the Author

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